Toward an Integrated
Development Communication Strategy:
An Analysis of the SADCC Case.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reflects an attempt at a theoretical and methodological retaxonomization of development communication research in the aftermath of theory failure in the traditional communication approach to development - a failure largely attributed to the inadequacy of research methods in giving a full accounting of the dynamics of interrelationships between and among various social dimensions in which communication and development occur. Innovative and critical methodological dimensions to the traditional and hardline quantitative research, namely, ethnomethodology, focus group interviews and case studies, have been added in an attempt to give a more comprehensive account of the role of the people at grassroots level.

It is from this theoretical perspective that the thesis assesses the potential impact of the telecommunication development program of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) on the productive sector, notably, small-scale rural farmers who are crucial elements in the region's hopes for food security and agriculture-based development. The thesis takes the theoretical and methodological position that the question of a communication approach to development cannot be addressed as if communication were an independent variable but as an integrated package of socio-economic and cultural factors that jointly or collectively impact on communication and development in more interactive and complex ways than previously recognized. Hence the potential of development communication has to be viewed in the context of the strategic equation in which information and communication are but one aspect of interactive factors that add up to the fulfillment of life.

The thesis' methodological elements include; field research among the rural farmers in Zimbabwe, interviews with policymakers, researchers, media practitioners, communication educators, consultants, NGO project officers; content analysis of selected media of the SADCC region, with the Zimbabwean media (both print and electronic) as case studies; and an analysis of original docume :ts and reports on telecommunication and other development plans. Interviews with peasants on one hand, and with technical experts and politicians, on the other, will highlight the fact that knowledge generation can be multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary and what different constituencies can offer to development efforts. How we might begin to take accoun. of this prospect is the basic research question this thesis addresses.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse marque une tentative de reconceptualisation théorique et méthodologique des recherches sur le développement et les communications suite à l'échec théorique de l'approche classique, lequel est attribuable essentiellement à l'incapacité des méthodes de recherche d'expliquer pleinement la dynamique des rapports entre les diverses dimensions sociales où interviennent les communications et le développement. Des méthodes novatrices et critiques qui viennent étoffer les méthodes de recherche quantitatives traditionnelles, à savoir l'ethnométhodologie, les entrevues de groupe et les études de cas, visent à rendre compte de manière plus complète du rôle des populations à la base.

C'est dans cette optique théorique que cette thèse évalue l'impact potentiel du programme de développement des télécommunications de la Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) sur le secteur de la production à savoir les petits agriculteurs qui sont un élément crucial des espoirs de la région d'arriver à la sécurité alimentaire et au développement fondé sur l'agriculture. L'auteur de cette thèse adopte le point de vue théorique et méthodologique que l'étude du développement par les communications n'est possible si les communications constituent une variable indépendante, alors qu'elles doivent faire partie d'un ensemble intégré de facteurs socio-économiques et culturels qui se conjuguent pour exercer leur influence sur les communications et le développement de manière plus interactive et complexe. C'est ainsi que le potentiel du développement et des communications doit être perçu dans le cadre de l'équation stratégique où l'information et la communication ne sont que l'un des constituants des facteurs interactifs qui favorisent l'épanouissement de l'existence.

Les éléments méthodologiques de cette thèse englobent des recherches sur terrain parmi les agriculteurs du Zimbabwe, des entrevues avec des législateurs, des chercheurs, des journalistes, des éducateurs dans le domaine de communications, des consultants, des responsables de projets d'ONG; l'analyse du contenu de certains médias de la région de la SADCC, les médias du Zimbabwe (imprimés et électroniques) constituant des études de cas; et une analyse des documents et des rapports originaux sur les télécommunications et d'autres plans de développement. Les entrevues avec des paysans d'un côté et avec des experts techniques et des politiciens de l'autre permettront de souligner le fait que la génération de connaissances peut être de nature pluridimensionnelle et pluridisciplinaire et la contribution que différentes circonscriptions peuvent apporter aux efforts de développement. La façon dont nous pouvons tenir compte de ce point de vue constitue la question fondamentale de cette thèse.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION: THE GEO - POLITICAL PROFILE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

1.1 HISTORICAL SETTING

> *There is a train that comes from Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and the whole hinterland of South Africa. This train carries the young men and the old men who are conscripted to come and work on contract in the gold mines of Johannesburg and its surrounding metropolis.....Deep, deep deep down in the belly of the earth men are digging and drilling for that mighty evasive stone.......And when they hear that choo choo sound of the train screaming from afar...they always curse the coal train that brought them to Johannesburg*
>
> *--Hugh Masakela, ISITIMELA*

When Cecil John Rhodes talked about his imperialist vision of a Cape to Cairo railroad he was underscoring the vital role of transport and communications in the British colonial strategy for southern Africa in particular and Africa in general. The national and regional communication infrastructures of southern Africa are inextricably linked as a legacy of colonialism and their role has historically been a critical element in the geo-politics of the region. Thus the development of transport and communications as a matter of priority under the program of action of the post-colonial states of the Southern African Development and

Coordination Conference (SADCC) which seeks to reduce the region's independent African countries' dependence on South Africa can best be analyzed in part within the context of the colonial experience.

1.1.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN FACTOR: The transformation of the mode of production from the pre-capitalist subsistence and mainly agrarian economy to a money economy characterized the emergence of the colonial domination of the region. The money economy or the capitalist mode of production was a consequence of

> the creation of a single world division of labour, production for profit, capital accumulation for expanded reproduction as a key mode of maximizing profit in the long run, emergence of three zones of economic activity - core, semi-periphery and periphery - with not merely unequal exchange between them but also persistent merchandise trade imbalances, a multiplicity of state structures - strongest in the core and weakest in the periphery - and the development over time of two principal world class formations (a bourgeoisie and a proletariat) whose concrete manifestations are however complicated by the constant formation and reformation of a host of ethno-national groupings (Wallerstein 1976,30).

The incorporation of Africa, specifically southern Africa, into this Euro-centered capitalist mode of production led to the emergence of a semi-peripheral and peripheral zone of economic activity. South Africa became the conduit through which the incorporation of southern Africa into the world capitalist system was effected (Seidman,1977; Seidman,1981). The interrelations and links between South African capital and foreign capital represented by multinational corporations underscore the corporate nature of the South African state and its mandate to expand its economic and strategic interests in the region. The political aims of the South African state can be seen essentially as furthering the corporate interests of national and foreign capital. This historical project of the South African state is rooted in the formation of the state at the turn of the century.

> In other words (the South African State) was constituted (in 1910) as an outpost for general imperialist plunder (in the region) and has always played that role. In this global role South Africa facilitates the transfer of value from her neighbours which effectively allows it, at the same time, to benefit from both its own investments and the trickle-down effects that characterize these relationships with the world capitalist economy (Chitala 1987,20).

As a result of colonialism and the hegemonic role of South Africa the nation-states of southern Africa are heavily interdependent and dependent on South Africa. The capitalist mode of production that heralded the colonial era saw a heavy concentration of capital particularly in South Africa as well as in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire following the discovery of minerals such as gold, diamonds and copper. The net result was the creation of a hierarchical system of peripheral economies with South Africa as a sub - metropolitan center and Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zaire as semi-peripheries. The rest of region was reduced to a vast pool of labour reserves especially for the gold mines in South Africa (Rodney,1985; Table 1.1; Table 1.2). Under the economy of the reserves that characterized the dynamics of exploitation in southern Africa a hierarchical system of dependencies was consolidated by the transport and communication infrastructure to ensure a steady and systematic supply of labour, services and raw materials from the region to South Africa from where manufactured goods were marketed in the region (Table 1.2; Cliffe,1976; Wolpe,1972; Mafeje,1973; Davies,O'Meara,Dhlamini, 1985).

The role of colonialism in incorporating the region in the world capitalist system cannot be underestimated.

> Historical incorporation of distinct societies under capitalism proceeds by means of conquest, domination, and enslavement of alien peoples, followed by the socio - economic restructuring of the dominated society in order to install new forms of production or exploit former productive activities. The fundamental objective of this restructuring is to bind the incorporated society into the expansionist world economy as part of its productive system. This is commonly followed by the diffusion of the colonizer's cultural tradition (Magubane 1976,193).

TABLE 1.1 MIGRANT LABOUR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1973.

Country of Origin	
Malawi	280,000
Mozambique	220,000
Lesotho	210,000
Botswana	60,000
Zambia	40,000
Swaziland	30,000
Destination	
South Africa	580,000
Rhodesia	220,000
Unknown	40,000

Source: Rhodesia Farmer Publication, Development Magazine, March, 1973; Chitala 1987,23

Within the context of such regional interdependence and dependence the transport and communication infrastructures were developed to facilitate the supply of labour and materials in industrialized economies of South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

> The development of transport and communication facilities was aimed at promoting the flow of trade between individual colonial states and the colonizing state. Thus there was no deliberate effort to develop transport and communication links between two or more colonies. Indeed even within individual colonies there was no deliberate effort to promote cohesive national transport and communication systems. The colonial patterns of transport and communications aimed at only linking those areas in colonies identified as sources of raw materials or concentrated markets for manufactured goods with the metropolis (Mangula, Ng'andwe 1987,86).

TABLE 1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS

(from Independent African Countries in South Africa)

	1980-83 Average	1984	1985	1986	1987
Angola	139	NA	NA	NA	NA
Botswana	19,700	18.700	20,000	21,000	20,000
Lesotho	144,421	114,000	117,000	121,000	NA
Malawi	30,025	NA	NA	NA	NA
Mozambique	57,339	52,000	56,000	48,000	NA
Swaziland	15,926	NA	22,255	15,963	16,700
Zambia	794	NA	NA	NA	NA
Zimbabwe	11,604	NA	NA	NA	NA
Other*	2,929	NA	NA	NA	NA

* Includes Namibia from 1983.
Botswanan figures refer to mine workers only.

Source: *SADCC Regional Economic Survey.* and SADCC *Government Reports*
Fion de Vletter, "Recent Trends and Prospects of Black Migration to South Africa."
International Labour Migration, Working Paper, January,1985.

South Africa's historical project has been to maintain - using all kinds of leverages at her disposal - this geo-political structure of asymmetrical interdependencies in the region. According to Davies and O'Meara (1984) South Africa's program of Total Strategy was a result of the country's internal combustion which had created a state of conjuncture, or, in Gramscian terms, organic crisis.[1] O'Meara (1986) and Friedland (1985,2) identify three main objectives of South Africa's regional policy under the Total Strategy program, namely,

1.   to compel SADCC member states into the CONSAS framework;[2]

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[1]   Organic crisis refers to a crisis situation during which incurable contradictions reveal themselves, or reach maturity, and political forces take steps not only to maintain and conserve the existing structure but to cure the contradictions and overcome them

[2]   CONSAS Constellation of Southern African States It was proposed by South Africa's Prime Minister P.W. Botha in 1979 as part of his country's strategy to form a regional economic block. See also,J H

2.   to compel independent African states in the region to refrain from allowing their territories to be used as training ground or conduit for the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerrillas who are fighting to overthrow the regime, and,

3.   to destroy the fragile initiative of SADCC.

Using a carrot and stick approach South Africa has historically sought to offer rewards to countries that agree to cooperate with the apartheid regime and punish those who do not. By these actions South Africa wanted to get SADCC countries to sign treaties with Pretoria as a first step towards promoting the concept of mutual defense against "a common enemy." In the final analysis South Africa hoped these two results would signal the de-internationalization and domesticization, by South Africa, of the region's problems. This in turn would give the apartheid regime international credibility as a regional power. Under CONSAS the region's independent states would be reduced to a satellite system, together with the bantustans, of vassal dependencies.[3]

The idea of CONSAS represented the ultimate objective of South Africa's regional policies. The disruption of SADCC projects was a short-term objective. South Africa intended to demonstrate the superiority of her economy over the "socialist alternatives" that were emerging in some SADCC states by maintaining the states' dependency on the apartheid regime (Davies 1985). Detailed trade figures among the SADCC states with South Africa are not available because of the cloak and dagger nature of some of the economic interactions - a legacy of the sanctions against Rhodesia and now South Africa. However there is ample

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Cobble, "Integration Among Unequals· the Southern African Customs Union and Development." *World Development*, 8, 4, *and* Thomas Richmond Creighton(1960) **The Anatomy of Partnership: Southern Rhodesia and the The Central African federation.** London.Faber and Faber; Tjonneland, Elling, Njal (1989) **Pax Pretoriana - The Fall of Apartheid and the Politics of Regional Destabilization.** Scandinavian Institute of African Studies Discussion Paper 2, Uppsala

[3]   South Africa offered aid to Malawi. This included a soft loan of R1 2 m , a financial aid package of R500,000 to help transport South African wheat imports to Malawi and R500,000 for research and breeding and distribution of Malawi's fishing industry, despite the fact that Malawi was assigned, in terms of SADCC's program of action, to coordinate SADCC's activities in the fisheries section (Tostensen 1984,123)

evidence that during the first half of the decade of SADCC existence there was increased dependency on South Africa. In a number of cases some of the SADCC states were in fact initiating or participating in arrangements for bilateral trade treaties with South Africa. Tostensen (1984) lists some of these arrangements;

1. Swaziland negotiating with South Africa for a soft loan of $1 billion, repayable over 25 years, for the proposed Highland Water Scheme;

2. Botswana's intention to build a heavy duty rail link to South Africa in order to permit the export of Botswana's coal through South Africa; and,

3. Mozambique's trade agreements with South Africa - in addition to the Nkomati Treaty. These trade agreements attract increased involvement in Mozambique's economy by South African businessmen who are now demanding that Mozambique join the Rand Monetary Area (RMA), a South African controlled monetary system that allows the Rand to circulate as legal tender in countries that are members of the RMA.

Figures released by the South African Foreign Trade Organization showed that trade between the apartheid State and African states during the first six months of 1985 totalled R826 million, which was almost double the figures for the same period in 1984.[4]

1.1.2 THE POST COLONIAL ERA: A major intervention in South Africa's regional strategy were the wars of liberation which had historically reflected the resistance by Africans to colonialism and the forced incorporation in the capitalist world system. The post-war era was characterized by more organized forms of resistance to colonial domination. The high point of the nationalist agitation was the decade of the sixties that heralded the decolonization of Africa. However, for southern Africa the decade of the seventies was the most crucial. For while Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change"[5] were blowing across Africa southern Africa appeared secure and formidable under white control. The three power centers of white

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[4] *The South African Digest*, November 1, 1985 p 1006. Trade figures from various editions of the Quarterly Economic Review (1984, 1985) showed that relatively little trade took place within the SADCC states and within Africa, excluding South Africa

[5] Harold MacMillan, former British prime minister, in a speech to the South African parliament, February 3, 1960, talked among other things, of the winds of change blowing across Africa and bringing independence to the continent South Africa, he said, would have to re-examine her apartheid policies in light of these profound changes because she could not remain unaffected by "these winds of change (Davenport 1977,283) "

supremacy - South Africa, Rhodesia under the Ian Smith regime and Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde under the Portuguese colonial rule - formed the vestiges of settler colonial rule after most of Africa had decolonized at the end of the decade of the sixties. It looked like the tripartite white power structure which South Africa had developed into a *cordon sanitaire* to defend apartheid was there to stay. For as early as 1968 the Nixon administration in the United States had evolved a policy option, developed by the then National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, that would see the US gradually recognizing the white regimes (Lake 1976). According to the Secret Option 2 of the NSSM 39, dubbed *Tar Baby*, there were two assumptions, namely, the staying power of the white regimes in southern Africa and the belief that the US economic and strategic interests in the region could only be guaranteed under the white regimes. At the same time Kissinger recommended economic incentives for the independent African states in the region to gradually bring them to accept and recognize the white regimes.

> The whites are here to stay (in South Africa) and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists.[6]

The assumptions behind the "Tar Baby Option" proved fallaciously optimistic. One of the strategic pillars of the white power structure collapsed after the coup in Portugal; the war of liberation seriously threatened the other pillar in Rhodesia while a resurgence of mass resistance in South Africa placed serious doubts on the staying power of the apartheid regime itself. While these events led to a revision of the Tar Baby option there is no doubt that the seeds of a regional economic bloc had been planted.

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[6] "Union Reviews Sullivan Code" *Cape Town News* January 19, 1982 p 1.

1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF SADCC

The collapse of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 signalled the end of the Portuguese colonial empire when Mozambique and Angola, among other Portuguese colonies, gained independence. The end of the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia - an end that had been forecast as far back as 1976 during the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger in the region - marked the collapse of the *cordon sanitaire* for white rule in South Africa. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in some ways was a back-pedaling on the Tar Baby option to the extent that the US now believed that its economic and strategic interests in the region could be guaranteed under black rule. The vision for a regional economic bloc was simultaneously born in Washington D.C. and Lusaka, Zambia, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Portuguese empire. Whether this was a spontaneous development or a well orchestrated manoeuver is open to conflicting scenarios.

There is however no doubt that the two institutions credited with being the origins of SADCC were in a state of dialogue. One of these institutions were the Frontline states who had co - operated in coordinating support for the anti-colonial struggles in Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa and Namibia. In 1974 President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia talked of his vision of extending the political co - operation among the Frontline States into the economic field (SADCC Handbook 1988,4). Five years later and at a meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, President Kaunda's vision was translated into concrete proposals which led to the inauguration of SADCC on April 1, 1980. The other institution was the United States. The mid-seventies signalled a renewed interest in southern Africa. The Nixon administration sent Kissinger to Lusaka, Zambia, in 1976 to announce a new US policy on southern Africa and to launch an initiative towards resolving the crisis in white-ruled southern Africa. Kissinger's speech in Lusaka theoretically signalled the reversal of Option 2 of the NSSM 39. In that speech Kissinger announced two key features of the new US policy on southern Africa, namely,

1. support for the end of white minority rule in favour of majority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa; and

2. US economic assistance to southern African countries - a kind of a Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of the war and sanctions shattered economies of the region. The Frontline states were seen as the core group through which such economic assistance could be channeled.

But these two approaches to the origins of SADCC are not irreconcilable. The Frontline states may have started the initiative with a strong encouragement from the western countries who were trying to ostensibly harmonize their economic and strategic interests with the political aspirations of the masses of the region. An analysis of the origins of SADCC is important because it was at that historic moment that the agenda for regional economic co - operation and/or integration was set.[7]

At the continental level a comprehensive economic development blueprint for Africa, *The Lagos Plan of Action* (*1979*) spelled out major features of strategies for Africa's economic recovery. These included *self-reliance, agricultural development and a regional approach* to the continent's development efforts. The Lagos Plan of Action and the *African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery* (APPER) recognized that Africa was in a grip of a food and economic crisis. Since 1960 per capita food production had dropped by 20 percent,[8] a situation exacerbated by increasing indebtedness and the amortization of payments, growing unemployment and economic stagnation.[9] These hard empirical indices of the continent's

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[7] It must be stressed that there were a number of factors in the turbulent decade of the seventies. They ranged from, upheavals in the political power structures of the Portuguese colonial empire, and in Rhodesia, the internal combustion in South Africa to instability in the international economy characterized by commodity price fluctuations, protectionism and recession. These factors made the need for a regional approach to the problems of economic development more vital than ever.

[8] "FAO Report Moots General Changes in Agricultural Policy in Africa Over Next 20 Years" *The Courier* 103, May-June,1987,p.86

World Development Report, World Bank,1986 p 2

[9] Africa's debt service payments are expected to rise from the annual average of $4.3 billion during the 1980 - 1982 period to between $14 6 and $24.5 billion per year during the 1986 - 1990 period. Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary, **Economic Commission for Africa,** interviewed in *Africa Report,* June 1986,p 8

situation in the decade of the eighties prompted a serious evaluation of the African countries' economic policies.

In the area of agriculture African countries were, under the APPER program, to increase national investments from 10 percent to between 20 and 25 percent of the aggregate public investment.[10] An evaluation of the Lagos Plan of Action led to the conclusion that it had been hampered by *the seeming immutability of the colonial economic structures* inherited by the African countries; the national development plans which perpetuated the colonial tendency through over-all reliance on external resources; lack or inadequacy of skilled manpower, external obstacles, climatic, political and economic interventions.[11] APPER's objectives would include the formulation of an emergency program for Africa, comprising immediate measures in the priority economic areas and particularly in the agricultural and food sectors. In support of APPER the media would have been expected to launch a vigorous and lively campaign involving a critical analysis of agricultural policies and strategies and mobilization of public opinion on the objectives of APPER.

The multifacetted origins[12] of SADCC coalesced into a "marriage of convenience" between the donors and the recipient SADCC member states at the Arusha Conference. The active involvement of donors right from the conceptual stages of regional cooperation to the drafting of the projects, the policy discussions and implementation and review of the projects, not to mention their heavy investments in the projects; all point to the consummation of the

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[10]   The Courier, 1987, p 86.

[11]   The Courier, 1987, p 86

[12]   Until 1963 Malawi, then Nyasaland, Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, then Southern Rhodesia, had for a decade been part of the Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland imposed by the settler - colonial authorities Southern Rhodesia, which housed the Federal capital, Salisbury, was the political power center and used its position to enhance its economic strength by extracting resources, mainly copper revenue from Northern Rhodesia, from the satellite states in the federation. The collapse of the federation in 1963 left Zambia and Malawi in an asymmetrically interdependent relationship with Rhodesia -- a geo-political reality which has remained institutionalized to this day

"marriage."

The first real step towards the concretization of regional cooperation was taken at a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in July 1979. Zimbabwe's looming independence was undoubtedly a source of inspiration reinforced by the presence of donors. These two factors inevitably placed into a backburner the unsavory failed experience at regional cooperation by Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda whose East African Community had collapsed only three years earlier. Background studies on which the main parameters for investment in the region were explained to potential donors were done mostly by foreign consultants (mainly Danish). The studies revealed the following areas for investment and regional cooperation; *transport and communications, agriculture, forestry and fisheries; energy and minerals; trade and industry; employment and skills.*[13] The Arusha conference , later known as SADCC 1 in a change from the original SAACC, paved the way for the formal inauguration of SADCC in Lusaka on April 1, 1980.

1.2 SADCC POLICY AND PROGRAM OF ACTION

The SADCC protocol, known as the *Declaration by Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa*, committed member states to "pursue policies aimed at *economic liberation and integrated development* of our national economies."[14] The declaration was very explicit in its characterization of the geo-politics of the region.

> Southern Africa is dependent on the Republic of South Africa as a focus of transport and communications, as an exporter of goods and services and as an importer of goods and cheap labour. This dependence is not a natural

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[13]   It is noteworthy to recall that the Arusha conference had been a joint initiative of the donors and recipients and had originally been convened to discuss aid strategies for the region; hence the original name for the conference had been Southern Africa *Aid* Coordination Conference (Tostensen 1984,95)

[14]   Emphasis mine *Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation.* A Declaration by the Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa. Lusaka, April 1, 1980   London: Sadcc.

phenomenon nor is it simply the result of a free market economy. The nine States and one occupied territory of southern Africa (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) were in varying degrees, deliberately incorporated—by metropolitan powers, colonial rulers and large corporations—into the colonial and sub - colonial structures centering in general on the Republic of South Africa. The development of the national economies as balanced units, let alone the welfare of the people of southern Africa, played no part in the national integration strategy. Not surprisingly, therefore, Southern Africa is fragmented, grossly exploited and subject to economic manipulation by outsiders. Future development must aim at the reduction of economic dependence not only on the Republic of South Africa, but also on any single external State or group of States (Nsekela 1981,2).

The Declaration spelt out SADCC development priorities and objectives, namely;

1. the reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa;

2. the forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration;

3. the mobilization of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies; and

4. concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of our strategy for economic liberation (SADCC Handbook 1988,3; Nsekela 1981,1).

In the declaration's program of action transport and communications were identified as strategic elements of the region's dependency on South Africa and, as a priority, the declaration's program of action created the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) with the specific mandate of developing alternative links to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa. The importance of SATCC in trailblazing SADCC's efforts to reduce dependence on South Africa was underscored in the declaration.

Without the establishment of an adequate regional transport and communication system, other areas of co - operation become impractical (Nsekela 1981,4).

SADCC Program of Action. The Heads of State adopted an essentially functionalist model

of economic cooperation. This policy position was an attempt to avoid the pitfalls that had caused the collapse of regional organizations in Africa, like the East African Community. SADCC countries are heterogeneous in their ideological orientation, level of industrialization, development, resource endowment and geographical size. Under the functionalist approach SADCC is highly decentralized, has a skeleton and non-bureaucratic secretariat with no decision - making power.[15] The rationale for the regional development structure was explained by the president of Botswana, Quett Masire,

> SADCC has no treaty, no central authority, no common currency and not even a common language. To understand SADCC it is important first to know what it is not. SADCC is not an embryonic federation of states seeking to mould the development of national economies on the basis of an overall master plan. SADCC is not a common market although increased trade is certainly a priority. If SADCC states do not have a common ideology it is because that was never intended and would be impossible to achieve(Hanlon 1984,5).

Although its basic development philosophy is collective self-reliance SADCC's approach to regional cooperation is unconventional and unorthodox, adopting a step by step process that does not entail at the outset a high degree of integration of domestic policies on the part of the member states. None of the four administrative organs of SADCC has any real power to make binding decisions for the region.

A seven-point strategy was drawn up in the SADCC's Programme of Action;

1. The creation of SATCC,

2. measures to control hoof and mouth disease in cattle throughout the region,

3. preparation of a food security plan for the region,

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[15]   Jens Haarlov(1988,18) **Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa.** CDR Research Report No 14 Copenhagen Centre for Development Research The author talks of two main types of regional economic integration, namely the 'micro or globalist approach' and macro or project approach' and suggests that SADCC adopted the latter mode'.

4. establishment of a regional agricultural research center specializing in drought-prone areas,

5. plans for harmonization of industrialization and energy policies,

6. sharing of national training facilities within the region, and,

7. studies leading to proposals for the establishment of a southern African development fund (Nsekela 1980,1).

The summit of the Heads of government is the supreme body of SADCC and is "responsible for the general direction and control of the performance of the functions of SADCC and the achievement of its objectives (SADCC Handbook 1988,6)." It meets at least once a year. The Council of Ministers which also meets at least once a year, is responsible for the overall execution of SADCC policies. It is also responsible for convening the annual consultative meetings with SADCC's international donors. The Council may from time to time form committees of ministers on an *ad hoc* b   , deal with specific issues. It has a standing committee of officials to assist it and may from time to time appoint ad hoc standing committees of officials. The SADCC Secretariat is headed by an executive secretary and is essentially an administrative and coordinating body , "for general servicing of SADCC and for liaison with its specialized institutions (SADCC Handbook 1988,6)."

The sectoral commissions, of which there are two so far, SATCC and SACCAR,[16] are technical bodies governed by separate conventions and are responsible for the planning and implementation of regionally coordinated programs within their respective sectors.

1.4.2 SATCC PROJECTS: There are seven key sub sectors in the SATCC transport and communications sector. They include

Civil Aviation,
Railways,
Meteorology,
Roads,
Ports and Water Transport,
Telecommunications (SATA),
and Postal Services.

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[16]   Southern Africa Coordinating Commission on Agricultural Research

FIGURE 1.1 SADCC ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

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│      Summit of Heads        │
│                             │
│      of Governments         │
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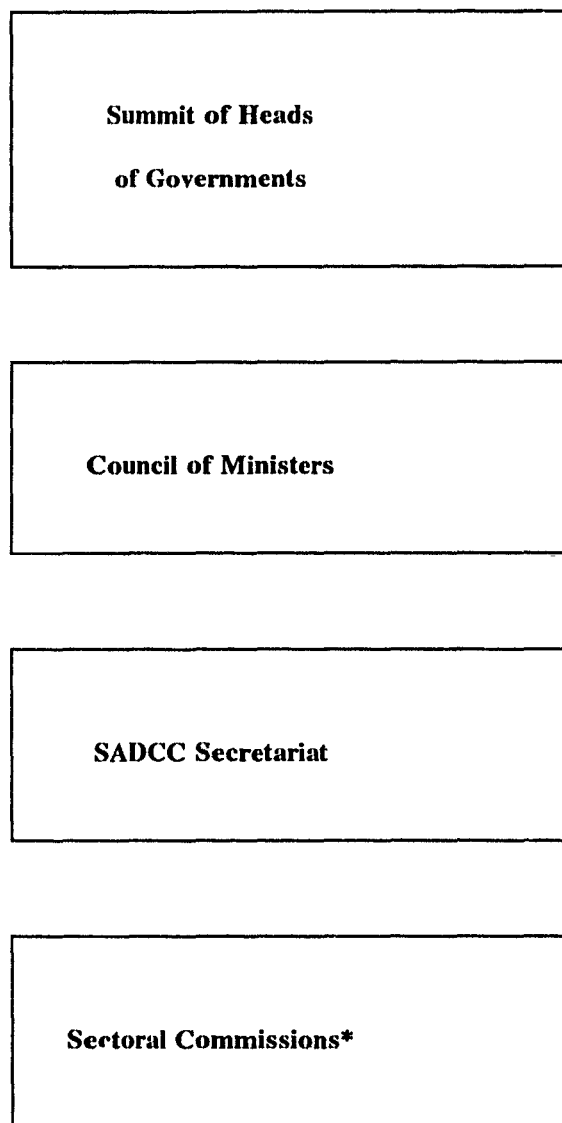
e.g.SATCC and SACCAR

Source:SADCC Handbook 1988,6; Amin, Chitala, Mandaza 1987,10

In almost all SADCC countries the postal services are part of the telecommunications institution. While they perform a valuable service it is being widely recommended that the money-losing sub-sector be separated from the profitable telecommunications sub-sector.

This thesis will focus on the telecommunications sector with some reference to meteorology.

As part of its decentralized structure SADCC sectors are distributed among the nine member states (SADCC Handbook 1988,10).[17]

Angola	energy
Botswana	agricultural research (SACCAR)
	livestock production
	animal disease control
Lesotho	soil and water conservation
	land utilization
	tourism
Malawi	fisheries, wild life and forestry
Mozambique	transport and communications(SATCC)
Swaziland	manpower
Tanzania	industry and trade
Zambia	mining
Zimbabwe	food security

Each country is responsible for carrying out a sectoral policy through the provision of office facilities and coordinating the necessary technical and material inputs for sectorial projects. Projects which are in a particular country become the responsibility of that country (Hanlon 1984,7; SADCC Handbook 1988,8). Thus by ensuring that initiatives for regional projects rest with individual member states SADCC is effectively decentralized to the extent that national development programs remain supreme and regional projects are outgrowths of national projects. This relationship between national and regional projects ensures that the latter are a dynamic and integral element of national planning, giving them a "pragmatic

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[17] See also **OECD-SADCC(1988), Implementation of the SADCC Programme of Action**, Paris, Gaborone,p 195.

orientation.' According to Makoni

> SADCC projects are not based on some kind of theoretical formulation, but rather on the basis of practical needs. We (SADCC secretariat) are not a central bureaucracy that sends economists and experts down to (for example) Lesotho and Zimbabwe to say *this is what is good for you* (Instead) we say to the Zimbabwe government, 'You are the people who know what you need and what you want. You must generate the projects and programs which will address your needs and bring them to the family of nine (SADCC).[18]

1.2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: In many ways southern Africa is a microcosm of the continent - heterogeneous and diverse in the level of industrialization, population and resource endowment. However the colonial experience is a common thread than runs though these varied experiences.[19] Southern Africa has a total population of 102 million of which 65 million are in the SADCC region (Table 1.3).

Tanzania and South Africa have the area's biggest populations; 23 million and 32 million, respectively. The bulk of the SADCC population is rural. While the SADCC countries are endowed with rich natural resources such as minerals and energy they are essentially poor. The region is an area of extremes in wealth, climate, opportunities, histories, and perspectives - having been adversely affected by drought, recession, violent conflicts, poor commodity prices and little investment (Bryant,1985; Hanlon, 1984).

In relative terms South Africa's economic power, with a GNP of 2010, (Table 1.4) dwarfs that of the SADCC states, strengthening the view that SADCC exists in the shadow of its

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[18] Simba Makoni Interviewed in *Africa Report*, July - August, 1986,p.36.

[19] The term southern Africa refers geo-politically to Zambia, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland (and sometimes Angola) Tanzania has tended to be viewed in the eastern African regional context However, SADCC specifically refers to the regional bloc's member states and excludes South Africa and, at least by 1989, Namibia

TABLE 1.3 SADCC: BASIC DATA

Country (Mid '82	Pop. (mill.)	Area Th./sq.Km.	GNP p.c.
Angola	8.0	1,247	470
Botswana	0.9	600	900
Lesotho	1.4	30	510
Malawi	6.5	118	210
Mozambique	12.9	802	230
Swaziland	0.7	17	940
Tanzania	19.8	945	280
Zambia	6.0	753	640

Source; World Bank:
World Development Report 1987;
SADCC Macro-Economic Survey, 1988,p.38.

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powerful southern neighbour. Systematic exploitation and impoverishment, a legacy of colonialism exist in a region that is collectively potentially rich in natural resources. The late president of Mozambique Samora Machel was quite dramatic when he described the dichotomy between poverty and the region's resources.

"In our countries we find a stark contradiction between the dimensions of our resources and the economic backwardness in which we live. Our countries are not poor. Our riches have been left dormant, wasted or used without benefit to our peoples. One of the most important concentrations of natural resources in the world is in southern Africa.. All the riches still remain inert or wasted, like river waters lost in the sea without generating energy or irrigating fields. All this potential wealth makes even more dramatic and illogical the acute state of underdevelopment bequeathed by colonial domination. The effects of colonial domination are still in our countries. They were not limited to the long historical period when our countries were

colonies. Domination left our countries without an economy of their own, linked by an umbilical cord to former colonial metropoles. The ideology of colonialism generated the mentality of dependence, the fatalist spirit, the passive acceptance of misery, the conviction of incapacity to transform reality (SADCC2 Maputo 1981,23).

This raises critical questions about development strategies and policies in the region, given the nature of the post-colonial system in Africa.

1.3 SYMMETRIES OF DEPENDENCE

The situation of asymmetrical interdependence and outright dependence, a colonial legacy, is deeply institutionalized in southern Africa. Hence the policy of collective self-reliance that has become the ideological framework of SADCC's *raison d'etre* entails implementing a program of action that will effectively not only reduce dependency on South Africa but bring about a new regional economic and social order. Achievement of these objectives would be unprecedented in Africa's geo-political history. Thus given this *Star Trek* mandate - *to go boldly where no man has ever gone before* - can SADCC, with its relatively weak organizational structure achieve these objectives?

According to Keohane and Nye (1977,10 - 11) interdependent relationships are less of a zero - sum game than variable - sum games along whose spectrum a number of possibilities in terms of how much each actor gains in relation to the other occur. This is because interdependent relationships very rarely include situations where one actor is totally dependent on the other. Thus the extent to which one actor benefits from an interdependent relationship depends on the extent the symmetry is skewed in one actor's favour at the expense of the other actor. A symmetrical interdependence in which both actors derive evenly balanced benefits is as rare as a zero - sum asymmetrical interdependence. Hence the asymmetry in such relationships can be a useful means of determining the sources of power and influence for actors in their

TABLE 1.4 SOUTHERN AFRICA DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Country	Pop'86	Pop'90	E.G.R
Angola	9	10	NA
Botswana	1	1	8.8
Lesotho	2	2	5.6
Malawi	7	8	1.5
Mozambique	14	16	NA
Namibia	1.1	NA	NA
South Africa	32	36	0.4
Swaziland	0.7	1	2.8
Tanzania	23	27	-0.3
Zambia	7	8	-1.7
Zimbabwe	9	10	1.2

Pop(86) - Population, in millions, in 1986
Pop(90) - Projected population, in millions, in 1990
EGR - Average annual Economic Growth Rate,1965 - 1986

Sources:World Development Report, 1988: World Bank, Washington D.C.;(Bryant 1988,824)

dealings with each other (Keohane, Nye 1977, 10 -11).

In the case of southern Africa the structure of interdependent relationships between South Africa and individual SADCC members states constitute what Tostensen (1984) calls "a regional web of asymmetrical dyads in which(South Africa) is at the superordinate end." This is a feudal interaction structure (Galtung 1971) in which

interaction takes place vertically and almost exclusively between the subordinate and superordinate actors each with their own dyadic relationships, but hardly at all horizontally between the (subordinate) actois, except perhaps if channelled through their common superordinate actor. It is a classic example of divide and rule, not merely as an expression of policy at a given point in time, but as a manifest socio - economic structure of remaikable stability and permanency (Tostensen 1984,18).

1.4 SADCC: TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The transport and communication system undergirds and consolidates the asymmetrical interdependence that characterizes the region's states. SADCC countries are linked more dynamically to South Africa than among the SADCC states themselves. The role of the transport and communications infrastructure has historically been to facilitate the movement of raw materials and labour from the hinterland to either the South African goldmines or to European destinations and the importation of manufactured goods from South Africa and Europe. According to the Mozambican Minister of Ports and Surface Transport, Luis Alcantara Santos, "transport and communications systems have been constructed (on the basis of) the concept of creating subsidiary systems to that of South Africa...These systems do not represent either national routing of goods or the geo-economy of the region (SADCC2 Maputo 1981,124 - 125)."

The creation as a matter of priority, by the Summit of Heads of SADCC States, of the semi-autonomous SATCC with the specific mandate to co - ordinate "the use of existing systems and planning and financing of additional regional facilities" underscored the strategic role SADCC leaders attached to transport and communications in the program of action aimed at reducing dependence primarily on South Africa (SADCC Handbook 1988). SATCC was to be headquartered in Maputo, as Mozambique offered landlocked SADCC states vital outlets to the sea through the ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala.

MAP 1.1 SADCC REGION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

SADCC Region

LEGEND
+++++ Railway

Figure 1 3.1.2
MAJOR RAILWAY SYSTEMS
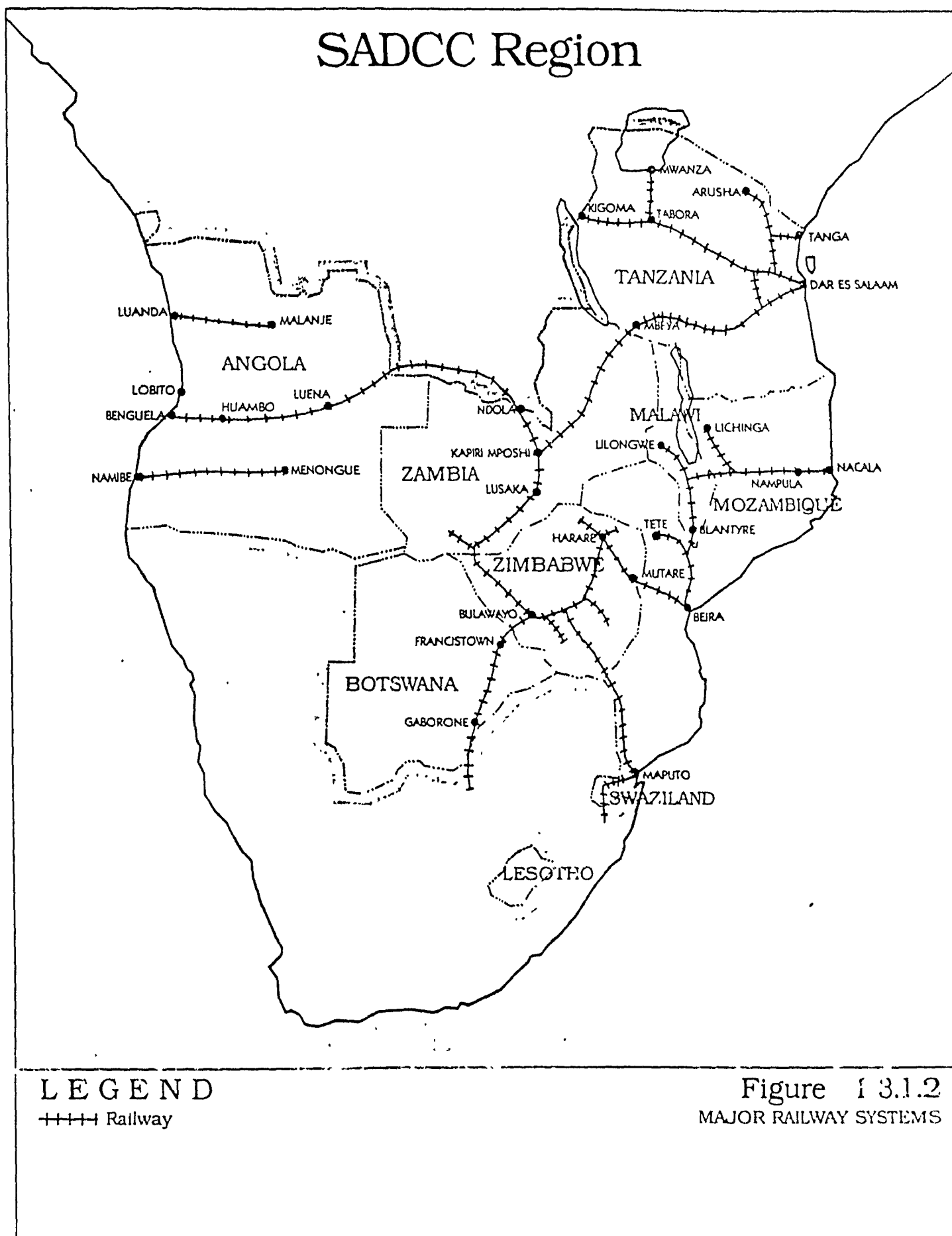
SATCC's objectives, as spelt out in its *Convention on the Establishment of the Southern African Transport and Communication Commission* and by the Conference of Ministers of Transport and Communications in September,1980 were;

1. to provide coordination in overcoming transport and communication problems in the region;

2. to provide economic and efficient means of transport and communications in the region;

3. to achieve self- sufficiency in technical, manpower, training and development;

4. to encourage the efficient utilization of available resources for the betterment of transport and communications within the region (SADCC:Transport and Communications 1989,8)

SATCC's priorities towards meeting the above objectives were;

1. the rehabilitation/upgrading of all existing facilities;

2. establishment of telecommunication links and civil aviation infrastructures;

3. new road, rail, air and lake transport system where feasibility studies have already been concluded;

4. feasibility studies for further additions to the infrastructure of the region(SADCC,Transport and Communications, Harare 1986,3).

Three key elements in strategic planning for the SATCC program of action were, capital investment, operational coordination and training.[20] The rehabilitation and upgrading of the existing infrastructure was given the highest priority. Emphasis was placed on the ports and railways in Mozambique, Tanzania and Angola which serve the entire SADCC region (Hanlon 1986,19). The Ministerial conference underscored as a strategic policy the need for operational efficiency and training,

"Transport and Communication bodies of member states shall establish among themselves specific operational agreements at bilateral or multi-lateral levels, with a view to achieving the objectives defined in the Lusaka Declaration for optimum use of existing systems and to reducing dependence, particularly but not only on the Republic of South Africa (SADCC,Transport and Communications 1986,9).

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[20] Convention on the Establishment of the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) 1980, Botswana, 3

ITU (International Telecommunications Union) has been significantly involved in the training component through the African Advanced Level Training Institute (AFRALTI)[21] and Course Development in Telecommunications (Codevtel).[22] SATCC training projects are seen as emanating from

> "the realization that member states will be fully interconnected by an up-to-date telecommunication network providing telephone telex, and telegraph links together with both television and sound broadcasting transmission.
> An effort is required therefore to input improved technical skills to the administrations in order to maintain and manage the expanding complex networks. There is need for training of highly skilled sub-professional staff at an advanced technological level.
> There is need for a general and detailed survey of training requirements based on an analysis of manpower demand and supply from the operating administrations at both medium and advanced levels within the SADCC countries....[23]

The first six year priorities for SATCC, as spelt out in the Lusaka Declaration, focused on "mobilizing finance for urgent projects in priority sectors by holding ad hoc bilateral and multilateral meetings with funding agencies (SADCC:Transport and Communications 1986)."

1.4.1 SATCC ORGANIZATION:

The committee of Ministers of Transport and Communications are responsible for formulating policy for the transport and communications commission. SATCC, with its own secretariat in Maputo is responsible for determining priorities and coordinates and controls the on-going work of the technical units, disseminates information to member states and

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[21] Minutes of the 7th SATA Conference, Botswana, March 30 - April 6, 1987.
8 SATA/TZA/ITEM 9/DOC 9.Progess of Afralti.
African Telecommunications Conference, Tunis,1987

[22] *Highlights of Codevtel Report* - 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM10/Doc 7

[23] *Training Facilities - 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM10/DOC 1 and DOc 8*
8 SATA/TZA/ITEM10/DOC 8
8 SATA/TZA/ITEM9/DOC 9

promotes information on regional cooperation. Within the SATCC framework the conferences of the Southern African Telecommunications Administrations (SATA) provide a forum at which problems affecting the operations and development of telecommunications systems can be tackled and at which cooperation among member states can be fostered. SATA grew out of the need for the SADCC telecommunication administrations to have a forum at which problems affecting the operations and development of telecommunication systems in the subregion can be tackled and at which cooperation among member states can be fostered. A parallel national institution established under the auspices of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) the National Plans for Improvement and Maintenance (NPIM) operates in close collaboration with SATA.

Meteorological services policies involve the sharing of weather information and communication through the consolidation of national weather bureaux and the establishment of a Regional Telecommunication Hub (RTH) in Zambia and the Drought Monitoring Centre (DMC) in Zimbabwe. The RTH will interface all incoming and outgoing weather data exchanged between the national meteorological centers in the region and the Global Telecommunications System (GTS) of the World Weather Watch Program (SADCC:Ten Year Plan 1987,8).

Policies in ports and water transport, roads and railways focus on the rehabilitation of the existing infrastructure; traffic and goods forecast, operational coordination and training to ensure maximum, efficient and safe use of the infrastructure for regional cooperation.

Postal services policies fall within the broad policy framework of SATCC. In addition the postal services policy objective is to ensure an efficient regional postal system and measures to implement closer regional cooperation. The program of action in the sub-sector involves identifying and evaluating the existing postal services and the most promising areas of cooperation among SADCC member states and recommending projects, procedures and

FIGURE 1.2 SATCC ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Committee of

Ministers of Transport and Communications

SATCC/Technical Unit

Southern Africa

Telecommunication

Administration

Telecommunications   Roads   Railways   Civil Aviation
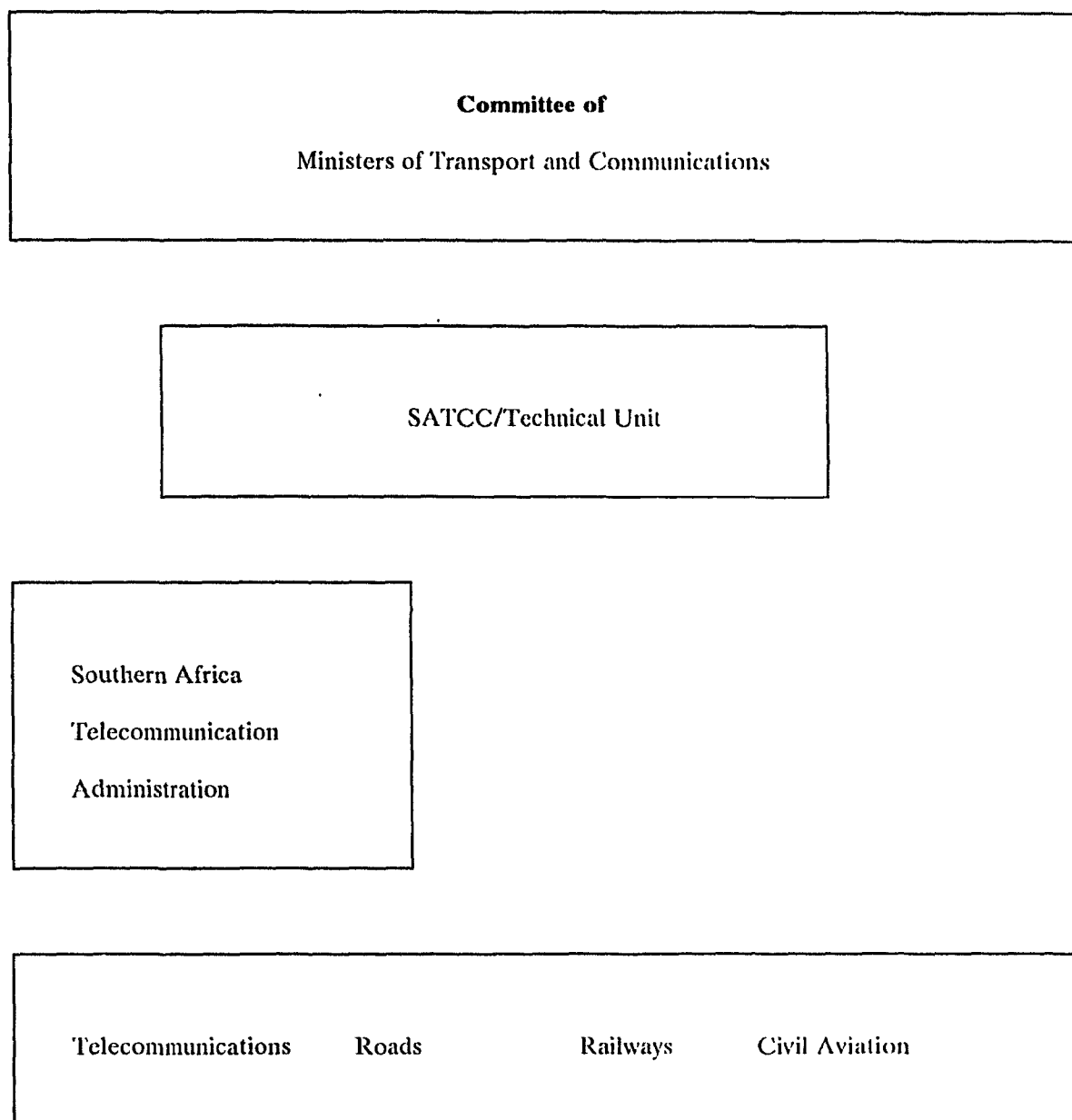
Source: SADCC Transport and Communications,1986, p.10

policies aimed at improvements in the postal services in SADCC (SADCC:Transport and Communication 1986,37).

1.4.3 TELECOMMUNICATIONS: Policy guidelines for regional cooperation in telecommunications include:

1. restoration and improvement of basic telecommunication services between countries and areas experiencing low grade services;

2. complementing the improvement of basic transport services with proper telecommunication services;

3. establishment of efficient communications between the landlocked countries and the ports of the region;

4. introduction in a large scale of the International Subscriber Dialling in the region and the majority of the overseas countries;

5. reinforcement of self-reliance in respect of regional traffic by the completion of the terrestrial link network, whenever possible, with the improvement of the interconnectivity of the satellite earth stations;

6. provision of transit facilities within the region so that calls within the area need not be routed via distant transit centers;

7. improvement of the reliability and grade of services to acceptable international level on all traffic relations; and

8. minimization of investment through efficient use of shared facilities by joint planning and by removal of obstacles like unduly high transit charges (SADCC:Transport and Communication 1986,27).

Under the policy objective of minimizing the region's dependence on external facilities for international communication service the regional interconnectivity plan needs a telecommunication infrastructure that will support

  a. by 1991, 95 percent of intra-regional calls being completed without leaving the region for transit;

  b. by 1993 most of the region's continental calls being completed without leaving the African continent;

  c. by 1993 route diversity and/or alternative routing capability being available for most major intra- and extra-regional traffic streams;

   d. conversion to IDR permitting all intra regional satellite routes to become digital and benefit from larger traffic pooling and lower INTELSAT tariffs.[24]

Three critical elements in the policy implementation of the telecommunications sub-sector include;

1. investment projects aimed at the establishment of the Pan African Telecommunications (PANAFTEL) terrestrial network, installation of satellite earth stations and international switching centers in all countries of the SADCC region;

2. operational coordination; and,

3. training programs aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in the region.

Apart from the rehabilitation of the existing infrastructure capital investment projects have included a regional microwave radio relay system; satellite earth stations and international telephone switching centers and telex exchanges. Twenty four investment projects associated with PANAFTEL have been officially linked with SATCC. They include 21 terrestrial transmission links, six international telephone exchanges and one telex exchange. The impact of PANAFTEL has been the interlinking of main population centers, increase in regional traffic and a telephone traffic growth of over 25 percent annually.[25] In addition, *the full potential for social, cultural, political and economic exchange* offered by the links e.g. sound and television broadcasting, news wire facilities and regional private networks, has not yet been fully utilized.[26] By 1989 SATCC had a total of 188 projects, representing an investment of US$4,630.4 million. Funding for the projects stood at US$1,942 million (SADCC:Transport and Communications 1989,19). In telecommunications the 34 projects for the sub-sector represented an investment of US$688.6 million of which US$329.5 or 48

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[24] **SADCC:Ten Year Development Plan, 1987. Section 5.3.3.** IDR will take over from FDM/FM as the dominant carrier type during the period 1989 - 1993.

[25] This is not an indication of economic or regional trade growth which has remained relatively minimal.

[26] SADCC, Transport and Communications, Lusaka, 1984
SATA,1988, 8th Conference Report, Arusha, Tanzania.
SATA,1987,Conference Report, Botswana
SATA,1986,Conference Report, Lesotho
SATA,1985,Conference Report,Mozambique

percent had been secured (SADCC:Transport and Communication 1989,20).

1.4.4.1 TEN YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

By the second half of its first decade of existence SATCC had made some notable progress in the telecommunications program. By the end of September, 1986, the total cost of the 158 main projects was US$3,071 million. Financing had been fully secured or serious negotiations were underway for 32 projects. In addition 33 sub-projects in Beira and Dar es Salaam port systems had been fully financed. Total secured funds amounted to US$1,123 or 37 per cent of the total costs (SADCC:Transport and Communications 1987,20). This gave rise to a policy focus from the capital investment program to reviewing the needs for the completion of the PANAFTEL network and the projects in aeronautical, maritime, railway and meteorological telecommunications as well as the broader objectives of setting out investment requirements up to 1995 in line with the long-term policy objective of SADCC aimed at economic liberation and integrated development of the region's natural economies. In the public telecommunications sector the projects listed by SATCC are now funded or funding is being negotiated for them. Most will be completed by 1988, hence the realization of SATCC's initial objectives is within reach.

In the ten year (1985 - 1995) telecommunications development program two major issues arising from the progress report (1988) dealt with impact analysis of the telecommunications program i.e.

1. evaluating the impact of previous investments over the 1981 - 1987 period in the main regional network, i.e. PANAFTEL links, earth stations and international exchanges. Were they significantly contributing to SADCC's objective of economic independence and de-linking from South Africa?

2. increasing the Plan's focus on development policy issues in public telecommunications sector, by attempting to identify more projects which reflect the pressing needs to develop and improve local networks, strengthen the telecommunications institutions, improve maintenance and expand training facilities (SADCC:Ten Year Development Plan 1988, Sec.1.2).

Initial impact evaluations had revealed considerable progress towards reduced dependence on

South Africa(Table 1.5) although problems persisted in the satellite interconnectivity and related areas such as tariff harmonization.[27] In the case of regional interconnectivity an anomalous situation exists (as of 1989) whereby although each SADCC state had at least one earth station almost all of them are used exclusively for intercontinental links. Regional interconnectivity via satellite is impossible because the earth stations are spread between three INTELSAT's Atlantic Ocean Region (AOR) satellites and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) primary satellite and because different analogue carrier techniques are utilized. Hence while dependence on South Africa in telecommunications has been reduced - although not significantly (Table 1.5) - in terms of intercontinental connections, regional interconnectivity relies for the most part on external transmitting facilities for intra-regional satellite communication.

However, under the Earth Station Development Plan the first stage was completed in 1988.[28] This involved the expansion of the Mwembeshi Earth Station in Zambia by constructing a new Atlantic Ocean Standard A antennae and the development and re-orientation of the earth stations in Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland. but delays in the launching of Intelsat VI and new technological developments in the INTELSAT tariffing arrangements for Intermediate Data Rate (IDR) transmission, which allow the users to benefit from circuit multiplication techniques, have necessitated a further study.[29] The study seeks to coordinate the development of regional earth station facilities and to identify long-term programs with the following specific objectives;

1. improve intra-regional connectivity and thus eliminate the need for external transit facilities for intra-regional traffic by the end of 1992;

2. improve intra-African connectivity and thus eliminate the need for transit facilities

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[27] SATCC, Study on the Harmonization of the Development of Satellite Communication. Project 502 Interim Report Consultec Rome

[28] SATA (1988) Regional Earth Station Development Plan 1983 -1993 (7 SATA/BOT/ITEM 12/DOC 7

[29] INTELSAT "Intelsat Overview of and future Directions INTELSAT, Washington D C

TABLE 1.5 SADCC OUTGOING TRAFFIC (TELECOMMUNICATIONS)

(000's Paid Minutes)

	1980/81	1982/83	1984/85	1986/87	Cumulative Annual Growth
Botswana	355	544	875	1049	19.8
Malawi	265	365	505	822	20.8
Tanzania	101	203	304	341	22.5
Zambia	526	754	1005	1622	20.6
Zimbabwe	555	802	1061	2117	25.0
TOTAL:SADCC Region	1802	2668	3750	5951	22.0
SOUTH AFRICA	14742	17670	14423	16709	2.1
OTHER DESTINATIONS	5383	8680	11762	17118	21.2
TOTAL:WORLD	**21927**	**29081**	**29935**	**39778**	**10.4**
% of Total Traffic:					
To SADCC Countries	**8.2**	**9.2**	**12.5**	**15.0**	
To South Africa	**67.2**	**60.9**	**48.2**	**42.0**	
To Other Destinations	**24.5**	**29.9**	**39.3**	**43.0**	

Intra-SADCC traffic rose from 8 percent in 1980/81 to 15 percent in 1986/87.

outside Africa for the region's African traffic;

3. improve network security by providing increased connectivity and regional routing options for large and important traffic streams;

4. improve quality of service through competitiveness in terms of transmission quality, service availability and flexibility to accommodate traffic growth and new services, principally through the introduction of digital international carriers that integrate into each national digitalization plan;

5. improve cost performance by reducing recurring foreign exchange outflows through the cost-effective application of digital multiplication equipment (DCME).[30]

Another significant dimension of the Ten Year Development Plan was the development of national telecommunication infrastructures with an emphasis on penetrating rural areas.[31]

While not regional the development of national telecommunications infrastructures under the SATCC plan has been rationalized on economic and developmental grounds. At the economic level national telecommunications development will help to increase revenues and the utilization of recent infrastructural investment, and, at the level of development, increase the contribution of telecommunications to national and regional development.

> This new emphasis (towards national development) is justified by the evidence of a dual situation existing in the region: international communications are showing marked improvement and the quality of public telephone and telex service for many users has improved significantly; however expansion of the subscriber network has been slow (SADCC:Ten-Year Plan 1987,12)."

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[30] At a session on Earth Satellite Station Interconnectivity Plans (*Report of the Regional Interconnectivity Group, Tanzania. 13 April,1988*) it was noted that the introduction of IDR - Intermediate Data Rate - to link SADCC with the rest of the world would best be served through a pooling of traffic to a particular regional station, hence the choice of Zambia's Mwembeshi Earth Station. It was also recommended that SATA members who are also INTELSAT signatories should try by all means to attend INTELSAT meetings, especially those who are on the board of governors, to ensure that "decisions which are not favourable to SATA members are not implemented."
SATA - Intercon/ TZA/Item 6/Doc1 Development Plans and Progress on earth stations
8 SATA/TZA/ITEM11A/Doc 3 - Mozambique

[31] SATA Conference Reports,Maputo,1985, Report by Member Countries on Development Plans and Progress in the sub region in Respect of Rural Networks

Investment in national telephone growth has remained below 100 percent despite the existence of a waiting list of 20 - 25 percent of the subscriber base, underscoring the sizeable suppressed demand (SADCC:Telecommunications 1987). This undersupply at the national level, resulting in loss of revenue, less efficient use of improved regional and international networks, as well as congestion and unreliable service on the national networks, is a consequence of

> the recent emphasis on regional connectivity which has represented to some extent, a concentration of resources into international and main switching and transmission facilities - although this had been justified on the grounds of the need to lay the basis for future growth and regional connectivity. Much of the local network investment over the years involved replacement of obsolete exchange equipment in urban centers with electronic switches. In smaller towns and rural areas conversion has been from manual to automatic service. These projects facilitated, but did not necessarily emphasize, subscriber growth (SADCC:Ten-Year Plan 1987,12).

1.5 TELECOMMUNICATION IN FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURE

A key element in discussing the role of communications is their potential in supporting development objectives. Agriculture and food security are, next to transport and communications, a priority development sector. How this sector can derive maximum benefits from a communication approach to development requires an analysis of the sector's organizational structure and objective as well as the region's status in agricultural productivity and food self-sufficiency. Information and communication cannot create opportunities for increased agricultural production or productivity unless there is a viable and dynamic farm support system for the farmer. The potential impact of information and communication on agricultural production can only be assessed in the context of the existing agricultural policies.

"Present food production is largely in the hands of small (scale) farmers...and the failure of general policies...to address the problem of the small (scale) farmers has been a major part of the more general problem of declining agricultural production (SADCC 1986,2-3).

If, as part of its wide ranging mandate, the telecommunications infrastructure is to serve the SADCC objectives of, among others, collective food sufficiency and the economic and social development of the region then the food and agricultural sector must be analyzed in the context of the geo-politics of the region as well as the nature of the relationship between telecommunications and agricultural production or productivity. This is important in order to develop a conceptual framework for an integrated development communication strategy for regional cooperation and rural development. Economic development or regional cooperation in SADCC invariably involves in a significant way the agricultural sector. Agriculture accounts for 34 percent of the region's GNP, 26 percent of its export earnings and 79 percent of employment (Table 1.6). The agricultural sector forms the most dynamic productive base in the economies of not only SADCC but Africa. The bulk of the region's population are peasants who subsist on agriculture. The middle peasants or small scale farmers represent an emerging productive force in the region.

In the order of priorities in SADCC program of action, food security and agriculture (FSA) are second in importance to transport and telecommunications. The significance of agriculture in the program of action is a result of the fact that SADCC was born at a time of a devastating drought that was reportedly the worst in the region's history and caused losses estimated at more than US$1 billion (SADCC 1986,3).

Under the FSA seven sub sectors were drawn up by the Summit of Heads of State (Figure 1.3).

1. Food Security (Zimbabwe)
2. Agricultural research (Botswana)
3. Soil and Water Conservation and Land Utilization (Lesotho)
4. Fisheries (Malawi)

TABLE 1.6 SECTORAL SHARES IN THE GDP

(as percentage of the total)

	Agr.	Min'g	Mfg	Trans	Other
Angola	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Botswana	7.3	27.9	7.7	3.0	54.1
Lesotho	18.4	2.7	5.5	1.7	71.7
Malawi	39.0	--	12.8	5.6	42.6
Mozambique	39.1	NA	NA	NA	NA
Swaziland	25.3	2.6	23.5	5.5	43.1
Tanzania	51.5	0.6	9.3	5.0	33.6
Zambia	14.2	15.3	19.8	5.4	45.3
Zimbabwe	12.8	6.2	30.0	7.9	43.1

Figures are for 1983 except for Lesotho and Tanzania (1982)

Source: SADCC Macro Economic Survey 1986, p. 88, 287 - 297.

6. Forestry (Malawi)
7. Wildlife (Malawi)

Zimbabwe has an overall responsibility for the Food Security and Agricultural sector within which sub-sectoral projects are coordinated by their allocated countries.

1.5.1 ISSUES IN FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURE: SADCC's policy on regional cooperation in agriculture is two-fold;

1. to strengthen national policies and projects aimed at achieving food self-sufficiency and ensuring that agriculture becomes a dynamic sector in each national economy; and

2. to increase agricultural production at both the national and regional levels (Amin,Chitala,Mandaza 1987,71).

Food security for the region has been defined as "the ability of food deficit countries, or

regions within countries, to meet target consumption levels on a year-to-year basis (Valdes and Siamwalla 1981,1)." According to the World Bank (1986) food security has had an expanded definition, namely, "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life." Underscoring the World Bank's definition are two critical elements: the availability of food and ability to acquire it (*World Bank* 1986,1). SADCC's policy and research agenda are focused on

1. food availability through domestic production, storage and/or trade, and

2. access to food through home production, the market or food transfers (Rukuni and Eicher 1987,8).

SADCC's strategy for achieving food security objectives has eight key elements;

1. development of a mechanism for the exchange of technical and economic information,

2. reinforcement of national food production capacity;

3. improvement of the food storage distribution/delivery, conservation and processing systems;

4. development of cash crops and other agricultural enterprises;

5. establishment of systems for the prevention of food crises and the development of national food security strategies;

6. establishment of programs for the control of major crop pests and crop diseases;

7. the development of skilled manpower, and

8. the development of intra-regional trade (Rukuni,Eicher 1987,6).

The inclusion, as a key element of the SADCC strategy to boost food and agricultural production, of a mechanism for technical and mechanical information exchange emphasizes the critical role of information in increased production. Three food security projects are information related;

1. Early Warning System for Food Security (*Project 2*)

2. A Regional Resources Information System (*Project 3*)

FIGURE 1.3 SADCC FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURE:

STRUCTURE OF COOPERATION

Food Security and Agriculture

(Zimbabwe)

Zimbabwe	Botswana	Malawi	Lesotho
Food	Agricultural	Fisheries	Soil and Water
Security	research	Forestry	conservation
	Livestock		Land
	production		utilization
	Animal disease		
	control		

Source: SADCC Handbook, 1988, 14

3.   A Regional Inventory of Agricultural Resource Base (*Project 4*)

The Regional Communication Hub (RCH), the Drought Monitoring Centre (DMC) and the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), are a potentially strategic link between the telecommunications (SATCC) and the food security and agricultural sectors.[32] What will need to be addressed by policymakers and researchers is how this link, which might well be an informational umbilical cord for productive sectors, will respond to the communication and information needs of the small-scale farmers through the arterial network of indigenous and traditional information and communication systems to allow for a communicative circulation and synthesis of indigenous and technical knowledge.

An infrastructure that integrates the indigenous information and communication systems will be of tremendous and strategic value to the notion of collective self-reliance. In the case of SADCC the following policy and research questions must be asked in any attempt to determine the efficacity of the SATCC telecommunications infrastructure in promoting collective self-reliance.

1.   What critical political, social, cultural and economic issues will such informational network need to address? In other words, if information is the answer, what is the question?

2.   Will the nature and scale of the new 'communication technologies' promote tendencies towards centralization and metropolitanization of information sources?

3.   How will the new technologies be used in relation to agricultural developments, medical and health services and family planning programs?

4.   Will there be an increase or decrease in the gap between the information rich and the information poor, and the gap between the leisure rich and the leisure poor?

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[32]   SARDC is a privately owned and operated agency that specializes on SADCC documentation

5. Will there be more for those who already have all facilities, the knowledge of where to go or what to do?

6. Will we see the further development of the elites?

7. Will the technologies be introduced internationally in such a way that Third World countries become increasingly dependent?

8. How will the new technologies interact with traditional forms of communication, and what will be the implications for opinion leaders and gatekeepers?

9. How will the status and role of women be influenced?

10. Has the SADCC communications infrastructure the capacity to promote self-reliant development by; a) providing technical information about development problems and possibilities and about appropriate innovations, in answer to local requests, and b) circulating information about self-development accomplishment of local groups so that other such groups may profit from others' experiences and perhaps be challenged to achieve similar experience (Rogers 1976,141)?

The notion of communication network consists of interconnected individuals or groups who are linked to patterned flows of information(Rogers 1981,297). Networks have a degree of structure and stability and provide predictability to human behavior. On the basis of homophillous and heterophillous relationships the communication network structure allows for the sharing of experiences among the peasants while allowing for the penetration of innovation.

1.6 CONCLUSION

The geo-political profile of southern Africa is that of asymmetrically interdependent countries. South Africa is a regional core with the black independent states of SADCC consolidated in a satellite of dependencies or peripheries. The evolution of SADCC gives rise to serious questions about the original intentions of the regional organization, given the heavy infusion of external capital from the same sources (foreign capital) that have historically institutionalized the core-periphery geo-political texture of the region. Within this framework the role of communication and information in supporting the stated objectives of collective self-reliance, equitable regional development and reduced dependence on, but not only, South Africa, have to be analyzed in order to determine the effectiveness of such a strategy.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 RESEARCH PROTOCOL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

2.1 COMMUNICATION RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Communication research in an African setting is, from theoretical and methodological perspectives, like an unfinished symphony. The continent's heterogeneous character - one huge mosaic of varied cultural, language, social, geo-political and ideological experiences - means a research protocol along the western quantitative model may not adequately account for the dynamics of social reproduction. To compound the problem each African country is a microcosm of the continent because it reflects a diversity in culture, like Nigeria, Zaire and Sudan, or the dual socio-economic system which characterizes most, if not all of Africa.[33] For the researcher this enormous diversity means that his research design will need to adopt theoretical and methodological formulations that have the capacity to integrate a wide spectrum of cultural and other variables. Many communication researchers and scholars have, in an attempt to produce results that give a greater understanding of issues being researched, evolved a hybrid approach that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative

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[33] On one hand, the urban areas exist under an essentially capitalist mode of production, despite the various ideological labels On the other hand, the rural areas are under a largely pre - capitalist mode of production. The latter serves as a subordinate system of the urban capitalist system (Mafeje,Saul 1979)

methodologies. They have also improvised the rigid western research methodologies in order to accommodate local cultural and social situations. Thus focus group interviews, participatory research and ora-media are an integral part of the qualitative research in the African setting.

Given therefore the "unfinished symphony" nature of communication research in Africa this thesis will utilize a hybrid of methodological strategies in its analysis of the potential of the SADCC communications infrastructure in promoting rural development and regional cooperation.

2.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This thesis aims at a theoretical retaxonimization of development communication in the southern African setting. Specifically the thesis intends to develop a conceptual framework within which a communication approach to development policy can evolve, taking into account the reality of the African socio-political and cultural experiences. Such a conceptual framework will be an epistemological basis for a more purposeful, progressive and development-oriented communication policy in which the key ingredients of self-reliance, public participation and creativity, will form the grassroots foundation for a regional strategy for collective self-reliance.

The proposal for a regional development communication agency (RDCA) and its satellite system of national development communication agencies (NDCAs) is aimed at consolidating multi-directional links between the information and communication sector and the productive sectors, notably agriculture, at various levels, namely, policymaking, project design and implementation. Some information and communication structures are already built into the productive sectors, e.g. the information exchange project in the food security sector. But there is no well defined relationship between the built-in information and communication

structures and the existing information and communication network.[34] If the public - particularly the small-scale farmers - were given a opportunity to play a more participant role in information and communication networking and management, instead of being passive receivers, SADCC goals of regional cooperation and development through self - reliance would be enhanced. The focus by SADCC on developing mainly "regional", and not "national" projects, will invariably create a disjuncture between macro and micro-development strategies. The regional infrastructure in the telecommunications sector, for example, with its sophisticated satellite communications technology, is likely to benefit exponentially the established big businesses. The historically disadvantaged and marginalized small - scale farmers to whom the basic POTS (plain old telephone service) has yet to reach are unlikely to benefit significantly, and this will tend to increase the gap between big businesses and small and emergent enterprises.

From the perspective of an integrated development communication strategy the focus by SADCC on telecommunications, specifically the telephone, is too narrow. The telephone is undeniably a strategic element in any communication infrastructure. It has the capability to interactively transmit instantaneously information an individual farmer, health worker, extension agent or any other development agent requires. Its strength lies in the fact that it is interactive and information that suits the individual's needs can be communicated to that individual. But such information is commoditized because the farmer has to pay for the telephone call. Rural people are conscious of the costs of obtaining information through the phone and will make minimal use of the phone for very basic essentials and urgent situations like the sickness or the death of a relative or a friend. They are unlikely to use the phone to obtain substantive information on farm-related activities, preferring to discuss such issues

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[34] For example how will information about food security and agriculture be networked among various organizations and institutions that can be expected to support the agricultural sector? Will the small-scale farmers be able to make any inputs into the policy-making processes of agriculture and food security?

with their neighbours, friends or local extension agent.[35] Large-scale commercial farmers and traders will inevitably use the telephone more substantially because of the size and scope of their business enterprises and activities. It can be argued therefore that the long waiting list of people wanting to use the telephone - an observation made by many researchers (Chu et al 1985) is not based on the fact that they want to primarily share developmental knowledge but to share domestic and family related information. It can also be argued therefore that the rural penetration of the telephone system is a business activity intended to gain profits for the PTC rather than a crucial medium of agricultural information the farmer needs (Mosco 1986). The maximum benefits of a communication approach to development can only be realized through a hybrid communication and information structure since messages reach different population groups more effectively through different communication channels. SADCC is concerned with a regional telecommunications infrastructure on the assumption and hope that national communication policies will be able to develop a more integrated communication infrastructure. The assumption is flawed because SADCC's policy is that regional projects must reflect national priorities. The problem with national priorities is that they do not have a well defined policy on integrated development communication. This means SADCC, which has already identified communications as priority for regional development, would have to spearhead an integrated development communication strategy, even though such a strategy has not been reflected in the national policies of SADCC countries.

2.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite the well articulated policy objectives of enhancing rural development and regional cooperation through collective self-reliance, the strategies chosen to achieve these objectives are based on assumptions that are flawed, that is, emphasis on creating superstructures from which benefits are expected to trickle down to the grassroots masses.[36] SADCC policymakers'

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[35]   See study by World Bank Table 3 1

[36]   This is based on the old and now discredited trickle down theory of development

primary focus on developing "regional" communication projects as opposed to "national" projects has created a disjuncture between macro and micro development strategies.[37] The "regional" infrastructure such as the telecommunications sector with its sophisticated satellite technology, is likely to exponentially benefit established big business in the region. The historically disadvantaged small-scale farming community to whom the basic telecommunication services have yet to reach on a massive scale, are unlikely to benefit significantly. From the perspective of integrated development strategy for regional development and cooperation, SADCC's focus on telecommunications service is too narrow because the full benefits of a communication approach to development can only be realized through a hybrid of communications media.[38]

SADCC has concerned itself with a core regional telephone infrastructure on the assumption and hope that national communication policies will be able to develop a more integrated communication infrastructure for national development. Such a policy goes against the logic of the notion of an integrated regional cooperation and development especially if the regional priorities must reflect national priorities.[39]

While the aim of the regional communication policy is to enhance self - reliant regional cooperation and development this notion is not well supported by current communication policies that do not involve in any meaningful way the masses in the decision-making process, project implementation and networking of ideas and experiences. The regional communication infrastructure does not appear to be well coordinated with local systems in a

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[37] Despite the regional policy that sees regional projects as outgrowths of national projects a distinct difference has emerged. One example of this is the mega-regional telecommunications infrastructure that makes it possible to dial anywhere in the world. Yet the national telecommunications systems are in some cases deteriorating.

[38] See Case Studies Chapter Four

[39] SADCC is albeit slowly beginning to make policy changes to accommodate other communication channels Last year SADCC organized for the first time a workshop to examine the role of the media in the region *Africa Business* July 1989

way that would accord the productive sectors in rural communities an opportunity to network with their counterparts in the region. Historically the mainstream information and communication systems have served urban, business and large-scale commercial farming communities. This pattern appears to have been strengthened because the regional communication development program has, as a matter of priority, focused on the rehabilitation of the existing infrastructure.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

The importance of an unstructured interview with peasants can never be overemphasized. The problem with many structured interviews is that they put the peasant into a mould within which he is unable to draw upon his cultural ways of responding to questions or giving useful information about himself and his activities. From a cultural perspective some questions cannot easily be answered in a structured YES or NO or on ranking scale formats. A number of factors can influence the way rural people respond to questions. Johan Galtung (1967) asks three critical questions in rural communication research.

1.   To what extent can we determine a person's true position on any given issue from his verbal expressions?

2.   To what extent can we infer what a person thinks from what he says?

3.   To what extent can we infer a person's behaviour from his verbal expression? (Nwosu 1987,82)

In order to design a research protocol that can be appropriately applied to the southern African setting this thesis will use a hybrid of methodologies to ensure a greater representation in a structured way of various aspects of development communication patterns in the SADCC region. Using a hypothetical development communication model that integrates or interrelates various communication and media channels in an attempt to maximize the capacities of information and communication networks at both regional and national/local levels this thesis will adopt a methodological approach that spotlights various

communication and media channels. Thereafter the research results will be used as a basis for reconstructing an integrated development communication strategy for regional cooperation and development. The following methods will be used.

2.4.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS: Randomly selected SADCC publications during three time periods between 1980 and 1989 will be content analyzed to determine the degree to which they are a reliable and useful source of information and knowledge on issues of collective self-reliance, rural development (specifically small-scale agriculture) and regional cooperation (SADCC). The three time frames, 1980-1981; 1985-1986; 1988-1989, are intended to show the pattern of such reliance over the decade SADCC has been in existence. In other words, have the media increased their coverage of issues about collective self-reliance and rural development or not?

2.4.1.1 CATEGORIES

Categories for content analysis are intended to determine in relative terms the treatment of texts under various subject headings and the pattern of that treatment over the decade.[40]

1. **Socio-political** (SP). Socio-political texts refer to stories that typically carry news of leaders' speeches, their visits or social engagements and do not contain any information that can usefully be applied as knowledge to the productive sectors, notably, agriculture.[41] Also included in this category are sports and entertainment stories - most of them catering to urban culture and tastes.

2. **SADCC.** Texts categorized under SADCC deal with the regional organization and issues on regional cooperation both at bilateral and multilateral levels. In future research it will be important to disaggregate "bilateral" and "multilateral" texts to determine whether the

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[40] The selection of categories is based on the theoretical notion that content analysis is characterized by the absence of standard categories Holsti (1969,102) gives three reasons for this, namely, 1. the premium on originality means the most interesting content analyses will probably always depend on categories specially developed for data at hand,

2. the fact that there are few areas of social inquiry in which there is sufficient consensus on theory to inform the selection of categories and

3 the reluctance of analysts to adopt the categories of others

[41]

Such stories typically carried messages of the need to be united, support government, be vigilant

against enemies, work hard, or that minister so and so attended a wedding ceremony

discourse on regional cooperation has in fact a regional orientation or whether the tendency is to enter into bilateral forms of cooperation.[42]

3. **Development.** Texts addressing themes of development, specifically at the national, as opposed to regional, level will be categorized under **Development.**

4. **South Africa (Apartheid).** Texts referring to South Africa and apartheid, including South Africa's relationships with SADCC countries will be categorized under **South Africa (Apartheid).** Pre-independence Namibia will also fall under this category.[43]

5. **Economy.** Texts dealing with economic issues like national budgets, government fiscal policies, relations with international financial and monetary institutions, wage and price controls, inflation, tax and business enterprises (corporate) will be categorized under **Economy.** Small-scale and emerging business enterprises, like cooperaives, will be categorized under **Development.**

6. **Agriculture.** Texts containing themes on agriculture, food production, government policies on agriculture will be categorized under **Agriculture.**

7. **International.** Texts that deal with international issues, especially under the United Nations, International Telecommunication Union, Unesco, Non-aligned Movement, and the North-South dialogue will be categorized under **International.**

8. **Africa.** Texts dealing with African themes, outside the SADCC region, as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) will be categorized under **Africa.**

9. **Foreign.** Texts dealing with world issues, not related directly to Africa, e.g. the East-West conflict will be categorized under **Foreign.**

Additional categories for content analysis are aimed at determining how much inter-state information is contained in each SADCC country's media. The theoretical premise here is that, unless SADCC countries, which had historically been separated by the geo-political designs of colonialism, begin to develop a more intimate knowledge and appreciation of each other at grassroots level attempts at regional cooperation through SADCC will remain a distant dream for the strategic actors in regional cooperation, namely, the rural masses. Nine categories representing each country will be developed, making a grand total of 18 categories.

2.4.2 POLICY ANALYSIS: To understand the policy-making project design and

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[42] In this thesis some categories deal with the amount of stories the media of one country carried about other SADCC member states without necessarily referring to issues of regional cooperation or SADCC

[43] On March 22, 1990, Namibia became the tenth member of SADCC. However this is not reflected in this thesis

implementation, original documents of SADCC and SATCC will be analyzed. These include conference reports, records of meetings and ministerial statements, reports from consultants, legal instruments like the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), development plans and annual reports and statistical data. An analysis of the policy statements on regional cooperation will be compared with what has happened on the ground, in terms of concrete achievements along the line of the objectives spelt out in the policy declarations.

2.4.3 CASE STUDIES: While different geo-political situations have varied impacts on development communication projects some patterns of performance common to many projects have emerged. Case studies of such projects in the Third World will be an important empirical input in the evaluation of SADCC transport and telecommunication policies in the productive sectors like agriculture. Case studies will help address critical questions related to the policy formulation process, project design and implementation and evaluation. Other issues that will be addressed in case studies are social, cultural, ideological and political interventions.

2.4.4 FIELD RESEARCH: The field research component of this thesis is a study of the utilization of information and communication systems by peasant farmers in Zimbabwe. While Zimbabwe has the most viable agricultural sector in the SADCC region, having historically had the capacity to feed the nation from its own resources, the country's colonial experience, with all its attendant impoverishment and deprivation of the rural populations in particular, brings the socio-economic status of the majority of the country's peasants on par with their counterparts in other countries. Studies by the government's own research agency, Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies reveal that the country's farm support program has benefitted only about 20 percent of the peasant farmers who account for the spectacular increase in maize production (Moyo,Moyo, Lowenson 1987). This has been subject of intense intellectual interest and analysis. According to a study by two researchers the aggregation of agricultural production by peasant farmers has led to a misreading of the

peasants' productive capacity. Dr Paul Collier and Jeremy Jackson of the University of Zimbabwe say their study reveals significant domestic hunger and malnutrition among the rural communities They argue that policy makers may or may not see the glaring "contradictions of malnourished children and mothers-at-risk standing next to piles of food at the Grain Marketing Board depots in rural areas (a situation that exists).[44] The researchers, whose work involved 600 hundred households, found that 40 percent of the rural people do not market their produce to the GMB, that malnutrition is a basic feature of Zimbabwe, and, quoting from a Unicef study, that 20 per cent of children under five years of age had second or third degree malnutrition while 38 per cent others were stunted.

Thus the rationale for the choice of Zimbabwe for field research is that the country is, with regard to the bulk of its peasant population, fairly representative of the SADCC countries - even though its industrial, manufacturing and agricultural infrastructures are the most developed in the region. Zimbabwe's rural community constitutes 74.27 percent of the country's population of 7.5 million.[45] Their principal economic activity is agriculture. Research studies show that 24 percent of the rural people have no cattle and over 50 per cent have less than two cattle - indicating a serious shortage of draught power. A peasant household has an average of four cattle and 2.4 hectares of land.[46] Government farm support in form of loans has benefitted 13 per cent of the peasant farmers, none of whom had no cattle or landholding size of less than one hectare, showing that such benefits accrued to those who were relatively better off. Male-headed families received more loans than those headed by women despite the fact that 82 per cent of all Zimbabwean women live in rural areas where they form 56 per cent of the rural population.[47] Other studies show that women

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[44] Quoted in the *The Sunday Mail December*, 1989, p.3

[45] Population Census,1982, **Main Demographic Features of the Population of Zimbabwe,** Central Statistical Office, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1985,p 55

[46] Agriculture and Livestock Survey Communal Lands 1985/86, **Zimbabwe National Household Survey Capability Programme.** Central Statistical Office, Harare, Zimbabwe, p 4

perform 60 - 80 per cent of all agricultural work and 100 per cent of all food processing. This gender variable shows that peasant women are the mainstay of agricultural production. Yet they have worked with little or no assistance from the state farm support systems - a situation exacerbated by their (women) lack of control of the land on which they work and their marginalization in the decision-making processes and the administrative structures.[48]

2.4.4.1 METHODOLOGY FOR FIELD RESEARCH

Two key elements of the field research undertaken in 1987 were interviews with both the small-scale farmers and the government officials in the Ministries of Information and Agriculture. Interviews with the peasant farmers were structured. But another element of the field research involved listening-in during group discussions. Here questions were asked by individual farmers during discussions with extension and government agents. The conceptual framework for this multi-dimensional method was based on the premise that structured interviews have their own inherent weaknesses and that no single research model can give a full accounting of the the dynamics of rural information and communication networks.

2.4.4.2 SAMPLE AND LOCATION: Eighty four peasant farmers were randomly selected for interviews in Murehwa (45) and Murombedzi (39).[49] These two places are typically developing rural communities. The selection process consisted of a random identification of households from several communities. The period of the interviews, June to August, represents the time

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[47] **Zimbabwe National Household Survey Capability Programme.** Report No. 5, Mashonaland East, 1983/85, p 15
Population Census. 1982, p 109

[48] *Proceedings of Workshop on Women in Agriculture* and *The Situation of Women in Zimbabwe* Report by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Harare, 1982
We Carry a Heavy Load Rural Women Speak Out Report by the Women's Bureau, Harare, 1981

[49] Random sampling (Kerlinger 1973,118, Feller 1957,29) is a method of drawing a portion of a population or universe so that all possible samples of fixed size have the same probability of being selected. However one can never be sure that the sample is representative. What one relies on is the fact that the characteristics of a population are those that are most frequent and therefore likely to be present in any particular random sample (Kerlinger 1973,119, Stilson 1966,35)

when there is little activity in the fields, the harvest period having ended. Most interviews were conducted during daytime, usually in the afternoons. Efforts were made to interview people at the places they were found rather than asking them to go a particular area.[50] The advantage of conducting interviews under such circumstances was that an atmosphere of confidence and trust was created because the peasant was not significantly distracted from his daily routines.[51] The researcher came to be seen as *mwana wedu* literally *our child* and with a broader meaning of *one of us*. More importantly there was a feeling that this *mwana wedu* would come back someday and help them with their problems - an important difference between a local and a foreign researcher. But more important was the respondent's sense of self-esteem at being interviewed geographically, socially, culturally and psychologically on his or her home turf - at least someone had taken the trouble to come all the way to discuss with him his life and his reality without developing a condescending attitude on the peasants' way of life.

Given the fact that they are the major producers of food the proportion of female respondents, at 20 percent, was undeniably low. Local customs and culture often gave the male head of the household the right to answer questions on behalf of the household.[52] However since the questionnaire did not address gender issues there was, nevertheless, a significant measure of agreement on the peasants' perceptions of and attitudes towards their utilization of information and communication systems for agricultural production. In many cases wives could be heard confirming their husbands' views as evidenced in the following

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[50] Interviews took place at a variety of locations. One place was at the cattle kraal (enclosure) where the male head of the household was repairing the kraal. A number of interviews were held in smoke-filled kitchens where the women were cooking dinner while the men sat on the brick and mud seats waiting for dinner. One interview was held aboard an ox-drawn wagon full of bags of maize the respondent was going to sell at the GMB depot about four kilometers away

[51] To ensure well considered replies respondents temporarily suspended their work but remained at their work places during the period of the interview

[52] In a few cases where the male head of the household was absent the female respondent referred the interview to her husband

tape recorded interview;

TEXT 1. RECORDED AT MUREWA

Q. Where do you get most of your agricultural information from?

A. As I was telling you, my son, we do not have a radio and we hardly get any newspapers here. I have to rely on what our extension officers and district administrators tell us.

Q. Can you expand on that. Why don't you have a radio? Why don't you get newspapers? I saw some of them on sale at the shop where you buy your bread.

A. They do not tell us anything useful. At any rate they are written in English. We are not educated enough to read in that language. As for the radio we don't have the money to buy one.

(*Wife intervening*) What my husband says is true. We have to rely on those *vadhomeni* (extension officers) and friends from town. I did not go to school and I just could not possibly read in that language.

(*Husband intervening*) Sometimes what the extension officers tell us to do to improve our production requires raising money to buy fertilizers and seeds. Where do they expect us to get that money from? We do not even have enough land to try all those experiments they ask us to.

(*wife intervening*) My neighbour last week was told by the *mudhomeni* to build paddocks for his cattle. Where do they think he will get the money to buy the fence, and all that cattle feed from?

Q. Didn't you sell your maize to the Grain Marketing Board recently? And what did you do with the money you got?

A. (husband):We owe the GMB. We owe the trucking company for transporting our produce to the GMB depot. After all those deductions I still have to buy clothes, soap, sugar, bread for my family. I have to save some money to pay for my children's school fees. After all those payments I have absolutely nothing left.[53]

2.4.4.3 ISSUES IN RURAL COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A conversation with rural people often revealed a cultural, social and ideological chasm

between urban and rural people.[54] This chasm was symptomatic of the stratification of

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[53] Recorded at Murehwa, Zimbabwe, August 1989 It is widely accepted that the information and communication structures do not fully address issues that uniquely affect women (Unesco 1986)

societies; the transformation of the mode of production (discussed earlier under the political economy of the region); and the effects of western models of development out of which has emerged socio-cultural and economic interventions with their ramifications on research. The urban-based media personnel almost always reflected the urban culture with its time and space consciousness while the rural peasants reflected the rural culture where time and space had their own different definitions. The researcher or journalist tended to set the agenda and tone of the interview, leaving the rural respondent with very little opportunity to make any inputs in the meta-communicational aspects of the interview. Peasants were paraded, made to behave in ways inconsistent with their routine way of doing things. In this "westofixated" state (Mowlana 1986) the peasants viewed questions put to them as an academic examination in which they must try to guess what the researcher really wanted to know - if only to get the researcher off their backs so they could return to their normal ways of doing things. Thus looking at meta-communication in research it became apparent that the researcher was seen as a stranger from the urban areas. Local culture often dictated that people should be polite to strangers. But being polite did not necessarily mean answering questions truthfully or completely. This was because peasants had had a tradition of deep mistrust of strangers. They found themselves victims of broken pre-election promises and their only way of survival lay in reverting to knowledge and creativity borne from experience.

Against this background the peasants' attitude to researchers in post colonial Africa is sometimes that of benign resignation and an attitude that seems to say: *"tell them what you think they want to know so they can leave us to deal with our more pressing problems.* They have not done anything for us in the past, they are not doing anything for us now and they are unlikely to do anything for us in future."[55]

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[54] From this researcher's experience as a journalist and News Editor for *The Chronicle*, a Bulawayo-based Zimbabwean daily newspaper and part of whose work involved extensive travel in rural areas interviewing peasants, a pattern of behavior in and attitudes towards cross-cultural communication was observed

[55] It often happens that peasants cannot properly describe their reality, to declare "truth" as they see

According to Wanjiru Kihoro (1987) rural people tend to take a serious view of research in which they are involved as respondents if they are convinced that such a research will yield practical solutions to their problems.

> Year after year Kenya has experienced an unending stream of intrepid researchers from all over the world asking them all kinds of questions about their problems. Yet year after year the peasants have hardly seen any improvements in their problems which they spoke so emotionally about to the researchers. Now they are asking: Whatever happened to all those people who came asking us questions? As soon they finished asking questions the researchers packed their bags and left to unknown destinations - never to be heard from again. Now peasants are saying to new researchers: What is in it for us ?[56]

Underlying this last question: What is in it for us? are serious theoretical and methodological questions about the role and obligations of the researcher in an African setting and underscore the epistemological flaws in western models of research (Rowland 1985; Hamelink 1981; Halloran 1986).

The masses, the bulk of whom are rural peasants, have, it would appear, had to rely mainly on their pre-capitalist mode of production to cushion themselves from the negative effects of years of neglect and oppression by the settler colonial regime. This experience has given the peasants a capacity to identify the continuity after independence of a social system whose texture has historically been anti-thetical to their development needs. Hence the post-colonial state has found it difficult to get the peasants to adopt innovations, leading to their characterization as *the uncaptured peasantry* (Hyden 1983,7). Peasants, according to Marco

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it This is not due to a question of censorship, but rather to the fact that they have traditionally developed stereotyped reactions to any questions from outsiders (FAO 1986)."

[56] Luncheon speech delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association for African Studies, University of Alberta, May 1987

Franco (1988), are still using traditional methods, which means they are part of a traditional way of life and governed by the kind of rules that cannot be reduced to technical rationality or modern economics. This is partly because they are generally conservative and tend to be averse to taking risks, as shown by their tardiness in adopting innovations. This form of peasant behavior can be explained in the context of the high level of uncertainty that typifies peasant households. Uncertainty is essentially a consequence of the *state of poverty* and *poor information* which means the outcome of unpredictable events like weather and other natural hazards, and market fluctuations can very often make a difference between survival and starvation.

The state's policy on agricultural information and rural agricultural development is a critical element in any attempts aimed at self-reliant development. The absence of such a policy based on the normative framework of development and communication as basic human rights (Harms 1980,69; Paul,1987) enshrined in various United Nations and other international declarations[57] brings into question the state's commitment to radical agrarian reforms to improve the lives of the rural masses and urban poor. Also questionable is the media's commitment to disseminating useful agricultural information to help the rural peasants.

At a conference of the *Commonwealth Broadcasting Association* concern was expressed by delegates at the little airtime devoted to agricultural information by the African broadcast media.[58] Considering the fact that the transformation of the agricultural sector, notably peasant agriculture, has been widely recognized as the most viable alternative strategy for Africa's economic recovery through self-reliant development and considering the tremendous potential of the radio in the diffusion of innovations this denial of adequate airtime for

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[57] United Nations General Assembly,Resolution A/RES/41/128, *Declaration on the Right to Development; UN Declaration on Human Rights,1948., Unesco Mass Media Declaration Unesco, Paris, 978.*

[58] ZBC News Bulletin, August,1987 *Proceedings of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association*, East, Central and Southern African Group, 8th Meeting, Kariba, Zimbabwe, 17 - 21 August, 1987.

agricultural information is a serious indictment of the African electronic media today. The national structures of information and communication are deeply embedded in the neo-colonial social system and, as such, have not effectively promoted the information an development needs of rural populations. This means that unless the researcher involves the people in what Marlene Cuthbert (1987) calls non-aligned and participatory research and, according to Krippendorff (1985), accepts responsibility for his research - rather than sitting on the fence as an observer - in a dynamic program of co-constructing reality the research results are unlikely to be of any practical value to the intended beneficiary.

2.4.4.4 ZIMBABWE'S PEASANTRY

Zimbabwe's rural peasants have historically displayed remarkable resilience, especially in maize crop production in the face of socio-political and economic forces against them. Figures show that, given these constraints, prior to independence the peasants' productivity was relatively high - to the extent of subsidizing white commercial agriculture (Ranger 1984).[59]

Under the institutional framework of these constraints peasants were effectively barred from participating in the political decision-making process and from gaining access to the State farm support system i.e. loans, credit facilities, farm technology and agricultural information. These institutional constraints were consolidated by a series of legislative acts aimed at controlling the peasant farmers' access to the markets. The Land Apportionment Act of 1929 which segregated the country on racial grounds and allocated 22.4 percent of the land to peasants while whites gained exclusive ownership of 50.8 percent of the land (Miller 1982,39) the Maize Control Act of 1937 (Davies,Dopcke 1987,64-98), and the Land Husbandry Act were some of the most strategic pieces of legislation introduced as part of the colonial policy in support of the institutionalized inequalities within the colonial social system Yet some of

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[59]   Agritex;Annual Crop Production Figures,Harare,1987.

the peasants managed, in face of these disincentives, to be productive. Prior to the introduction of the Maize Control Act the peasants had produced about 5 000 bags of maize but after 1937 when the Act was being rigorously applied the peasants' production rose to over 10 000 bags (Davies and Dopcke,1987).

While colonialism and industrialism transformed the mode of production from the peasant pre-capitalist to the capitalist mode some elements of the pre-capitalist mode of production were apparently allowed.[60] Magubane (1976 185) says such a transformation of the mode of production left the post-colonial state in Africa with "social structures which, combined with its new neo-colonial status and severe internal problems, condemned (African nations) to perpetual dependency and underdevelopment." In a situation of underdevelopment and poverty the state became the sovereign source of social and economic development and the elite class that inherited the state institutions acceded to the privileges of state employment with grossly inflated salaries and lavish equipment. These privileges and the exercise of state functions, says Magubane, provided an institutional basis for the domination of an administrative bourgeoisie (Magubane 1976,186; Mazrui 1978). This has been an inevitable consequence of the fact that African nationalist struggles were not aimed at dismantling the oppressive colonial structures and the nature of the post-colonial state that emerged (Mandaza 1986; Nzongola-Ntalaja 1988; Poulantzas 1973,1979; Young 1982,1986; Markovitz 1977; Shamuyarira 1976; Msekwa 1976).

"African nationalism competes with white settlerism for political and economic power but does not necessarily challenge the unequal and

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[60] Walter Rodney(1987) says that the transformation of the pre-capitalist mode of production relegated the peasants into suppliers of labour in the mining, industry and commercial agriculture while forcing them also to grow cash crops to supply raw materials to the industrial and manufacturing sectors Archie Mafeje (Saul 1979) says the colonial economy allowed some pre-capitalist mode of production to continue in order to save the colonial economy from subsidizing the peasants or giving other benefits to the wage labourers, notably, holiday or leave pay and pensions It was expected that labourers would always go to their rural communities to get extra food or other material needs to supplement their low wages

exploitative structures of that capitalist society (Mandaza 1986,23)."

In an attempt to address the national development needs in Zimbabwe the post colonial state found itself faced with the task of instituting fundamental structural reforms of the social system in order to respond more effectively to the needs of the peasants and the urban poor. The government's policy document, *Growth with Equity*, had correctly identified the characteristics of the neo-colonial system whose main features included,

> economic exploitation of the majority by the few; ownership and control of the major means of production by the few, and the consequently grossly inequitable pattern of income distribution and of benefits favouring the few, predominant foreign ownership and control of the economy and limited local participation, possession of the best land by the few and the *consequent empoverishment of the masses...*"[61]

The program of action adopted to redress this situation was aimed at the establishment and development of *a democratic, egalitarian and socialist society*[62] with the following elements

1. transformation and control of the economy and economic expansion,

2. land reform and efficient utilization of the land

3. raising the standards of living of the entire population in particular, peasant population[63]

4. enlargement of employment opportunities and manpower development,

5. development of science and technology, and

6. maintenance of a correct balance between environment and development.[64]

But despite notable measures such as increased educational opportunities which saw

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[61] Growth with Equity, An Economic policy statement,Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Harare, 1981,p.1.

[62] my emphasis

[63] author's emphasis

Zimbabwe's school population - primary and secondary - rise from below one million in 1979/80 to nearly three million in 1986,[65] increased support for the peasant farmers and improvements in health, the social system has not been fundamentally restructured.[66] This is because Zimbabwe now has *an emerging corporate state* system which has gravitated from the settler-colonial state and whose emerging image is reinforced by a black regime and white commercial capital (Shaw 1988,2-3). The consolidation of the neo-colonial social system - a manifestation of a reformist rather than revolutionary characteristic of Zimbabwe's transitional program (Davies 1987,1,10) - is evidenced in part by a research study which revealed that the most highly-paid bureaucrats earn within the first ten days of January "what it takes a low paid wage worker one year to earn" making it the country with the biggest wage gap in the continent (Moyo, Moyo, Lowenson 1985,10).[67]

This reflected a general pattern in post-colonial countries where the perpetuation of colonial class structures after independence ensured that the corresponding patterns of remuneration

[64] Zimbabwe. First Five Year National Development Plan, (1986 - 1990), Vol One, Government Printer, Harare, April,1986,p 10.

[65] Zimbabwe Fact Sheet, *Central Statistical Office*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1987

Fay Chung,Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Speech in Zimbabwe Parliament, *Hansard*, 18 August,1988, Harare, p 982

[66] "Can Zimbabwe Avoid Disasters of Other African States?" *Moto*, No.19, December, 1983/January 1984, p 14

Editorial, "The Economy in Transition" *Journal of Social Change and Development*, Vol 5,October,1983, p 1

[67] This polarization of the Zimbabwean society has prompted a number of critical remarks by the country's head of state and at least one highly placed government minister, the late Morris Nyagumbo President Robert Mugabe said, "It is downright selfish and utterly immoral that we leaders should take advantage of our positions to acquire wealth we would never have been able to acquire had we not held those leadership positions," ("PM Condemns Selfish Leaders," *Zimbabwe Ministry of Information Press Release*, August 18,1987,p 4) Nyagumbo, a former Senior Minister for Political Affairs, said, "We are meeting difficulties implementing the Leadership Code because leaders have acquired property and do not seem prepared to part with it we shall call an emergency congress to tell the people that we are unable to fulfil one of our important resolutions, in monly scientific socialism because the leaders acquired property (and appear) to have adopted capitalism, become property owners and appear to be deceiving our people." (Interview in *The*

characteristic of the public sector during the colonial period remain intact (Bennell 1982,14). The state, itself a construct of colonialism, was at independence overdeveloped, reflecting the colonial strategy to create "an apparatus for the total control of all indigenous social classes (Alavi 1972, 59-81)."

Patterns of remuneration were aimed at maintaining the efficient running of the bureaucracy by attracting and retaining skilled personnel. The adoption of these patterns of remuneration by the colonial-state became symptomatic of a complex system of patron-client relationships. In the sphere of labour the emergence on one hand of the state bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, peasants created a conflict in the sphere of production. The resistance of peasant producers "comes in form of their refusal to adopt innovations such as growing new certain crops or new cultivation practices or cutting back on production (Bernstein 1977,69)."

The role of the colonial State was that of an arbitrator of varied established elite groups. The country's information systems were an instrument of the State in the discharge of its responsibilities, namely promoting and protecting the interests of the established interests within the white settler community. The alliance between the ruling colonialists and the entrepreneurial class was manifested by the ownership and control of the colonial media. The mainstream print media in Rhodesia were owned by the Argus Press, a South African-based corporation while the broadcast media were owned and operated by the colonial state (Fisher 1982).

The state also distributed among the commercial farms agricultural information. The net result was an intricate information and communication network owned and run by the state and established corporations. The beneficiaries of this communication and transport system were the commercial farmers who not only had access through a telecommunications network to the government farm support system but also benefitted from innovations in farm

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Herald June 5, 1986)

technology and new seed varieties developed at the country's research institutions. In the area of transport the state had developed a sophisticated railway and road system that interconnected the commercial farming areas with urban areas, the major markets for their farm produce. A typical country road was tarred all the way from the city to the furthest farm belonging to a commercial farmer. Beyond that it disintegrated into a bush path leading to the rural peasant communities. The clear separation of land on racial basis made it possible to direct capital expenditure in roads, bridges and dams so as to widen the differential in overall productivity between European and African agriculture (Arrighi 1973,347). The poor transport and communications system was part of a bigger problem for the peasants which was characterized by the absence of credit facilities, inadequate training, research and extension services and poor markets (Miller 1982) - all of which mitigated the productive potential of the peasants in Zimbabwe.

The peasant farmers were never a homogeneous block (Arrighi, Saul 1973,407). Partly as a result of the age of quasi liberalization[68] a group of peasants, some of whom had fought in the Second World War[69] or had rendered special services to the colonial regime, were allowed into restricted fertile lands where they owned tracts of land and had limited access to the State farm support system. However the *Native Purchase Areas* (NPA) were allocated by the settler colonial government under terms that ensured the African rural bourgeoisie did not seriously compete with Europeans For example, the total land reserved for the NPA was kept very low at eight percent (Arrighi 1973,347). The middle African farmers, together with the petty traders and small-scale transport operators represented an emerging elite that was, particularly the middle class farmers, to benefit most from the post-colonial farm support

[68] The age of liberalization in Rhodesia, approx 1962 - 1965, was brought about by the proletarianization of the peasantry and the growth of the manufacturing sector whose consumer goods increasingly came to depend on the growth of the purchasing power of the African peasants and wage workers (Arrighi 1973,353 - 365)

[69] Interview with a successful black middle class farmer in the Msengezi Purchase Area where he owns a sprawling farm given to him by the colonial authorities in recognition of services he had rendered during the Second World War

programs.

In independent Zimbabwe the inherited neo-colonial social system perpetuated and often exacerbated rural differentiation. The pattern of control and ownership of the information systems was consolidated by the State's ownership and control of the broadcast systems, with the mainstream print media continuing to be under corporate control. The acquisition by the state, through the parastatal, *Mass Media Trust*, of the majority of shares in Zimbabwe Newspapers Ltd was an in-house shifting of power relations. This reflected the intra class alliance between the state and industry that characterized the colonial era. Political control of the media systems rested in the state while market forces determined the economic control of the media systems.[70] The control of the media by this powerful elite alliance ensures that the media do not publish controversial issues because the media's continued operations depend on the "goodwill of various governments" and, in terms of revenue, of the corporations (Frederikse 1984,13). Tame newsstories and a preponderance of advertising encouraging people to develop a consumerist taste for products that are not necessarily crucial to their well being characterize today's media. Within this framework crucial issues of interest and concern to the masses do not get a detailed coverage and analysis [71]

However it has been argued that the state-peasant relationship in Zimbabwe has some unique characteristics which have enabled the interests of the peasants to be articulated in the decision making processes of the government This alliance, manifested in the creation of statutory bodies alongside rural, district and provincial councils, with a capacity to make

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[70]   A senior government official put it more bluntly "We (*the government*) control the house in which they (*the media*) operate But we do not control the way they arrange the furniture in the house " (Personal interview Department of Information, Harare, Zimbabwe, August, 1987) Undoubtedly the way the media arranged their furniture was contingent on their capacity to acquire such furniture! This suggested the economic aspects of the media operations which relied on the entrepreneurial elite, leaving the media in a *who-pays-the-piper-calls-the-tune* syndrome

[71]   Thus the primary function of the media is to mobilize public support for the special interests that dominate the government and the private sector (Herman, Chomsky 1988, Chomsky 1989)

inputs in government,[72] has resulted in the extension and expansion of government farm support programs to rural farmers. Under this program the number of loans extended to the peasants in the 1983/84 season was 18,277 with a total value of Z$8.5 million, compared to 4,173 loans, valued at Z$1.5 million in the 1982/83 season.[73]

The evolving administrative structure (Figure 2.1.) has a potential for creating a wider sharing "of rural economic and political power and increasing and broadening human welfare through broader participation in economic and political decision making. Moyo, Moyo and Lowenson (1987,40) put five arguments in favour of rural-focused development strategy in the developing countries, namely,

1. that over 70 percent of the population lives in rural areas;

2. that low levels of development in rural areas encourage migration of able-bodied people to the urban areas further underdeveloping the rural areas;

3. that rural agriculture is a source of raw materials, food, foreign exchange and markets, all of which are necessary for industrialization to take place, and,

4. rural development for its sake: to feed the rural population and raise their living standards.

While it is too early to determine their effectiveness evidence so far indicates that the administrative structures tend to be dominated by the rural elite thus further dampening the low enthusiasm shown so far by the peasants in participating in the VIDCOs. Issues discussed at the VIDCOs have tended to be of peripheral importance considering the more serious

[72]   Terence Ranger (1984) gives a detailed account of how the war of liberation in Zimbabwe tended to strengthen the peasant-national-guerrilla alliance, all of whom found themselves in the same rural geographical area unlike in other African countries where the nationalist leadership was usually geographically separated from the peasants The former, being based in the urban areas, never developed an organic relationship with the rural people

[73]   AFC Annual Report, Ministry of Agriculture, 1984, Harare, Zimbabwe Moyo, Moyo, Lowenson, 1987,50)

FIGURE 2.1 ZIMBABWE:RURAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

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│                                        │
│           Provincial Council           │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
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│           District Council             │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
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│       Ward Development Committee       │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                        │
│      Village Development Committee     │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                        │
│            Village Members             │
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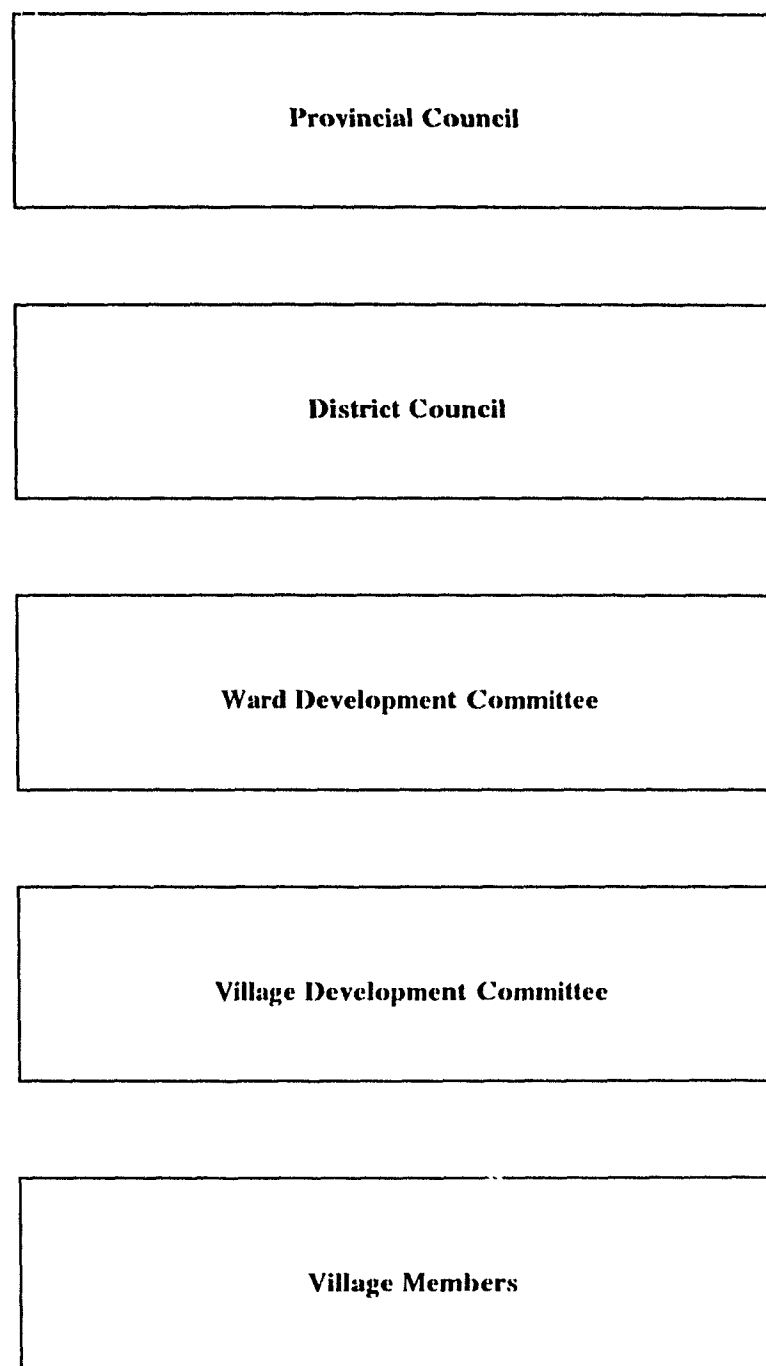
Source: Moyo, Moyo,Lowenson 1987,54).

questions of radical land reforms and more equitable distribution of goods and services.

This seemingly optimistic profile of the state support for peasant agricultural production is mitigated by the neo-colonial social structure within which the farm assistance program operates. As a result statistics on the loans and recorded crop output by the peasants are aggregate figures which do not take into account the differentiated peasantry. According to a study by ZIDS and statistics gathered by the Zimbabwean government's Central Statistical Office the beneficiaries of the farm assistance program were middle class rural farmers who had since the era of liberalization during the colonial times received some farm support from the state. A cost-benefit systems approach had been the basis for awarding loans. This means the peasants who could offer no collateral were often left out.[74] The Minister of Agriculture in Zimbabwe said no farmer had been turned away because of shortage of money but loan applications "are refused primarily because the proposed projects are not viable and repayment capacity is non-existent."[75] The ZIDS studies showed that the record crop output by the peasants could only be attributed to *20 percent* of the peasantry, who are by and large middle class rural farmers, and that the vast majority of the peasants are living *in a state of abject poverty* (Moyo, Moyo, Lowenson 1985).

In terms of land ownership, an essential element since its size and productive capacity determine crop productivity, 5,700 white commercial farmers owned 16 million hectares of land, as of 1986, mostly in the fertile regions; 8,100 middle class black farmers owned 1.5 million hectares in the semi-fertile areas, originally known as African Purchase Areas during the colonial era, while one million peasant farmers owned 16 million hectares of land in

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[74]   Moyo, Moyo, Lowenson,1987, Central Statistical Office, Zimbabwe Government, Harare, 1986

[75]   David Karimanzira, Minister of Agriculture, Speech in Parliament, *Hansard*, 22 March 1988, p.3095

mostly arid areas (Due 1986,37). The communal farmers' phenomenal post-colonial increase in maize crop productivity has been explained in the context of policy, institutional and technological incentives favouring them (Rohrbach 1987,147). However such quantitative increases in the maize crop as well as modest diversity into horticulture[76] have not been matched with a significantly qualitative increase in more protein and energy rich crops. One such crop, groundnuts, experienced a decrease in production despite the fact it currently earns *Z$1 000 per tonne* (compared to *less than $200* for the maize crop)[77] showing that the crop price is not necessarily a significant factor in communal farmers' decisions on what and how much to plant. What makes this drop in groundnut production critical is the fact that groundnuts are the most important source of proteins and their scarcity threatens the nutritional status of young children who have difficulty consuming sufficient maize meal to meet their basic nutritional requirements (Makombe,Bernsten,Rohrbach 1987).

Studies indicate that malnutrition has been a significant factor in the *Infant Mortality Rate* (*IMR*).[78] Considering the fact that some of the incidents of malnutrition have been found among children of farm workers in the more affluent white commercial farming area. Shopo(1986) says that *ad hoc* programs in the field of child health and nutrition will not lead to a comprehensive national food policy for the eradication of undernutrition. Such a comprehensive food policy will have to address structural and policy aspects of land reform aimed at distributing land, goods and services to the majority of the peasant farmers. According to Moyo and Mumbengegwi (Mandaza 1987) the Zimbabwean state is still

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[76]   *Financial Gazette*, July 15,1988,p 25 About 4 000 peasant farmers in the Mutoko communal area were reported to have diversified into horticulture as a result of a government-sponsored project which not only provided them with additional land but transport to ship their produce to the urban markets

[77]   Zimbabwe Ministry of Information Press Release, August,1988

[78]   World Bank, *Zimbabwe, Population,Health and Nutrition Sector Review*, Vol 1,June,1983,

      Government of Zimbabwe, *Report of the Secretary for Health for the Year Ended 31st December,1980* CMD R Z 6 - 1982

grappling with the basics of such reforms such as *The Land Acquisition Act*; *The Co-operatives Act*; *The Communal Lands Development Plan*; and *The Agrarian Reform Policy* - all of them aimed at restructuring the social system by giving more land to the hitherto marginalized peasants. But the approach by the state has been cautious - more on the mild reforms than a radical restructuring - given the success of the middle peasants, or the *Small Scale Communal Farmers* (SSCF) in maize crop production. Statistics show that the SSCFs, who constitute less than 20 percent of the peasant farmers benefited from favourable agro-climatic conditions as well as government support services.[79] Peasant farmers (2.65 million) occupy *only 9.4 percent* of land in Regions One and Two while SSCFs (8,500) occupy *18.3 percent* and Large Scale Commercial Farmers, mostly whites, occupy *31.6 percent*.[80] Exacerbating the structural problem of scarcity of land is the fact that the state farm support system, i.e. loans from the AFC, which increased by 98 percent covered *only 68,600, or eight percent*, of the communal farmers. The bulk of the recipients were SSCFs.

2.5 THEORETICAL ISSUES

Development communication is in a state of transition from the traditional orthodoxy where communication was largely viewed as a causal element in development, to the contemporary scholarship that looks more analytically at the nature of the relationships between communication and development. The strategic role of development communication is still insufficiently recognized among the policymakers. This is because simplistic models of the diffusion of innovation and change are still current, and because unbridled faith in the

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[79] For agro-climatic purposes Zimbabwe is divided into five regions Regions One and Two have the best agro-climatic conditions for crop production while Regions Three to Five, where the vast majority of the peasant farmers are located under the colonial Land Apportionment/Husbandry/Tenure Act-, have t' nost unreliable rainfall and are suited for extensive ranching

[80] Various documents from. **Agritex Planning Branch, Ministry of Agriculture,1983.**
Ministry of Lands,Resettlement and Rural Development,1983. Agriculture and Rural Development Authority, 1984, Harare, Zimbabwe.
Demographic Census,1985 p 55.

technological rationality continues to predominate development thinking, often to the exclusion of indigenous traditional values and culture. The fact that development-communication must involve *knowledge generation* processes in their most dynamic form has yet to receive the recognition it deserves in the communication policies. Looking at the notion of knowledge generation the theoretical framework of which is the subject of Klaus Krippendorff, Cees Hamelink, Anthony Giddens and others' theses it follows that any strategy for communication in support of development must be based on the fact that rural people must be involved through sharing of knowledge - a process that implies an exchange between equals, rather than the traditional one-way pattern.

> The ultimate purpose of knowledge-sharing is to empower rural people to take increasing degrees of control over their environment, and over agriculture, health, habitat, and other factors which so critically impinge upon the quality of life.[81]

There has been an over-reliance on the so-called transfer of technology to bring about development. This factor and the tendency to oversimplify development problems - not taking sufficiently all factors, including local traditions and culture, that impact on development process - account for the problems of development projects today.

Among many communication researchers the traditional emphasis on the media has now given way to the view that development communication is a social process to seek a common understanding, or consensus, among all participants of a development initiative, so creating a basis for concerted action. Within this framework of a social process the media are seen as useful tools to help bring about this process, and to assist in learning. But their use is not

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[81] FAO Experts Consultation on Development Communication, Rome, Italy 8 - 12 June, 1987, p 2 The experts' consultation noted that the problem has essentially been that useful sharing of knowledge has not taken place spontaneously between development agents and rural people because neither side has possessed skills necessary to overcome certain barriers

and end in itself.[82] To the extent that the mass media system is a reflection of the neo-colonial social system within which it operates no meaningful progress towards democratic communication institutions can be made without a fundamental restructuring of the prevailing social system(Ansah 1986).

Such structural inequities that characterize the post-colonial social system in which the state operates can be a useful basis for explaining the lack of viability among thousands of development communication projects in the developing countries today. According to Hornik (1988,14) the majority of them will, on the basis of available data on "audiences reached, practices changed, benefits achieved and long-term institutional survival, not achieve their intended objectives, if not fail completely. Such results are a manifestation of theory failure whose explanation can be divided into

1.   theory failure resulting from an incorrect assumption that a particular development problem is amenable to a communication-based solution.

2.   program failures resulting from an inadequately designed or implemented project, and,)

3.   political failure.

In terms of theory failure Hornik says projects based on information technology traffic in information.

They throw words - ways of understanding, behaving and organizing - at development problems, problems that are substantially and contrarily defined as lack of resources: low agricultural productivity, poor health or nutritional status, or unequal shares of society's goods (and services).. To argue that information provision alone can resolve development problems is to assume that available resources are being inefficiently used... This assumption of human deficit, suggesting that if only individuals or groups knew better how to organize the use of their resources additional agricultural products can result from improved farming practices without the introduction of expensive

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[82]   The FAO Experts' Consultation, 1987, Rome, notes that the mandate for communication in support of development was reinforced by the 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD), which placed special emphasis on the rural poor, not simply in sharing the benefits, if any, of development, but also sharing the responsibility of development decision-making

fertilizers; infant nutritional status can be improved with better feeding and health practices, although no new food is available to the family and no new medical facilities are available in the community, has been central to development communication practice (Hornik 1988,15).

Empirical studies (Grunig 1974; Clippinger 1976; Roling,Ascroft,Chege 1976; Shingi and Moddy 1976; Warner 1975; Cook et al. 1975; Beltran 1976) have shown that information tends to benefit those who are already better off, effectively reinforcing or increasing social differentiation. Thus, it is lack of opportunities rather than the peasants' resistance to change that is the major bottleneck to development (Ascroft,Chege 1976,64).

It is not the characteristics of farmers as much as it is the characteristics and deployment of government development services which are the prime determinants of diffusion efforts (Ascroft,Chege 1976,76).

Diffusion of innovations will thus be more effective in bringing about an egalitarian agricultural development if the strategy concentrates on field experiments aimed at identified low-income target audiences rather than the progressive farmer approach where agricultural change agents tend to work more intensively with the middle-class farmers on the assumption that innovations will diffuse among the community for the benefit of all including the poor.

The tendency to equate communication problems with problems in disseminating technical information has led many extension agents to virtually ignore social and institutional structures in promoting development (Felstehausen 1973,39-54). A diffusion model developed by Wypan (1970) on the basis of his studies of northern Tanzanian farmers' ability to adopt copper oxide spray to protect plants against diseases and insects showed an S curve, indicating an innovation adoption pattern in which the first 2.5 percent became *innovators*; the next 13.5 percent *early adapters*; the next 34 percent *early majority*; the next 34 percent, *late majority*; the last 16 percent *laggards*. Early adapters were, according to statistics,

generally younger, of a higher social status, better off financially, had greater media exposure and better contact with the extension agents. Innovations often cost money and involve risk-taking. Only the relatively well-off can afford both (Hedebero 1982,25 -39).

Peasants have to weigh an innovation against a variety of factors including *its relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability and observability* (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). In making a decision whether to accept an innovation after exposure to its existence farmers make favourable or unfavourable opinion, make choices on adoption or rejection and seek reinforcement for their decisions through discussions with colleagues. The media may be of greater significance *in exposing* the farmer to the existence of an innovation but the farmer's decision-making process is *less influenced* by the media than through interpersonal communication with his peers. In other situations the early adapters who are already relatively well off may already have been looking for change and exposure to the media may lead them to the process of adopting innovations. In this case the media would have helped to reinforce rural differentiation - a key element in the critique of the innovation theory.

Empirical evidence disputes the assumption that peasants are irrational (Schultz 1964). The scarcity of resources has made peasants to be prudent in their utilization.

In communication research an important theoretical and methodological shift in the conceptualization of content analysis has been the redefinition of the media as " a major cultural and ideological force standing in a dominant position with respect to the way in which social relations and political problems were defined and the production and transformation of popular ideologies in the audience addressed (Van Dijk 1985,3)." In the re-production of popular ideologies the media messages carry not only manifest meanings but underlying ‚meanings or processes of signification. The integration of method and critical analysis (Halloran 1970) is the essence of the analysis of complex communicative events. Media discourse reflects policies of media institutions and enters into the cultivation of conceptions in ways that can be investigated (Gerbner 1985,13). Research requires the development of

indicators of the "common symbolic environment" in which people respond to. These indicators, such as culture, are "representative abstraction from the collectively experienced total texture of messages (Gerbner 1985,13).

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their content. Replicability requires the technique to be objective and systematic in its quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson 1952,18). However the problem with defining "manifest content" is that messages do not have a single meaning (Krippendorff 1986,23) and that content analyses have often deconstructed texts *willy nilly*, "with scant regard for their immanent structures and the meanings these were capable of sustaining (Connell,Mills 1985,31)." As such data in content analysis can be looked at from numerous perspectives especially if they are symbolic in nature. Meanings need not be shared because messages are interpreted differently by different people because they are generally about phenomena other than those directly observed (Krippendorff 1986,23). Each receiver of a message will make specific inferences from sensory data to portions of his empirical environment or context of data. The content analyst, too, is a receiver of data and is likely to be similarly influenced. To this end content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data.

2.5.1 AFRICAN MEDIA: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: Communication theorizing in Africa has historically focused on the mass media and in the context of, first, the anti-colonial struggle where the rise of the nationalist press was intended to be a mobilizing force against colonial domination, and, secondly, as an instrument for development. An essential feature of the colonial media was economic information and advertisements which were manifestations of the commercial nature of the press. The primary objective of the press was to make money and since the press was tied to big corporate interests it became an influential element in colonial domination (Barton 1979; Ainsle 1968).

During the struggle for independence the nationalist leadership started their own underground

publications which were used to campaign for independence. These publications articulated the discourse of the oppressed masses and could be said to have been genuinely grassroots publications. However after independence most of these papers were abandoned and the established colonial press became the mainstream media of the post colonial countries of Africa. Dennis Wilcox (1975) says the colonial communication infrastructure, notably the press, was a vehicle for providing news and information to the European population of businessmen and civil servants. The colonial press was ethnocentric both in conception and content. James S. Coleman (Wilcox 1975) saw the communication media during the colonial era as part of a key structure in the socialization process during the period of stabilized colonial rule. Others were schools, religious organizations and governmental institutions. These institutions were concerned in various ways with rationalizing, perpetuating and fostering loyalty or conformity to the colonial regime. Racine Kane (Wilcox 1975) director-general of Radio Mali in 1965 said the colonial press was an instrument of the colonizer which served to propagate his culture and to pass word of his domination. And Zambian journalist, Kevin Mulenga, said the press tended to work for the preservation of the status quo, namely, colonial rule (Wilcox 1975).

Attempts by the African leadership to give the post colonial press a new ideological orientation amounted to efforts at filling the theoretical and normative void. Kwame Nkhrumah said the "new African" needed an ideology that was socialist in content and continental in outlook and the propagation of such an ideology demanded an ideological journal serving all of Africa. The drumbeat of the African revolution, Nkhrumah declared on the occasion of the launching of Ghana's ideological paper, *The Spark* in 1962,

> "must throb in the pages of newspapers and magazines; it must send in the voices and feelings of our newscasters.... the revolutionary purpose of the press should be to help in the establishment of a progressive and economic system that will free men from want and from every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease(Ainsle 1968,16)."

Other leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Ghana's former Military Commissioner for Information, Major A.H. Selormey, viewed the African press as carrying an important mandate to promote development and national unity. But such theorizing has been done within the framework of a neo-colonial social system. As a result the revolutionary rhetoric aimed at transforming the press institutions to make the media more responsive to the developmental needs of the masses has not been matched with a dynamic program of action to transform the social system. Such theorizing became, in fact, an articulation of the discourse of the ruling class and it was based on fallacious assumptions about the role of the media in development.

In the fields of development, international communication and economic systems the media were, again, seen as a potent force for mobilizing the masses in the war against poverty, hunger and underdevelopment. At the international level the media, particularly the western press and international news agencies, were not without justification severely criticized for demeaning African independence and efforts at redressing years of colonial rule. However two contradictory policy perspectives emerged. At the national level the conceptual framework for harnessing the media in the service of development came at a great sacrifice to basic rights and freedoms of expression and the press. At the international level a normative standard on the rights and obligations of the individuals and the media was set. The *Mass Media Declaration* (*MMD*), approved by acclamation and without any abstention in 1978 represented the high point of years of wrangling between the Third World and the so-called Soviet bloc countries, on one hand, and the western countries, on the other (Nodenstreng 1986). Here the third world countries used their colonial experience to highlight the need to treat with respect, and not caricaturize, peoples of non-western cultures, a position supported by Scandinavian countries whose arguments were based on critical research that had intellectually and epistemologically repudiated the rationality of the traditional media theories of the west.

George Gerbner(1987) surveyed the American press' coverage of the debates leading to the MMD and concluded that the American public had not been given a balanced account of the MMD. A number of studies have consistently shown the alarming dimensions of the western media portrayal of situations in the Third World . One comprehensive study, *The Images of Africa Project*, organized under the auspices of FAO to study the western media coverage of famine in Africa in the mid 80's revealed that such coverage was sensationalized with very little analysis on the underlying causes of the problem. Newsstories were superficial, lacked consistency and did not mention initiatives by the local populations to weather the storm. Ethiopia and the Sudan where the famine was most acute tended to be treated as if they represented Africa as a whole.

> The prevailing images were therefore those of apathetic Africa, full of problems and crises; of an exotic and dangerous Africa, in which very different laws were in force from those of "civilized" countries; ravaged by revolts and disturbances; of a hungry and thirsty Africa, without hope; and lastly of an Africa inhabited almost exclusively by Ethiopians and Sudanese.[83]

Photographs transmitted from Africa showed people as "pitiful, victims of uncontrollable events." This effect was achieved through pictures "taken out of context, close-up, emphasizing body language and facial expressions." The photo seemed to be taken from above, without eye contact, so as to give an impression of "apathy and despair, contrasting with the European's ability to take action."[84]

The Third World reaffirmed, at the continental level, the normative rhetoric they had set at the international fora in order to bring about the New World Information and

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[83] FAO (1988) **The Image of Africa.** International Exchange on Communication and Development between Africa and Europe (Rome February 1 - 5) *Report from Ethiopia Summary of Italian Report Synthesis of the European National Reports,p.8 Summary of the German Report Appendix to the Summary of the Danish Report. Summary of the UK Report*

[84] FAO Images of Africa 1988, Synthesis,p 8)

Communication Order (NWICO). In the case of African leaders one such example was the Yaounde declaration. It acknowledged the colonial legacy in the African media systems and delegates pledged to "decolonize" the media. The declaration saw as necessary the need to involve greater participation of the masses in the communication media as a means of liberation and expression of the peoples freedom.⁸⁵ The declaration also saw the media as crucial in giving this expression in the framework of the international instruments of basic human rights, peace and international understanding.

> "In this national effort, which presupposes a qualitatively new role for communication, free access to information is a factor that can stimulate development. We need a new conception of freedom of information such as will truly enfranchise men and society instead of subjecting them to the conditioning of those who control the powerful communication media, such as will contribute to the democratization of communication and recognize the rights of individuals and peoples to be informed, to inform and freely express themselves(Yaounde Declaration 1982)."

While this communication approach to development, particularly the concept of development communication may have emerged in the Third World as a reaction to the western media patterns of journalism the Philippines is generally credited with developing the scientific definition and rationalization for the concept. According to Quebral (1973) development communication is the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic and social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential.

The role of telecommunications in development and the need for a pooling of informational

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⁸⁵ This position is in harmony with the theoretical postulate that human communication is fundamentally interactive and participatory The right to communicate is rooted in the pattern of social interaction and participation. This entails the development of material resources for the satisfaction of human communication needs (Harms 1980, Fisher 1982)

resources as well as exchange of information and acquisition of new communication technologies has long been recognized by Third World countries.[86] A conference of ministers of information of the nonaligned countries held in Zimbabwe in 1987 reviewed the situation in the field of information and, "in view of current trends in information systems and the new ways of data and message circulation by electronic media.." insisted that the rights to communicate and to be heard

> are fundamental human and social rights and that information is a crucial resource for ensuring national independence and national development as well as the exercise of political power (Harare Communique 1987,2.10)."

Expressing concern at the corporate concentration of information the Ministers said,

> "The situation demands a more active and wider exchange of technology in the field of information, the adoption of convenient ways of sharing knowledge and experience on the new methods of information and communication, and cooperation among the mass media and other developing countries (Harare Communique 1987,2.10).

The Ministers called upon the non-aligned countries to "redouble their efforts to advance their own infrastructures and to establish coherent policies in the field of communication, education and culture.. They talked of the need to "decolonize" information in the aftermath of the growing (corporate) manipulation and their use for "information colonization." Calling for increased investment in information and communication the Ministers said "information and communication should be used to support the development programs and priorities of (developing countries)."

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[86]   Harare Communique of the Conference of Ministers of Information of the Non-Aligned Countries, Ministry of Information, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1987

Each country is therefore encouraged to develop its public communication policies and systems...in accordance with its own history, social values, cultural traditions and political and development priorities..(Harare Communique 1987,3.17)."

Other key elements of the communique involved the need

1.   for increased media cooperation at regional and other levels,

2.   to study ways of attaining access to technical information and for selecting and purchasing equipment to upgrade information and communication technologies by member countries;

3.   for Third World countries to reduce or free their media from dependence on western news agencies through information and program exchange among member countries,

4.   for expertise and increased access by Third World countries to satellites, modern electronic information systems, informatics and communication installation, data banks and data bases;

5.   to uphold the principles of collective self-reliance and mutual cooperation among Third World countries;

6.   for greater use of non-aligned news agencies and increase news coverage of each other's countries, and

7.   to study the feasibility of application of modern telecommunication technologies for establishing an integrated telecommunication network (Harare Communique 1987,4.24 4.28).

On the use of satellite communication systems the conference communique recognized this as important in the socio-economic development of Third World countries and stressed the need for greater access to satellite systems. The Ministers expressed support for the establishment of a regional satellite communication system and encouraged participation by African countries in the RASCOM project.[87]

2.5.2 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO RURAL SATELLITE COMMUNICATION:

Historical aspects of rural communication problems make satellite communication attractive.[88] This is because it overcomes distances and national obstacles, high quality wide

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[87]   Regional African Satellite Communication

[88]   These include, scarcity of primary power or uncoordinated power generation, scarcity of locally

band is possible between earth stations within satellite coverage area, earth stations can be installed at almost any time and any place where communication needs exist, satellite communication can efficiently and flexibly promote telecommunications development in rural areas, does not require repeater station, requires less maintenance and are suitable in rural areas where skilled engineers are unavailable Connectivity through satellite systems is non-hierarchical - this way remote areas need not wait until all links in the chain have been connected before they are serviced. Satellite system reliability is not affected by failure at any point in the overall network. Satellite service offers point to multi-point communications like teleconferencing and broadcasting, which greatly increase its flexibility and utility (Sanders,Jeremy, Warford and Wellenius 1983; Tamura 1985; Intelsat 1984).

In order to meet special needs of Third World countries INTELSAT has developed VISTA - a thin route satellite service for rural and remote areas. VISTA provides basic satellite communication facilities for voice, telex, teletype and lowspeed data for rural and remote countries presently having inadequate or no telecommunications.[89]

> VISTA's primary purpose is to serve the vast majority of the world's population who live in rural or remote areas and also who are hampered in their economic and social development by inadequate long distance communication facilities. (INTELSAT,1984,33).

Its (VISTA) effectiveness relies on the availability of relatively small, low-cost earth stations of simple design and low power consumption. Earth stations can cost as little as $40 000 - $50 000 and the costs have since declined due to improved technologies in the field of digitalization. Satellite systems are however still very expensive in relative terms. Consultants

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available qualified personnel,typographical conditions which are obstacles to construction of conventional lines and transmission systems and economic constraints on amortizing investments and rendering service profitable due to high costs of construction in rural areas

[89] One application of VISTA is the Star Network See Figure 2 2

(Teleconsult 1989,2) estimate that the total cost of a 2 - channel terminal is about $5,000 per year; terminal capital costs are nearly $50 000 and is not widespread for telephony at the village level in developing countries. Future developments however, such as high-powered satellites are likely to reduce the costs of these systems. Radio systems on the other hand have advantages over the copper cable or optical fibres for rural telecommunications.[90]

1. They do not suffer from problems of vulnerability that afflict landlines.

2. They often have lower installation and maintenance costs than do cables.

3. Systems can be easily moved to new locations, an option that can be very useful if the network is expanding rapidly.

4. They can provide the lowest cost solution for links falling within a certain distance range.

5. Installation times can be short.

The development of multi-access techniques allows for a more efficient utilization of satellite channels.

Satellite communication has since 1960 been used with varying degrees of effectiveness in India (SITE); Arab countries (Arabsat); Peru (Rural Communication Services Project); Alaska and Canada (Knowledge Network, Anik B and Ontario Educational Communications Authority); and Indonesia (Palapya). Lessons learned from these satellite applications can be a useful basis for planning for African satellite systems. Stahmer et al.(1984, 21 -26) identify the following.

1. A long lead time is necessary to develop public service satellite applications. This is

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[90] SADCC countries are reportedly losing interest in the use of landlines because of their maintenance liability and limited carrying capacity. They are considering fibre optics or radio system as an alternative. *8th SATA Conference Report, Arusha, Tanzania, 1988. See also Reports and Review of Availability and Progress on* Establishment of Regional Radio Services, 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM 16/DOC1, 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM 16/DOC2, 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM 16/DOC3, 8 SATA/TZA/ITEM 16A/DOC4.

FIGURE 2.2. THE STAR CONCEPT

DOMESTIC "STAR" NETWORK

TO DESTINATIONS
OUTSIDE THE REGION

STANDARD A OR B
GATEWAY

STANDARD D-1
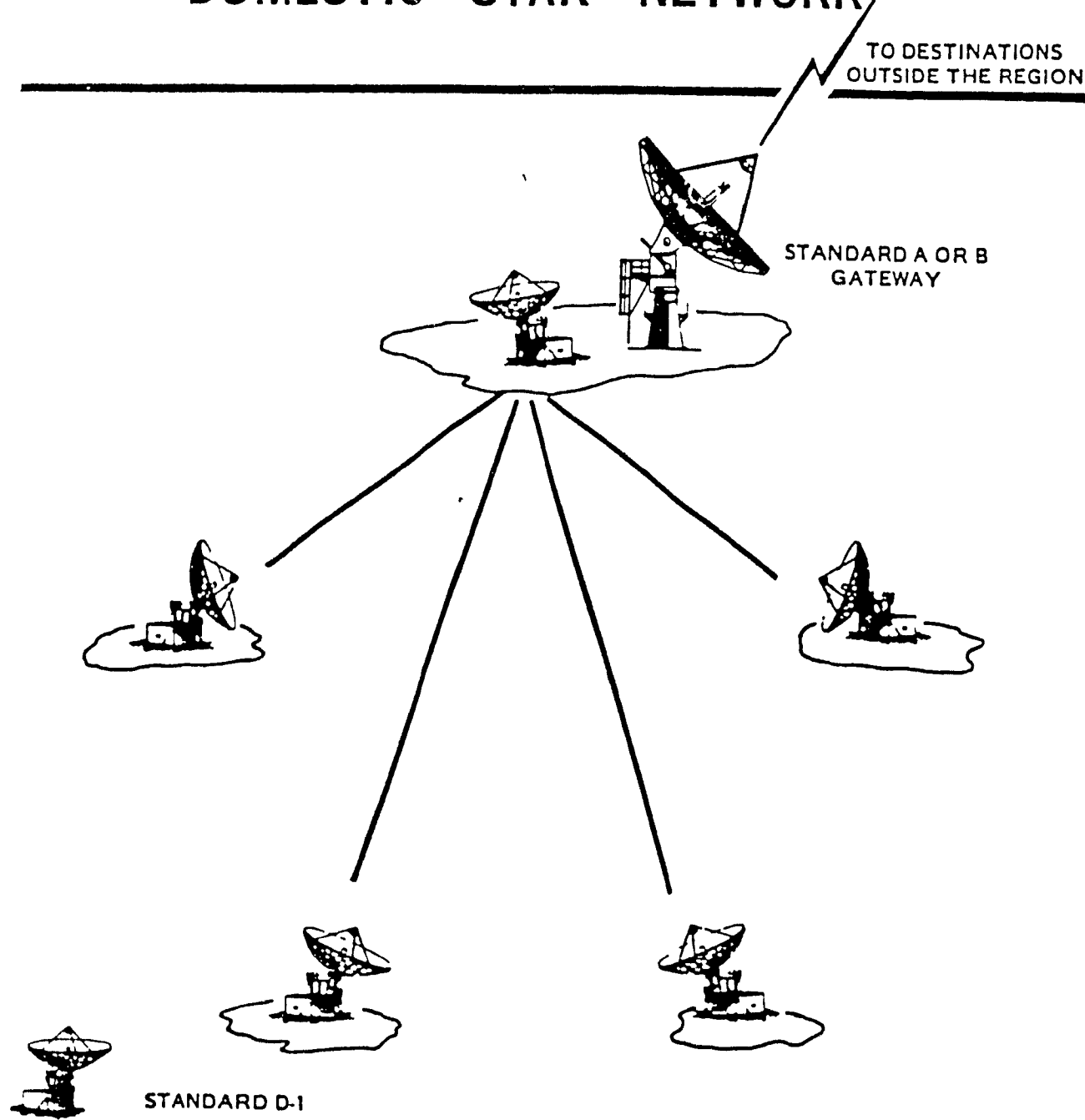
Full time direct links among all D-1 stations are in operation, because a high priority has now been placed on full interconnection of all remote areas and the capital city. Several stations are now carrying more than one channel, new stations are entering the network periodically, and the commitment to satellite communication is secure. Subscribers using D-1 stations wishing to make international connections can still use the "gateway"(INTELSAT 1984,39).

because of the complexity of negotiations for a satellite project, budgeting consideration for novel projects. Policymaking in Africa tends to follow the incremental model

2. Space agencies in the past have played a catalytic role in the exploitation of satellite systems. The transfer of follow - on activities to the telecommunication sector has often proved difficult.

3. Technical systems planning and execution advances well ahead of the user sectors. Users often enter the planning cycle relatively late, leaving them to learn about satellite services, obtain necessary budgets, arrange staff training, and develop software in far too short a period to develop applications equal to the possibilities offered by hardware.

4. Budgetary allocations have been easier to obtain for capital expenses than for software expenses.

5. Development programs using communication cannot succeed without significant political support for the project's activities.

6. Demonstration systems tend to be more flexible than operational systems, leading to problems in adaptation.

7. Overall project management of the satellite system's planning and implementation should include people who combine knowledge of the system's technical capabilities, applications planning and the relevant user agencies.

8. Planning information on potential rural service users is generally meager.

9. Seed funding must be provided for user agencies to set up project offices, plan software development, develop staffing etc.

10. Trial and pilot projects have proven essential to the establishment of public service uses of satellite systems, helping user agencies and carriers to test and integrate new ways of carrying out their tasks.

11. Many telecommunication - based applications support existing programs, such as curriculum exchange and provision of health care. They generally have not been designed to initiate dramatically new approaches or services.

12. Training programs for user agencies and service providers are necessary to bring about common understanding of issues, requirements and possibilities. This has been most effective through seminars and site visits. Training programs for multi disciplinary undertakings do not exist and must be especially designed

13. Inertia and resistance to change cannot be overlooked

14. Not all project development activities will result in a project, nor will all projects result in operational services.

One crucial lesson, inertia and resistance to change, may offer insights in the lack of political

will on the part of many African governments to translate their philosophical statements into

a dynamic program of action that would create the needed environment for NWICO. This lack of political will and the contradiction in the media theories on the part of the African leadership are, like the crisis condition that characterizes Africa's political and social institutions, symptomatic of a theoretical and normative void that was created in the aftermath of the decolonization process.[91]

AFRICAN PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

The traditional western theoretical approaches to the media under the orthodox consensus saw the media as critical gatekeepers, watchdogs against government corruption and misrule, and custodians of public interests and morals. To discharge its responsibilities effectively the press needed constitutional safeguards for its freedom.[92]

In post colonial Africa the policies of the press, radio, television, newspapers, magazines and mobile cinema, despite their "serve the people" rhetoric belie the fact that the media are in reality instruments of the corporate and political elites who had since independence formed a ruling alliance (Markovitz 1977).

It is important to note here that the media are a dimension of communications and that media theories left out large tracts in the communication terrain. Since pre-colonial Africa

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[91] African nationalist leaders had no clear historical agency to show capacity to emancipate society and bring about a genuine improvement in the people's lives. Whatever theorizing has taken place has become a monopoly of the very nationalist leaders who have no reason to develop a self-critical theory. Thus popular democratic ideologies are articulated with class ideological discourses. This leads to alienation and false consciousness - an ideological colonization of one class by another(Saul 1976, Maleje 1973, Young 1986, Magubane 1976). The nationalist leadership and their parties, at least those who did not transform their parties into revolutionary movements, turned out to be *ad hoc movements* with no historic vision and the rallying point of independence was short-lived because it was essentially composed of borrowed ideas to suit a particular historical occasion and, as such, did not lead to theoretical innovations. One potentially promising ideological posture, African Socialism, has merely become the ideological rationalization of personalized power in the context of mercantilist capitalism (Shamuyarira 1978, Saul 1976, Hyden 1980, Young 1986)

[92] What critical researchers found out was that the media had become the instruments of the rich and the powerful (Chomsky 1988), and that freedom of the press was now restricted to protecting the interests of the corporate owners of the media. The motivation of the press was not to safeguard public interests but to operate profitably.

did not have any media of the form seen and used during the colonial era a lot of African philosophical thought, traditionally expressed in interpersonal communication, and other symbolisms did not form part of the communication policies of the African countries. African philosophical thoughts were communicated in an interactive communicative environment with no systemic censorship - hence the freedom of expression is a natural conceptual framework of pre-colonial communication. Paul Ansah (1988,5) notes that in traditional African society freedom of expression is a recognized fundamental human right where consensus was given a premium and this was based on the freedom of expression.[93] However this did not mean freedom of expression was in the absolute sense a guaranteed right. In the Shona culture in Zimbabwe if a majority opinion determined that an individual was "not talking sense" that individual was usually sent out *kunovhiya mbudzi*, or literally to skin a goat.[94] Interpersonal communication, group discussions and song and dance are all able to accommodate heavy idiomatic expressionism in African languages. These idioms, which are in fact philosophical expressions (Gyekye,1988) are effective in creative communication processes that produce a new higher order knowledge from the synthesis of ideas This is because they are embedded in a culture that is not bound by time and space.[95] Under such conditions creativity was enhanced and ideas were networked in an open market place where literally anybody could simply walk up to a group of people and get a chance to speak his

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[93] In one widely researched ethnic group in Africa, the Akan of Ghana, the members of the traditional council allowed discussion and, free and frank expression of opinions, and if there was disagreement, they spent hours, even days if necessary, to argue and exchange ideas till they reached unanimity (Busia,1967)

[94] This applied to occasions where village elders were gathered for their chief's council meeting - a kind of cabinet meeting - at the chief's council hall Since such meetings often took the whole day food was prepared at the place of the meeting This assignment was usually given humorously and for the goat skinner of the day it was not an experience in rigidly authoritarian censorship For some debate participants, this might have afforded them an opportunity to leave the endless debate and try out something less mentally exacting **(Personal interviews with peasants in Murehwa and Murombedzi).**

[95] One does not, for example, have to sit in a studio and wear headphones, or get cues from the producers telling him when to start and when to stop, or to cut copy in order to fit a given space in a newspaper or magazine For this culture time, although divided by day and night, is in reality an unending phenomenon - hence the often heard expression, *"There is no hurry in Africa"*

mind. This natural respect of the right of expression is the essence of the *African Charter of Rights's* preamble which states.

> Taking into account the virtues of their historical tradition and the values of African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on their concept of human and peoples' rights,
> Recognizing, on the one hand, that fundamental human rights stem from the attributes of human beings, which justifies their international protection, and on the other hand, that the reality and respect of peoples' rights should necessarily guarantee human rights
> Firmly convinced of their duty to promote and protect human and peoples' rights and freedoms taking into account the importance traditionally attached to these rights in Africa..[96]

Article 9: (1) of the Charter states "Every individual shall have the right to receive information; (2)Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate opinions within the law. Chapter 2 Article 29(7) sees as the duty of the individual "to preserve and strengthen positive African cultural values in his relations with other members of society in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation . "[97]

The international/national dichotomy in the articulations and practice of basic human rights by African leaders is a subject of intellectual interest in the literature and scholarship on human rights in Africa In the book edited by Claude E Welch Jr and Ronald I Meltzer (1984,4) four general points emerge.

1. Individuals in "traditional" African societies existed within social contexts that recognized and protected a variety of human rights

2. Rights accordingly were expressed in ways that varied with the particular settings.

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[96] OAU DOC CAB/LFG/67/3 Rev 5
Banjul Charter, *International Legal Materials* Washington American Society of International Law 21, No 1 1982 pp 59 - 68

[97] OAU DOC, Banjul Charter

3   So called "traditional" societies were not static, but subject to significant alternation overtime; equally, "traditional" beliefs could be, and were, changed in response to different pressures.

4   Constitutional and legal forms for recognizing and protecting rights have shortcomings that result from the continuing influence of "traditional" definitions and practices, meaning that human rights in contemporary Africa may best be supported by relying on, and gradually changing, the "traditional" definitions and practices of rights (Welch, Meltzer 1984,8).

While these preambular declarations amount to some theorizing they are in reality unoperationalizable opening statements camouflaging a much more authoritarian theoretical discourse of ideas borrowed from the colonial times. Thus even as the delegates in Cameroon were ceremoniously putting their signatures on the Charter there was no sense of relief from the harried media personnel for whom common sense and experience made them operate as cautiously as they always did [98]

2.5.4 SOCIAL AND COMMUNICATION THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT:
Media theories are an outgrowth of social theorizing. Flaws in the latter are invariably reflected in the media theories. Hence in order to construct a communication theory that reflects an emancipatory interest and the dynamism of the human agency it is necessary to initiate this reconstruction from a social rather than media theoretical perspective. The historical aspects of the critique of social theory are an essential starting point.

2.5.4.1 ORTHODOX CONSENSUS IN SOCIAL THEORY

When historian, John Roberts (1986) talked of "habits of civilizations in retreat"[99] and the subsequent loss of confidence in western civilization in the twentieth century partly as a

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[98]   The mainstream media were thus essentially a western construct although they operated under the conceptual framework of freedom of the press within the overall ideology of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was believed that the mass media were a great mobilizing force - an idea that was popularized after the Second World War following Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Goebbel's skillful manipulation of the media (Roper 1978)

[99]   Robert, John, "The Triumph of Western Civilization" BBC -TV Documentary on TV Ontario, 1986

result of the world wars, the discovery of the Nazi war camps which revealed the worst in human mentality, and the caricaturization of the human brain by Freud as a phenomenon manipulable by external and unknown forces, he was reflecting a process of deconstruction whose high point was the fragmentation of the orthodox consensus. The orthodox consensus had until the mid-seventies tried unsuccessfully to hold together a set of social theories influenced by positivism, functionalism and structuralism. The orthodox consensus had held the view that there was unity between the natural and social sciences and that the duty of the researcher was to secure this unity as a basis for social analysis. The disillusionment with the orthodox consensus reflected the failure of the social theories to live up to their expectations. For example theories that focussed on industrialism as a motive force for development were unable to account for the decline of the industrial giants like Britain in the 19th century and many other European countries whose economies, once billed as holding a promising future and regarded as a model to be emulated, experienced a sharp decline and massive unemployment, among many other problems, especially during the decades of the seventies and eighties.

In the case of Germany the disillusionment was a result of the World Wars and the Nazi camps. As Roberts remarked in his TV Documentary *The Triumph of the West*,

"Germany had been one of the cultivators of the fine culture and fine parliamentary democracy - yet she started the war and was also responsible for the ghastly concentration camps (Roberts 1986) "

No longer clearly a mainstream set of ideas the orthodox consensus left behind a variety of competing schools with a diversity of ideas that include hermeneutics, the recovery of the critical schools , the impact of philosophical schools, the revival of Marxism, symbolic

interactionism, ethnomethodology and structuralism and post-structuralism.[100] The concepts of industrial society and modernization, according to Giddens (1982,59), represent a set of views that saw industrialism as the main motive force that would transform the world. Industrialized countries were seen as examples whose development strategies had to be followed if less developed countries were to achieve the same level of development as the West. But there were many conceptual weaknesses in early communication theorizing. These weaknesses were absorbed in the post-colonial communication policies. According to Cees Hamelink(1981, 8) theoretical models applied to communication research continued to depend on mass media theories which were "usually fragmentary, and based on obsolete psychological and sociological notions ,political science theories on international relations that were usually inadequate descriptions of the status quo situations and the imperialism/dependencia theories that were usually too narrowly confined to the transfer of mechanism."

2.5.4.2 THE DIALECTICAL-HERMENEUTIC THEORY

One area of western social theory that evolved from the works of, among others, Karl Popper (Burke 1983, Faludi 1986 Berkson 1984) Jurgen Habermas (1978; McCarthy 1978) Theodore Adorno (Tar 1977) and the Frankfurt School (Tar 1977, Geuss 1981) the hermeneutic-dialectic, with its emphasis on critical reflection through understanding and active participation in a communicative environment, had its parallels in traditional African philosophical thought and communication processes In both traditions the emphasis was on understanding through dialogue, as in the case study of the Akans of Ghana. Unfortunately

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This in turn has brought a sharp debate on the merits and demerits of such plural diversity in social theories Those welcoming such diversity, like Feyerabend (1981), see it as a multi-theorist counter to the dogmatism that characterized the orthodox consensus and argue that the study of human beings is a study of varied human agents

However at the other end of the scale in the theoretical debate are the empiricists who have down-played the importance of theory , highlighting in their criticism the state of anarchy in the post modernist era of social theories An important element in the now discredited orthodox consensus was the influence of the conception of the industrial society and the modernization theory

the African tradition of communication was subsumed by the western positivist model and never assumed the center stage role in the communicative environment. Neither was it dynamically integrated in the mainstream media. The dialectical - hermeneutic itself, with its sound scientific base, has never been a very significant force in the western media theories and practices. Critical mass communication researcher J.D Halloran (1981) says, "We are still surviving, but we ask ourselves from time to time how long we are going to be allowed to continue with our sort of work."[101]

However out of such research has emerged very crucial definitional questions about information, communication and the kinds of issues information is supposed to address "If information is the answer, what is the question" asks Halloran (1981) Ji from a developmental perspective information or communication is supposed to be a lightning rod, an agent of change or, organizing force for work then a crucial element in information is knowledge. People need knowledge to effectively organize their lives, and to carry out tasks that are directly relevant to that process of social reproduction Knowledge, according to Krippendorff(1987) "is partly derived from interpreting data and partly created in the mind of an observer or by communicating within a community of observers "

> All three parts make knowledge indigenous to and a construction by an observing system. Knowledge can become information if it is communicated, written down and expressed. The library stores only potential information and makes it available to a community of interested readers It will become used information only when it does something, when it is applied at least to a reader's mind but more particularly when it organizes something outside that reader, when the idea is put to work, whether it helps designing a machine, changing a practice, organizing a group or making better management decisions The kind of knowledge that is purely appreciative, self satisfying, a value in itself - which has been part of western liberal ideology, since the period of enlightenment , does not support any work and is not to be equated with any information The closest characterization of information in terms of knowledge is that it is "know-how" not "know what", not "know why" and not "know-what-for (Krippendorff 1984,6) "

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[101]   Quoted in Hamelink (1981,11)

Krippendorff's thesis on knowledge generation focusing as it does on interpreting observational data, creativity through the mind and communicating within the community means the current of information and communication would have to be restructured to allow for a more participatory process of knowledge generation. [2] The present structures of information and communication are top heavy, use a top down model of communication and reality is prescribed by those who own or control the system. Hamelink's characterizes the structure as

1   *Oligopolistic:* their control is in the hands of a few large corporations,

2   *Hierarchical:* the few talk to many,

3   *Synchronic:* the receivers are synchronized with the interests of the senders,

4   *Bureaucratic:* there is a two way flow but quality differs with its direction, the top - bottom flow is decisive

5   *Authoritarian:* the experts' message carries a prescriptive truth (Hamelink 1981,7)

The new structure that would facilitate the indigenous knowledge generation process would need to have the following elements

1   *Democratic:* shared control

2   *Participatory:* the many talking with the many

3   *Diachronic:* a pooling of resources

4   *Horizontal:* flows in many directions with similar or equitable impact

5   *Egalitarian:* co-intentional communication without experts' privileges (Hamelink 1981, 8-9)

At a meta-theoretical level such structural change means a shift from the cause-effect or

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[2]   The notion of creativity as a process of knowledge generation is the subject of literature by Bateson (1972, 1987) and Maruyama(1963,1974) Kripperndorff's notion of a multi-verse rather than a uni-verse to describe the observed world underscores the reality of knowledge generation Drawing his thesis from Bateson, Maruyama, among others, Kripperndorff argues that the communication of various informational inputs is not merely additive but a multiplication that results in an aggregate that is greater than the sum of its component parts The observer or researcher has some ethical obligations, namely, a sense of responsibility, justice, fairness and respect for the observed's domain, world-view and culture

stimulus-response model that for many years characterized the North American communication research theory to the dialectical - hermeneutic The cause-effect theory is flawed (Rowland 1985; Kripperndorff 1984, Varis 1974, Golding 1974) in that it does not context a one-to-one relationship within the broader multi-directional relationships in any given social system. Golding (1974,44) says the main problem with the linear models of communication stemmed from meta-theoretical or epistemological assumptions about information, how it is transmitted and what we do with it Rowland says the cause-effect theory does not overcome the inadequacy inherent at the outset, namely that the effort to articulate the process of public communication uses a system of concepts that may be consistent internally but is bound to be irrelevant externally The old paradigm contained little analysis that goes deep into socio-economic cultural factors to determine the root causes of social problems (Rowland 1985,5,6) The fundamental problem, according to R Zoll and J Henning (1970,20), is that this theoretical development in communication research 'has chosen abstractions which necessarily neglect the very real contradictions which characterize society as a whole, thus leading to a long list of irrelevant studies" The technical interest that undergirds the positivist rationality in the cause-effect theory is essentially instrumentally repressive and basically aims at control over reality by suppressing what cannot be described or prescribed in terms of instrumental relationships Its science is explanatory and its addressees are to remain instrumental objects(Hamelink 1981)

On the other hand the emancipatory interests embedded in the dialectic hermeneutic rationality are aimed at the liberation of potential reality by a creative process of co-learning or co - constructing in generating new realities

2.5.4.3 AFRICAN PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

The multi theoretical approach to social science in the aftermath of the collapse of the orthodox consensus gives the researcher in an African setting an opportunity to theoretically retaxonomize development communication on the basis of the African experience Here the

African philosophical thought, expressed through language and action can be an important basis for evolving a conceptual framework for communication research. African communication is an expression of African philosophical thought which reflects a mode of thinking and a way of life(Nwala,1985) An African philosophy of communication can help the researcher to critically examine communication in Africa with a "view to determining its forms, structure, functions An important part is the role of communication in the African's interpretation of his world view(Okigbo 1987,28) " Because African philosophy is unwritten it has been subject to varied and often conflicting interpretations. One interpretation has contrasted it with western philosophy, the latter being described as "superior" in terms of scientific logic and critical thought process Gyekye (1987,44-57) however argues that such comparisons are based on incomplete knowledge about the dynamics of African philosophy He outlines three key elements in African philosophy

1   Although unwritten there exists an African philosophy which reflects on deep fundamental issues of human existence

2   African traditional thought is not monolithic There may exist a dominant set of ideas but only in the context of a plurality of thought and of intellectual disagreement in the traditional setting Hence the notion of collective thought and action in African societies must not be taken to mean the absence of dissenting views

3   African philosophical thought reflects critical thinking, an exercise of careful judgment and observation of something's value and truth

The Akan proverb *nyasa nni onipa baako ti mu* means

1   that other individuals may be equally wise and capable of spawning equally good if not better ideas,

2   that one should not, or cannot, regard one's intellectual position as final or beyond criticism, but expect it to be evaluated by others, and

3   that in the consequence of (2) one should be prepared to abandon one's position in the face of another person's superior ideas or arguments, or in the event of one's own ideas or arguments being

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(literally, wisdom is not in the head of one person) or the Shona proverb *zano ndoga akasiya jira mumavese* (a person who does not accept criticism or new ideas usually ends up messing things)

judged unacceptable or implausible by others (Gyekye 1988,50)

Thus the elements of logic and criticism are, contrary to the western critique of African traditional thinking, deeply embedded in African patterns of thought

African traditional communication processes express these philosophical thoughts through interpersonal communication with its rich idiomatic language, song and dance, group meetings and discussions and are invariably far more effective in mobilizing people toward development objectives. Here each individual is viewed as a participating subject rather than a passive subject. The notion of the "subject" and "participation" gives the individual a sense of belonging and responsibility. Within the dialectic hermeneutic rationality one finds key elements of the African philosophical thought processes, reflecting perhaps the view that the early forms of European formal philosophy originated from Africa (Onwuchuvi,1986 Okigbo,1987, James,1954)

The importance of studying African philosophical thought as expressed in idioms conversations, song and dance is to underscore the need to establish an epistemological basis for development communication — a basis that is sanitized of the flaws in the orthodox consensus. The philosophy of African communication reflects a desire to learn important things about life and how to overcome life's challenges. The idiomatic expressions are knowledge handed down orally through generations. This story telling tradition is one of the pillars of African culture and philosophy of communication. In oral media the story tells about the values and traditions and culture of people right from the beginning of time. But it also includes humor, legends and folklore. The mass media in Africa do not carry this tradition in their columns. They do not analytically examine complex and serious issues in society. To that extent the modern mass media do not enjoy the credibility that is accorded to traditional forms of communication. Research according to Lindsay (1976,101-105), has been

"dominated by neo-Lazarsfeld research-approach researchers who believe that communication research is and ought ever to be the province of bemused academics whose principal dedication is to the aseptic production of esoteric information derived from available data and based upon arcane hypotheses Researchers or communication theorists who are found mostly in universities see their main function as that of generating infinite numbers of reports, articles, monographs, books, journals, models, proposals, constructs, paradigms, analyses, perspectives and prospectuses most of which do not directly address the needs of the planet's millions of culturally, educationally, informationally and economically deprived "[10]

Traditional systems of communication are "instrumental in the mobilization of people at the grassroots levels for community development and national consciousness (Wilson 1987,100) "

Storytelling in Africa is not some sort of cultural construct or surface reality as the mass media are Stories in Africa have a variety of social, cultural and political roles They are part of the reality which people experience and about which people feel deeply (Traber 1988,117)[105]

Stories told through the traditional media are essentially "foundational" in that they represent the symbolic constitution of a community and its *raison d'etre* In such stories the past is invoked to make sense of the present and provide a prospect for the future (Traber 1988) The mass media on the other hand, contain what Traber calls "fake stories,

"which is no story at all but parades as one It is the pictorial or verbal story of cutting a ribbon (with a pair of scissors presented on a special cushion or tray) or of pressing a button, or of taking a salute, or of opening a seminar or of climbing up the stairs of an airplane and turning around and waving from the top Nor is descending from the aircraft really news, let alone a genuine story And the same is true of (a head of state) inspecting a guard of honour Nothing really happens in these so-called news reports And the same holds true for most politicians' speeches Nothing at all happens after the minister says, 'thank you, ladies and gentlemen' and everybody claps

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quoted in Nwosu(1987 78)

See also Whittington (1986 7)

hands These are fake stories are comparatively harmless, and serve a certain purpose (Traber,1988,121)

That purpose, according to Chomsky (1989) is to create "necessary" illusions

2.6 CONCLUSION

The growth and development of a post-colonial state system and modern technologies of communication, both drawing their rationality from western epistemological traditions evokes critical questions about their capacity to integrate dynamically local culture, philosophy and tradition The SADCC policymakers have yet to dynamically relate the culture of the post colonial state and modern telecommunication technologies to indigenous culture, the latter being what defines life and purpose for the majority of the region's population But this disjuncture is not irreconcilable because the two cultures have a common frame of reference the dialectical hermeneutic rationality If its full potential were exploited the two cultures can be brought into a productive symbiotic relationship

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

3.1 POLICY ISSUES

While there is very little literature on development communication in SADCC the region's geo political texture and colonial history compare well, for analytical purposes, with many regions in the Third World. For the developing countries there has been a steady build up of literature and scholarship on development communication whose wealth of knowledge can be used to analyse attempts at a communication approach to development in SADCC

The collapse of the orthodox consensus - or least its intellectual repudiation - evidenced in part by the development and communication theory failure has led to an intellectual search for alternative paradigmatic approaches to development and communication ranging from communication networking (Rogers 1976 1983) alternative development models (Inayatullah 1967 68) systems models and power relationships (Krippendorff 1984, Galtung 1985, 1968, Grunig 1978, Dovifat 1971, Hopkinson 1963) rural communication theories (McAnany 1980); international and corporate structures of communication and information flow (Schiller 1985, Hamelink 1981), geo political factors in international communication, new communication research models for the third world countries, issues in communication technology and self-

reliant development (Smith 1980, Beltran 1976, Reddi 1986, Stover 1984, McBride 1980, Hedebro 1982, Lall 1986; Becker 1986, Golding 1974, Goulet,Streeten 1979, Hornik 1988) Communication theory is essentially an outgrowth of theorizing in the field of development in that the role of communication has almost always been viewed in the conceptual framework of development strategies In the case of SADCC there is relatively little comprehensive or well researched literature on the region's media The tendency has been for literature and scholarship to focus on Africa as a continent, although in West Africa an extensive bibliography on media research exists.[106] As a result of the heterogeneous nature of the continent media experiences vary from one region to another although the colonial legacy in all post colonial information systems is evidenced by some similarities in ownership and control of the media across Africa. Thus to understand the role of the media or information systems in SADCC, or in any given situation, one has to study the dynamics of the social system within which they operate

The problem with most western researchers has been to assess the African media primarily in the context of their control by the state rather than their dialectical relationships within the prevailing social system This western approach to media research was based on the fallacious assumption that a press system free of government control would play a positive and progressive development role in society A recurring finding in literature and scholarship on development communication is the non-viable and unstable nature of thousands of projects in the third world coupled with empirical evidence[107] that the poor have not really benefitted in any significantly meaningful way (Hornik 1988, Ramirez 1986, Iiene,Futagami, 1987, Clippinger 1976; Griffin,Khan 1978) In the field of communications the optimism

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[106]   Frank Okwu Ugboajah(1985,5) says a high proportion of what has been written in communication literature about the African media has focussed on the west African region and has dealt primarily with Nigerian and Ghanaian mass media "This is quite understandable because of the comparatively early origin, sustained development and widespread proliferation of the press and other forms of mass media in this part of Africa West Africa has also a long history of experience in professional journalism "

[107]   *Selected Project Profiles,Agricultural Communications*, AID Washington DC 1987

generated by such theorizing had been evidenced by the introduction of sophisticated communication technologies on the assumption of an envisioned "leapfrog" progress that would catapult Third World countries beyond the 20th century. The crisis condition gripping the economies of most African countries *is glaring evidence that such envisioned progress has not taken place* This is because the communication approach to development has not been based on a radical theoretical shift from the positivistic rationality that characterized colonial media policies.

Instead, development communication has tended to stress only on the positive aspects of the new technologies of communication and information while neglecting the negative aspects. The mass media, according to Sultana Krippendorff(1986,81), tend to be viewed in terms of their integrative and consensus functions Because of the essentially conflicting interests between the elite and the masses the media represent the discourse of the dominant culture and attempt to mould public opinion to gain consensus on the dominant culture Kruijer(1987,90) says a mutual exchange of views is not in the interest of rulers because it would threaten their cultural monopoly. Thus the main object of the media is the depoliticisation of the masses Gerbner (1987,18,19) says various power roles "roles enter into the decison-making process that prescribes,selects and shapes the final product...in the creation of news the burden of serving institutional purposes is placed upon the selection, treatment and display " Such power roles have both internal and external dimensions, each of which cannot be comprehensively analyzed without reference to the other, where the monopoly control of global information traffic and economy by MNCs and their "hand maidens" the local bureaucrats, means the state's policies will be skewed in favour of monopoly capitalism rather than a genuine improvement of the people's lives

It can therefore be argued that agricultural information along the lines of self-reliance runs counter to the logic of the social system. Thus apart from the media's reluctance to give in-depth coverage of innovative agricultural information containing the kind of knowledge that

has organizational value the problem may be viewed from the perspective that, as Akilagpa Sawyer, vice chancellor of the University of Ghana, put it,

> "In the post-independence, imperialism needs to control developments within the Third World countries, at least to the extent of putting in place, or keeping in being, mechanisms which reproduce the conditions of dependence...and facilitate the continued extraction of surplus value therefrom"[108]

Evidence of this can be seen in a number of content analyses of the African media A typical pattern has tended to show a predominant coverage of foreign, political and business stories and very little in-depth analysis of major socio-economic issues affecting the majority of the continent's population

Osei-Mensah Aborampah and Kwaodo Anokwa (1984) found that *situationally relevant* agricultural information occupied very little space in the African press, a situation that reflected a general pattern of coverage of development-oriented news and ownership of the media as reflected in studies by Dympwa Edoga-Ugwuoju (1984) and Frank Ugboajah (1985) Other studies by Christine L. Ogan and Jo Ellen Fair (1981) showed that the amount of development news in the African press actually declined Obediah Mazombwe (1980) concluded that the African media lacked information on serious issues The media were replete with trivia in form of imported cultural programming and of very little developmental relevance to the rural people Empirical evidence has highlighted the basic problems concerning the Third World mass media. John Lent (1979 1 13) taxonomizes some of them as,

1. Thrusting sophisticated technological and big business economic systems upon the mass media of developing countries -- systems that encourage them to leap intermediate stages of development, a situation that has consolidated dependency relationships on the part of the Third World.

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[108] Nu K Bentsi-Enchill, "Towards Basic Choices" *West Africa*, March 28, 1988, p 547

2   Treating mass media as playthings of urban elites by initiating expensive media, often for frivolous reasons; simultaneously ignoring the needs of the rural peoples who represent the majority of the populations. Often television was introduced without careful research but for curious and haphazard reasons.

3   Promoting foreign-originated content to the Third World mass media, to the extent that their societies now feel they have been passive recipients of distorted, inadequate and biased information.

4   Redefining the development journalism concept (by supranational bodies and new ruling cliques) to imply government-say-so journalism, the result being most of Third World countries practice authoritarian philosophies concerning mass communications

5.   Conducting mass communications training, education and research from metropolitan nations' frameworks rather than looking at indigenous needs and problems.

In the context of this problem profile the contents of the third world mass media are seen as not only *frivolously irrelevant* but even negative for rural development (Juan Diaz Bordenave and Luis Beltran 1976) Dr Y.V.L. Rao's (1976,71-72) studies showed that the mainstream media reached a relatively small number of rural people and that traditional media involving interpersonal communication were more pervasive - a finding supported by Uche(1985) and Ugboajah(1985). Another aspect of the problem was that even where there was considerable information in the mass media for the rural people this was largely in form of directives from the bureaucratic elite to the masses.

In his taxonomy of "empirically substantiated arguments" against the positivistic approaches to the diffusion of innovations model Beltran says structural change in social system is a prerequisite for any meaningful democratic development

> Technological improvements in agriculture will not necessarily lead to such development and may even impede it by strengthening the dominant conservative elites. Communication as it presently exists often works against development and in favour of the elites because it is so subdued to influence of the social system that it can hardly be expected to act independently as the main contributor to profound and wide social transformation (Beltran 1976,19).

The problem with the positivistic approaches had been that the most fundamental tenet of social reproduction, *continuity and change*, where the past acts as a stabilizing element of change as expressed in the *Taoist* philosophy of the *Ying and Yeng* forces, had been subsumed by the old paradigm that saw a move away from tradition and culture as essential prerequisites for modernization (Wang and Dissanayake 1984) Within this problem profile of the African media agricultural innovations were historically part of technical information contained in journals. Where such information was more widely distributed through the mass media it benefitted large-scale commercial agriculture

In the case of SADCC there has in the last five years or so also been a build up in the literature and scholarship on transport and communications. However no theoretical framework, drawing as essential empirical input, case studies in development communications, was developed. The regional telecommunications infrastructure thus does not have a well defined relationship with the productive sectors, notably the small scale peasant farming community who form the bulk of the populations of SADCC countries The policy framework for the telecommunications infrastructure has largely been technocratic, with a narrow geo-political focus on the not insignificant acts of regional destabilization by South Africa. The policy formulation process reflects the neo colonial institutions inherited at independence Of the several theories of public policy namely, systems, elite, group, rational, incrementalism, game theory and institutional, mapped out by Thomas Dye (1975) African states seem to have opted largely for an essentially incrementalist theory although elements of elitism and institutionalism are also evident Dye says the elite theory is based on the view that masses are apathetic and ill-informed about public policy In a society divided into a few who have power and the many who do not, only the elites can allocate values for society. Therefore public policy (the allocation of those values) does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elites Changes in public policy will be

incremental rather than revolutionary [109]

As a result of the absence of development communication research inputs in the SADCC telecommunications policymaking process the regional organization's program of action in the field of communications skipped crucial questions on the culture, social consequences of and power relations in the telecommunications infrastructure. Neither was there any analytical assessment of the crucial question on the nature of the relationship between communication and development SADCC policymakers appear to have relied heavily on the old outmoded and intellectually repudiated conceptual framework for development communication which tended to see communication as some kind of magic wand that would transform people from a traditional to a modern society. The media were viewed as instrumental in transforming people's attitudes, values, aspirations away from the traditional societies to modern industrialized societies SADCC policymakers defined a specific policy objective - namely to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa and promote equitable regional economic development through collective self-reliance.

Since the old conceptual approach to development communication is still deeply embedded in the policymakers' frames of reference it is pertinent to review first the literature and scholarship on the old development communication paradigm and how this was subsequently challenged by the new paradigmatic approaches that see communication in a better defined relationship with various social dimensions The second and third parts of the literature review will focus on national, regional and continental dimensions of the SADCC telecommunications development program

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[109]   Elites, Dye says, influence the masses more than the masses influence the elites Policy questions are seldom decided by people through elections which for most part are important only for their symbolic value Elitism also asserts that elites share in a consensus about fundamental norms underlying the social system, that elites agree on the basic 'rules of the game' as well as the continuation of the social system itself Dye says the stability of the system, and even its survival, depends upon elite consensus in behalf of the fundamental values of the system, and only policy alternatives that fall within the shared consensus will be given serious consideration

3.2 COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The post-war era saw some heightened research interest in the mass media. But this early research was handicapped at the meta-communication level by pre-scientific interests associated with the motives of research sponsors(Rowland 1985, Schiller 1985). An optimistic view of the role of the media emerged and became a model for the role of the media in development. Fundamentally the media were viewed as a key prerequisite to economic development and modernization and the eclipse of the traditional societies for the Third World. Thus along with schools and factories the mass media were seen as significant indicators of such progress towards economic growth(Lerner 1958, Pye 1959, Inkeles, Smith 1974, Schramm 1967; Pool 1971). The rationale for urbanization was that this would lead to a greater use of the mass media by masses, made functionally literate through some literacy campaigns, and who in turn would spur economic growth

This uni-directional path to development, charted along the western models provided the conceptual framework for Unesco's strategy in promoting the growth and development of the mass media in the Third World. Thus Unesco established a baseline for the media and communication infrastructural development. Each country was to provide ten newspaper copies, five radio receivers and two cinema seats for every 100 inhabitants of its population. This focus on individual attitude change, or what Shore(1980) calls "individual blame view" was based on the assumption that modernization required a change of attitude because the problems of development lay in individual ignorance and superstitious beliefs. The mass media were seen as a critical and independent variable that could serve as a conduit for bombarding the "backward" populations with new ideas from the west. hence the early diffusion of innovation paradigmatic approaches tended to focus on the extent to which an individual was exposed to and accepted innovations. This linear model of development communication was an outgrowth of the post world war paradigm of development based on industrialism, urbanization, capital intensive technology and economic growth. It was

assumed that human beings would respond positively to incentives. The GNP, per capita income, literacy and urbanization rate became elements in the measurement of development (Carter 1976). Excluded in these indices of economic growth were non-material factors such as dignity, justice and freedom(Rogers 1976).

Despite its flaws development planning in Africa continues to be urban-centered. Rural development has been more of a rhetorical policy posture than a reflection of a dynamic program aimed at transforming the rural areas The result has been a reinforcement through the top-down planning strategies of dualism(Southal 1979, Obudho 1975). Africa's development strategies reflect

> colonial relics of the linear export patterned development along railway or road networks as a manifestation of the external oriented development strategy Pre-independence development policies in many African countries neglected many areas that were potentially beneficial for the African countries themselves .This colonial development pattern is still in evidence today and is reflected in the development of main ports from penetration lines to the hinterland connected to feeder and lateral interconnections both from ports and from nodes along the penetrating lines (Taaffee,Richard and Gould 1963,203)

The primary motive for this pattern of development was to consolidate control of resources According to Halloran (1987) such development practices have been crippled by policies not informed by research, bankrupt of innovative approaches as a result of imitating the western model, enthusiastically applied by local collaborators - third world intellectuals trained in imperial institutions Whatever little research there has been - it was based on western theoretical and methodological biases with little consideration for local cultures [10]

The decade of the sixties experienced an outburst of intellectual interest in development The

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[10]   Speech at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Montreal, May, 1987

inability of the economies of the Third World to "take off" after a massive infusion of capital indicated that socio-cultural elements were an integral dimension of the development processes. Development aid policies had come with a heavy price, namely, pollution, urban decay and increased unemployment. The crisis of confidence in the old development paradigms was part of a broader skepticism levelled against the mainstream ideas that had shaped western social theorizing.

What emerged from the critique of the old development paradigm was a conceptual framework that steered clear of the western positivist model and recovered the traditional pre-colonial and forms of community development based on self reliance and cultural revitalization [111] The notion of self reliance, which became a key element in Julius Nyerere's philosophy of African Socialism, operationalized in Tanzania's *ujaama* program (although there were some structural and socio-political problems that undermined *ujaama* as will be explained in the section on **case studies**) and the revitalization movements which emerged in various places in Third World countries were a manifestation of the new philosophy of development for liberation, articulated by Julius Nyerere, Walter Rodney, Paulo Freire, Andre Gundar Frank, Denis Goulet, who represent the emerging cadre of liberation for development theorists. They all place greater emphasis on the role of the masses in determining the nature of their own development [112] Giddens' theory of structuration is premised on the notion of human agents as knowledgeable actors who through practical consciousness are involved in the creation of their structures. A symposium on alternative strategies for development which was held in Tanzania in 1976 noted that the basic assumptions and premises of "the last twenty years" which saw development of Third World

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[111]   Leading alternative development theorists include Denis Goulet, Paul Streeten, Gunder-Frank, Walter Rodney, Julius Nyerere, Paulo Freire, Inayatullah, S. Dube, among others.

[112]   J de Schutter and G Berner (1980) define development as a process of socio-economic change of a society. This process should be directed towards various development goals like the satisfaction of human needs social participation and control and ecological soundness. From the assumption that development is the central variable in any societal activity it follows that technology can only be seen as a means to achieve development goals.

countries being modelled after their ex-colonial masters had shown not only to be untenable but did not appear to be necessary, or even desirable for the majority of the developing countries (Pugwash 1977,257) The western-oriented and capital intensive model of development would not lead to genuine development but to

> growing personal and group alienation, to the disruption of the human and social environment in a variety of ways ranging from organized crime to acute pollution, urban claustrophobia and monetary and economic crises (Pugwash 1977,257)

Over a decade after this declaration Africa, as predicted is in deep economic crisis - a situation exacerbated by the level of the continent's indebtedness The Ghanaian High Commissioner to Canada, Joe L S Abbey says Africa, "after twenty years of disastrously misguided policies, has been brought to a sorry state of declining food production and an economy that has degenerated into chaos "[1] The crisis in Africa could partly be attributed to

> misperceptions of the reality and failure in policymaking. The tendency to view development in terms that dislocate individuals and even communities from their natural, social and cultural setting, to be utilized as mechanical devices or physical inputs for development, itself viewed in terms of growth and growth statistics, can only produce chaos out of the present crisis (Abbey 1986)

Abbey argues that there has been a conspicuous failure to build on existing values and

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[1]   Africa's debt service ratio doubled to 27 percent between 1977 and 1985 which means Africa will have to spend US$6 8 billion a year to service existing debts The Tanzanian symposium in 1976 saw aid as essentially an instrument of domination of the poor countries by the rich countries - "a band aid strategy" aimed at solving Africa's economic problems IMF stabilization programs were seen as a futile attempt to smooth over a festering economic wound This band aid strategy might give temporary relief to the adverse effects of economic problems but in so doing the strategy was merely postponing the inevitable rupture which would in the long run occur with magnified viciousness than would be the case had the root problems of the economy been dealt with sooner than later (Abbey 1986)

institutions, not so much as constraints to be overcome, but as a dynamic potential that can facilitate and aid the development process that is sensitive to human worth. Ibbow Hutchful, professor at Trent University, Ontario, talks of a disjuncture between development and social institutions that grew out of colonial experience, on one hand, and on the other hand, traditional cultural institutions that have always sustained the people of Africa. But he expresses hope that out of that disjuncture will emerge a new configuration of cultural and social institutions that will respond more dynamically to the needs of the people.[11]

3.3 SELF-RELIANCE IN DEVELOPMENT

Against this background some less developed countries had recognized the need to plan their development on "the basis of minimum reference to and dependence on assistance from developed countries

> Simply stated, this view - self-reliance - resolves itself into a question of
> achieving political, economic and cultural independence, and autonomy of
> decisionmaking and management(Pugwash 1973,258)

The Tanzania symposium saw self-reliance as a concept and as a strategy in national development. The role of aid and multinational cooperation would have to be re-defined and reoriented towards furthering self-reliant development. The symposium spelled out the key aspects of self-reliance as "the will to build up the capacity for autonomous decision making. The character, content, direction and pace of economic change whether in rural or urban areas whether in industries or education has to be defined and executed with reference to national needs and aspirations."

However, self-reliance did not necessarily mean self-sufficiency nor a lessening of interest in

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[11]   Speech delivered at *Discovering our Future Seminar* Trent University May 1989

international cooperation but

> "a desire to make relations between industrialized and developing countries reflect genuine interdependence and complete international economic justice Self reliance was intended to reflect the need for alternative strategies of development aimed at achieving basic human needs of the entire population. But self-reliance could not be achieved within monolithic structures because it is involved in choices made and decisions taken at different levels - the individual, village, district, province and country - leading to collective self-reliance of the developing countries as a whole within the context of creating an equitable world order (Pugwash 1973,259) "

The notion of self-reliance has always been a historical project underscored by the resistance of peasants to innovations imposed on them by colonial administrations Third world policymakers have undoubtedly noticed the autonomy of the peasants from whom they derived an ideological inspiration. This probably explains their eloquent articulation at international fora of the virtues of self-reliance (Non-Aligned Movement 1972, Oddette, Sauvant 1978, Sauvant 1979, Pugwash 1977)

A key element in national self-reliance is the need for popular participation in institutions and social processes at all levels Where it has been attempted such participation by local communities has, all things being equal, brought about encouraging results This type of social praxis, described as liberation, is an alternative strategy for development Where people have had the opportunity to develop their areas according to their cultural experiences the results have been more promising than western-oriented models of development Appropriately called liberation, this form of self-reliant development ultimately leads, as Denis Goulet points out, to freedom from dependency, both material and psychological, and enhances efforts to overcome political and economic constraints which block a people's creativity (Goulet 1979,555) However the road to such human emancipation is defined within the context of the historical nature of the human condition. Goulet says self reliant development will always be marked by tragedies and suffering Hence the minimal

requirement for genuine development is the promise of basic human needs as the first step towards the long and arduous road to full liberation. This underscores the strategic role of social praxis in development for liberation. The main source of alternative development is the inventiveness of human communities in need as they probe to redefine their core values and vital needs, to cope with nature and outside forces which impinge upon them, and to reassess their relationship to political processes over which they have previously had little control.

Endowing the human agents with knowledgeability and capability to work out their own development patterns is a critical theoretical framework, born out of contemporary literature and scholarship, on which to assess the role of SADCC's transport and communication in promoting self-reliant regional development. The epistemological premise of the SADCC transport and communication's program of action reveals a structuralist functionalist bias, raising serious theoretical and praxis questions about how the notion of collective self reliance can under those circumstances be implemented meaningfully. SADCC telecommunications development program appears to have been focussed more on structure than on human agency - a largely technical project without organically relating this mega project to indigenous patterns of communication.

3.4 AGENCY AND STRUCTURE - GIDDENS' APPROACH

The theory of structuration is a powerful empirical statement that reinforces notions of self reliance and dialectic-hermeneutics. The orthodox consensus had held the view that there was unity between the natural and social sciences and that the duty of the researcher was to secure this unity as a basis for social analysis. The disillusionment with the orthodox consensus reflected the failure of the social theories to live up to their expectations.

Giddens' theory of structuration seeks to develop partly a synthesis of various social theories and partly new ideas and thus bring about a rethinking of the notion of action and structures. This refiguring of the task of social science brings new minimum requirements in the field of

social research in order to evolve more efficacious research methods as well as bring about a better understanding of human behavior. The theory develops a conceptual framework that enables a more enlightened understanding of human behavior which is critical in any attempts to evolve alternative development strategies. Giddens' theory of structuration is premised on the notion of human agents as knowledgeable actors who through practical consciousness are involved in the creation of their structures although not under conditions they completely control.[11]

Giddens' criticized mainstream sociology which characterized the orthodox consensus for the mistaken self interpretation of its origins vis-a-vis the natural sciences. Sociology, said Giddens, adopted the epistemology of the natural sciences and thus remained blind to the differences between nature and society. It also relied on the now outmoded and discredited philosophy of language which had been seen simply as a means of communication and description without adequate recognition of how it played a crucial part in constituting and perpetuating social life. Lacking a theory of action orthodox sociology, which had relied heavily on over simplified social science based on naturalistic assumptions, failed to deal with a vital part of reality, namely, the role of human knowledge in producing social practices. Sociology thus lacked a conception of conduct as reflexively monitored by social

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[11] Dickie-Clark (1986,159) says the theory provides what is needed to put the social sciences, currently in a state of disarray, on firmer ground and to provide the impact they can make on the thinking and practice of people in general. Clark says the theoretical study of social life must be an intervention in the actual course of events and the theory of structuration is a set of concepts for thinking about social life in a particular way. According to Alex Callinicos (1985,134) Giddens' work represents a very ambitious attempt to effect a synthesis of distinct and opposed traditions in social theory. The theory of structuration aims at overcoming the pervasive dualism of agency and structure. For Fred R Dallmayr Giddens' attempt to recover the de-centered subject is a momentous challenge the challenge of incorporating the lessons of ontology and post structuralism without abandoning concern with the knowledgeability and accountability of actors (Giddens 1982,19). According to Gregor McLennan (1984,126) Giddens' theory has contributed to the intellectual dissatisfaction with a polarization between objectivist and subjectivist accounts of social causality. Giddens' duality of structure admits of no easy separation of structural factors and intentional actions "The duality of structure is in fact a duality of structure and agency, a dialectical understanding of synchrony and diachrony, constraint and enablement. The opportunity for the program in structuration theory that Giddens has initiated as well as problems it must resolve, arise from the unprecedented state of disarray both in basic accounts of the constitution of social life and in the philosophy of science(Cohen 1986, McLennan 1984)

agents "who are practically aware of the conditions of their action (Giddens 1979,253)." Giddens' criticism of the structuralist-functionalist approach was intended to recover the de centered subject. Functionalism, he argued, has close ties with positivism which has links with natural sciences. Functionalism rests on a false dualism synchrony/dychrony where the analysis is supposed to yield a timeless "still" picture of society while the diachronic analysis is supposed to capture changes over time (Clark 1986,167).

Giddens agrees with the structuralist notion of de-centering the subject but is not fully in agreement with the reasons for this notion, namely, that there is need to deny that the individual is fully aware of itself or knows all that can be known about itself as well as that it is not to be taken as simply given but   orical product of interaction with others aided by language (Clark 1986,168). Gidde   re is need for a balanced de centering of the subject by evolving a theory that will endow the subject with effective though incomplete knowledge of themselves and a limited capacity to make a difference to the course of events This conception of human praxis, borrowed from Marxism, emphasizes that human beings are neither to be treated as passive objects nor as wholly free subjects The latter draws its epistemology from hermeneutics with its claim to the imperialism of the subject

Giddens accepts the hermeneutic tradition in so far as it was acknowledged that the description of human activities demands a familiarity with the forms of life expressed in those activities (Giddens 1984,2-3) Gadamer, the founder of the science of hermeneutics, which, according to Giddens, was a recent discovery among the Anglo American sociologists, saw the interpretative analysis of the nature of human beings as the basis of all social science research Giddens' theory of action draws most from Gadamer's hermeneutic philosophy All interlocking aspects of human condition have a place in Giddens' view of human actors as being able to make a difference in the course of events in which they participate The knowledgeability and capability of human agents are derived from prejudgments of inherited traditions, their use of the language and their ability to transcend their historical situatedness

Giddens' notion of the double hermeneutic is based on his view that technical knowledge is dependent upon the traditional knowledge used by actors and there is a constant seepage between the two which has to be taken into account (Clark 1986,164). Another element of the hermeneutic tradition appropriated by Giddens is the historical nature of the ideas and social practices. Giddens identifies history as progressive change , coupled with the cognitive utilization of such identification in order to further that change Thus actors are enabled to be aware of their historical nature and also to intervene in the course of events. A synthesis of the hermeneutic tradition and the structural-functionalist approach will reveal that Giddens' integrative strategy denies both the imperialism of the subject attributed to the interpretative theory and the imperialism of the social subject in functionalism and structuralism (Clark 1986,165).

In an attempt to integrate adequately a theory of face - to - face interaction with one of institutional analysis Giddens' theory of structuration develops in a systematic way the dialectical relationship between agency and structure, with neither having primacy over the other Hence the basic domain of the study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor nor the existence of any form of societal totality but social practices ordered across time and space (Giddens 1984,2)

The de-centered individual is recovered by making him an active, skilled agent who actually produces, sustains and transforms social life (Callinicos 1985,94) At the same time Giddens reduces the determining effect of structure, using the notion of structure in a rather different way from that used in orthodox sociology and one which is compatible to the role he gives to the actors (Callinicos 1985,94) He thus achieves the decisive integration of "action" and "structure" through their interdependence which is brought about in the production of structure by agents using it as a resource and at the same time repeatedly reproducing it as a constraining outcome of their interaction

The theory of structuration has four key components, namely, *duality of structure*, *dialectic of control*, *time-space distanciation* and the *double hermeneutic* Defining structure as any practice by the human agent Giddens says structure is however partly determining and partly determined by human agents Not only structures have power but power is embedded in action. As long as people continue to enact rules of commodification it is because people continue to seek, see and find meaning in acting out the rules of commodification Thus the recovery of the subject without lapsing into subjectivism reflects Giddens' (1979,44) re orientation of human agents away from determinism where actors are reduced to puppets and respond more or less mechanically to the factors, forces or structures, to where humans are endowed with almost complete autonomy and full knowledge of themselves and their actions Giddens draws heavily from phenomenology, philosophy of language, hermeneutics as well as Marxian praxis acknowledging that men make history but not as they please The knowledgeability element in Giddens' theory is an exercise of consciousness on the part of the actor in interpreting objects and events.

> What we create in the first place, we recreate and transform This is what gives us a measure of freedom in making and remaking the social world within constraints imposed by incomplete knowledge, natural and social arrangements made to satisfy needs (Clark 1984,95) "

Giddens says nature is not a human product but society is Therefore social practices are not given as nature is but are brought about by actors endowed with conscious language and a body of collective lay knowledge The notion of *verstehen*, as interpreted by Giddens, is a competent grasp of collective lay knowledge which is a precondition of our being able to interact with others (Clark 1984,95) Giddens adds three elements to meet some of his own objections to hermeneutics and phenomenology First, he sees action as a continuous flow of conduct instead of discrete, abstract and contextless acts of analytical philosophers This establishes voluntaristic capacity of actors to intervene in a potentially malleable object world

and to have acted otherwise should they have seen it fit.

Secondly Giddens brings in the notion of power relationships in society in order to know whose meanings and norms are being effected. Power is related to action by the application of means to achieve outcomes. However the notion of dialectic of control implies that power is a two-way affair and the exercise of power always rests on the unacknowledged or unconscious conditions and results in unintended consequences. There is therefore, according to Giddens, against power and control, some possibility of negotiation and the notion of negotiation implies the possibility of freedom.

Thirdly, social sciences in Giddens' theory of structuration become critical in the context of the double hermeneutic. All social sciences enter into an already theorized world. As a result concepts of social sciences are of less use in controlling society than nature because by and large it is up to society to determine whether it wants to comply, indicating a potential for freedom. This potential, according to Giddens, is the recursive structural reality. Social science does and can develop new ideas and these transformative ideas can have consequences in the life world. The critical element comes in when social sciences consider reflexively the theorized world. The knowledgeability of social actors is always bounded by unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of their own theories or models.

The theory of structuration also incorporates the notion of temporality. Social life, according to Giddens, has to be sustained and transmitted across gaps produced by differences in time and space. Only by overcoming time and space can individuals or groups maintain a presence in the social world and give form to their interaction.

All social interaction mingles presence and absence. Human agents have direct face-to-face contact with each other as present in time and space but they also have access to those distant in time through oral tradition, writing and other storage devices and to those in space by various communication systems. The capability of organization to schedule social

activities across time and space is an essential feature of distanciation

Information technology is more important and effective than rituals in scheduling such unconnected activities. Hence modernity is the massive extension of information in order to change aspects of social reproduction. Information technology, according to Giddens, is constitutive of how organization shuffles resources through time and space. The control of time and space is fundamental to administrative power and information is the media through which such control is carried out. What people know about conditions of social changes influences those social changes, and this accounts for social change. Having moved away from the structuralist-functionalist approach Giddens creates a new theoretical and research program for sociology in which:

1. The differentiation between sociology (as a study of social structure) and political science (as a study of government or political power) which has grown over years and become institutionally sanctified should be repudiated

2. Sociology should come to terms theoretically with the unitary yet diverse international community, .a world in which political transformations of nineteenth century Europe have become transferred to the international plane in the confrontation of the rich and poor nations

3. we should take seriously and explore the possibilities inherent in the idea that there are differing `paths' to development among the industrialized countries which cannot be squeezed between the confines of the old theory of industrial society

4. We should abandon the practice of constructing theories of development on the basis of single cases (Giddens 1982,60)

Thus, for the researcher Giddens looks at issues concerning the relationship between the lay knowledge of actors and the technical knowledge of observers The lay knowledge used by conscious agents is not subject to correction by revelation of technical knowledge of the observers It is important therefore that the observers must grasp the lay knowledge as

constituting the very object of their study (this would include presuppositions and prejudgment as the first stage of the double hermeneutic which is required in the study of social life) This means observers must use the agent's natural language and lay knowledge in order to generate adequate descriptions and explanation in theoretical terms. The second stage of the double hermeneutic enables the observer to subject mutual knowledge, beliefs and practices based upon them to critical assessment in the light of their technical and comparative knowledge (Clark:1984,103).

3.5 STRUCTURATION AND SELF-RELIANCE: The theory of structuration can therefore be used to show that self-reliance and cultural revitalization are not "emotional and ideological outbursts" but an expression of the reality of the knowledgeability of human agents and their capability to conduct their everyday lives in a manner that has a potential for creating structures that can enhance their long-term interests A number of case studies indicate the potential exists for social praxis to develop structures that are amenable to an equitable distribution of resources In Guinea-Bissau development needs were viewed as part of a longer process of human emancipation following political independence won largely through the armed struggle Thus the mobilization of the entire populace, just as during the armed struggle period, gave people a participatory role in self-reliant development programs Similar programs were reported from cultural revitalization movements in Sri Lanka and India, where student volunteers worked in open camps in the countryside to build roads, repair bridges, dig wells and sanitary facilities. In the process villagers were motivated to analyze their conditions and take concrete measures to deal with their community problems. In both cases the people who were involved were peasants, most of them uneducated, poor and powerless Yet they became the greatest resource when mobilized into action. In India women, long regarded by men as weak and indecisive, were able to mobilize themselves into a force of economic regeneration and social uplift for other women self employed as street vendors, artisans, junk smiths and garment workers In Bolivia some peasant communities launched cooperatives in order to use technology for social, economic and cultural

development. Nearby in Colombia actor Manuel Zapata Olivella and his theatrical team sought to galvanize the notion of social praxis in local communities.

Specific solutions to problems of development can only grow out of risk laden probes made by communities themselves as they struggle to find their own way. Goulet (1979, 565) says this is the greatest single lesson learned from every effort made by oppressed groups to emancipate themselves from triple bondage of misery, dependency and passivity

Along this epistemological vein the notion of development communication grew out of the need for a systematic application of laboratory knowledge in field settings

Thus what emerged in the Philippines about ten years ago as a university outreach or extension project to translate research findings into useful information for farmers has now become development communication complemented or replicated elsewhere in Third World in various forms, besides the systematic application of agricultural research information, such as radio campaigns for education, health and adult literacy in Tanzania, Cuba, India and Guinea-Bissau.

In almost every Third World country there exists in one form or the other such outreach programs in which communications play a vital role in distance education. One characteristic of many of these development programs is that they are targeted at specific community needs and through formative and process evaluation strategies are constantly adjusted to take into account existing cultural, socio-political and other circumstances that may uniquely apply to individual communities. In many cases an integrated communications systems approach has been linked to the traditional interpersonal systems with dramatic results. The notions of distance education and self-reliant development are key elements in micro level development communications and represent a paradigmatic shift away from the now discredited western models of communication and development [116]

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[116] Indeed Giddens, Rogers, Beltran, Freire Stover Nyerere, Krippendorff among other have

Paulo Freire's thesis on "conscientization" proposes the abolition of the "transmission mentality" in education and communication and its replacement with a more liberating type of communication education in which dialogue is embedded and is conscious of the socio-economic structure. Rejecting this "transmission mentality" which he calls "banking education" Freire seeks to replace the distinction between the encoder and the decoder with an alternative model called "problematizing" or "liberating" education (Freire 1973,58) A key element in defining the role of communication in development is the nature of the relationships that exist among the the social dimensions. These interrelationships can best be explained through the notion of dialectics, a key aspect of the cybernetic and systems approaches.[117]

Education plays a key role in the distribution of knowledge that is essential in increasing the capability of the poor to overcome constraints to development. But these constraints are both exogenous and endogenous and development communication strategies can only deal with a small part of endogenously generated constraints Hence an understanding of the complex dialectical relationships within and between social processes both at macro and micro-levels is essential in appreciating the full dimensions of the constraints. In developing strategies to deal with these constraints alternative paradigms to development, for example, have to be

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recovered the de-centered human being, redefining him as an active agent who can dynamically affect the process of development because he is not just a passive recipient of messages but possesses a creative mind capable of constructing his own reality through evaluation, amplification and interpretation of messages Hence the interactive nature of development communication makes it a potentially powerful strategy for mass involvement in local development Tanzania's radio campaigns and Cuba's literacy programs where the level of mass involvement in community programs is reported to reached an unprecedented height is an example of the potential of development communication

[117]   The notion of dialectics is an assumption that contradictions and their resolutions in either systems of knowledge or in history are necessary if progress is to be achieved Contradiction lies in the fact that communication, like education is both an agent of change and in turn is changed by society The dialectical process in communication is contingent on other characteristics of the social system itself, namely, economics, political and social, which are in a dialectical process among themselves and with communication (Saha,Lagerlind 1985,195)

designed, now that the western model models have been superseded in the world of intellectual theorizing by a variety of alternative theories ranging from the much criticized dependency model to the liberation and balance of power models. The dependency theory has been criticized for caricaturizing the oppressed people as passive and inactive subjects being manipulated by forces of international capitalism and for suggesting what has been described as a utopian solution of a mass revolution against the established order. The liberation theory, popularized in the wake of successful wars of liberation in some Third World countries and self-reliant programs in Guinea Bissau, Cuba, Tanzania, Vietnam which showed that the oppressed was far from a passive and inactive subject, has nevertheless been too optimistic about the prospects of overcoming the established capitalist system. The balance of power theory is in fact a technocratic statement that tries to chart a middle course between the dependency and liberation theories. The theory, although not yet comprehensively articulated, is a set of ideas arising out of negotiations for the New International Economic Order. At such international forums Third World countries were often at a disadvantage because of their lack of technical skills and knowledge in various aspects of science and technology, one example of such negotiations being the 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference in Geneva convened to consider demands for more allocation of radio frequencies to Third World countries. It recognizes the objective realities of the corporate power and influence of the TNC's as well as the helplessness in international negotiations and effective policy making of Third World countries if they do not develop infrastructures of science and technology in their own countries.

Paul Streeten says one of the weaknesses of the Third World in NIEO negotiations has been an unimaginative approach in attempts to understand the underlying grievances against the present international economic order. He calls for a well staffed, highly qualified secretariat of the Third World, which would muster evidence, prepare the case for international negotiations and propose feasible reforms, worked out in detail.

The balance of power theory also recognizes certain factors in favour of the Third World countries, namely the market forces that determine the production and pricing of the technologies of information and communication as well as a growing cadre of skilled Third World scientists, technicians and other intellectuals. All these factors combined could give Third World countries a stronger hand in negotiating for the transfer of technology from the developed countries [118]

At the local grassroots level human praxis manifests itself among one of the most productive sectors in a rural environment, the rural farmers whom William Smith and Howard Ray (1985) see as active catalysts whose needs, constraints and attitudes influence communications rather than being a receptacle into which information about new agricultural technologies is poured a point that was missed by the structuralist-functionalists who tended to see any social change as exogenously induced - i e requiring foreign intervention in form of aid and ideas to change local attitudes

The implication for communication research is the need to understand communication integrally and dynamically as a process in which all components deserve comparable and undislocated attention because communication is inextricably interwoven with the structure of total society Merely decentralizing communication structures will not per se bring material benefits to the people James Grunig (1978,73) says *communication will not create opportunities* Skillful communication can change a peasant's perception of his situation but it cannot, *acting alone* change that situation that much. It can help the farmer to see opportunities he ignores, but if few opportunities exist, information will not create them

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[118]   There are of course problems with this approach Liberation theorists like Paulo Freire would see such a technocratic solution as an attempt to recruit the masses into the ranks of the oppressors because any negotiations between the oppressed and the oppressors could never produce a mutually satisfactory solution Hence Freire's notion of conscientization is intended to invoke a fighting spirit by making the oppressed aware of the full dimensions of their oppression and thus assert their uniqueness as human beings Human praxis focuses on heightening the consciousness of the people about the unjust social structures and this is regarded as far more important than promoting small-scale improvements, an exercise seen as postponing the day of reckoning for the oppressors

(Brown and Kearl, 1967) Only changes in the socio-economic structures can create opportunities for the poor. Hence Freire's (1973) strategy is to help people see such opportunities by exposing to the masses the full dimensions of structures oppressing and constraining them from taking advantage of those opportunities. Thus a combination of self reliant development paradigms and cybernetic approaches to communication can be a basis for putting in place in a systematic way a new theoretical framework within which the new information and communication technologies can make a lasting and positive contribution to development communication.

3.6 TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY: A major policy question for Third World countries is the role of the new information and communication technologies in national development. At the macro-level the new generation of information and communication technologies is said to have a significant potential in helping developing countries to "leap frog" into the 21st century. The tidal wave of the controversial information revolution which has brought an array of information technologies ranging from high-tech computers, fibre optics and new generation of satellite systems has attracted investments from Third World countries, some of which, like India, Brazil, Indonesia and Singapore are experiencing an annual growth rate in communication and computers of 10 to 20 percent. These countries, including China, Mexico and the Arab countries have since 1975 had their own satellite systems which they use for relaying educational programs in rural areas, domestic and regional communications. New developments in satellite technology promise cheaper and more versatile systems suitable for Third World needs. It is forecast that by early in the next century more emphasis is likely to be put on direct broadcasting by satellite for both TV and data transmission.

Third World governments have two major policy goals: firstly, provide timely and effective public services to enable members of their communities to earn their livelihood and enjoy an enhanced quality of life and, secondly, to develop the human and material resources of

their countries in order to provide the basic needs to all its citizens on the basis of equity in income distribution and social justice The role of the new technologies of information and communication is seen as vital in maintaining the momentum of development, particularly when it focuses on micro-level projects and involving the active participation of the people. Hence informatics - the rational and systematic application of information to economic, social and political problems - integrating computer, satellite, VCR, telex and terrestrial systems and integrated with the conventional telephone, television and radio mobile cinema systems can be a powerful motive force for rural development A major attraction is the fact that in the application of information and communication technology the Third World countries need not adopt older or appropriate technology "just because it happens to be less sophisticated" because the newest technology may be the cheapest and most efficient, a unique characteristic of information technology. For example micro-computers can store volumes of data yet they are relatively inexpensive, have low energy requirements and are portable

But such an optimistic and idyllic characterization of the information and communication technologies comes with ominous warnings that the technologies could, unless properly and carefully planned, produce new forms of dependence and exacerbate inequities in the distribution of goods and services Thus in some countries where such technologies like microcomputers have been introduced into the educational systems, decisions to use them were not necessarily made as a result of research findings, nor did there exist a large number of research oriented projects, monitoring development or assessing the effect of computers on education, according to the findings of the Stanford Symposium on computers for education [119] Another aspect of the findings was that where research had been undertaken it had concentrated on micro level using small and limited experiments This micro-approach was found inadequate or incapable of answering broader national questions, underscoring the

[119]   Executive Summary of the Stanford/UNESCO Symposium on Computers for Education, Which Role for International Research' Stanford University, 10 - 11 March,1986 p 1

need for macro-research in order to provide policy makers with the type of information that would enable them to make rational and informed decisions

Faced with growing pressures to deal decisively with the spiralling crisis of underdevelopment Third World governments have initiated or facilitated the establishment of micro-level development projects using the conventional communication technologies such as radio, audio-visual and mobile cinema systems. These development communication projects ranging from the sophisticated Indian and Indonesian satellite systems to the conventional radio campaigns in Tanzania- now spread across Third World countries have been hailed as vital in order to sustain viable and more fulfilling rural development projects while at the same time reducing social differentiation in the distribution of goods and services

But, overshadowing this optimistic scenario is a problem that reflects the harsh realities of the nature and mandate of the technologies of information and communication One consequence of this problem is the lack of viability for many of these development communication projects. What was originally inaugurated amidst fanfare and optimistic hopes of success now lies broken down or operating in a tattered form, having achieved little by way of the stated aims and objectives In other cases where the infrastructure of the new technologies of information and communication has been established, such as in India, Indonesia and parts of Latin America the promised benefits have yet to tangibly accrue to the intended beneficiaries

While formative and process evaluation have helped to adjust strategies for development as a result of feedback in some of the interactive development communication projects this has largely happened at micro-level At national level communication policy research has been conspicuously lacking and the leadership in Third World countries have been deprived of the capability to make rational and informed policy decisions on the introduction of new information and communication technologies They have therefore failed to understand the full implications of these new technologies whose mandate is, in fact, to promote the interests

of transnational corporations (TNC) that manufactured them (Mosco 1986; Melody 1978).

One such interest is reflected in the World Bank requirement and the Maitland Commission's policy recommendation - that telecommunication infrastructures should be self-supporting and be managed autonomously in order to show promise of a healthy financial rate of return [20] Five economic obstacles to the use of telecommunications for social, economic and cultural growth in the Third World have been identified, namely;

1. *unjust* - because the telecommunication structure appears to be a privileged asset of a few countries rather than a birthright of the majority,

2. *non-egalitarian* because the quality and flow of content via telecommunication systems is heavily biased in favour of a few countries. Third World countries are overwhelmingly receivers rather than generators of content,

3. *non-participatory* because Third World countries and users have virtually no control over the planning, administration and programming of telecommunication systems. Investment decisions regarding the type of telecommunication technologies ignore the basic necessities and conditions of the small countries and are determined by the typically large user in the rich countries,

4. *ineffective* - because available technologies usually do not incorporate feedback mechanisms. Hence without dialogue, the quality of educational, information and cultural content diminishes,

5. *non-pluralistic* - because dependence on a few technologies limits the quality and number of informational, educational and cultural options, apart from any political or ideological restrictions that may exist [21]

Bella Mody and Farukh Basrai (1980,320) who analyzed India's SITE experiment, said the importance of relating single project goals to macro-level goals at project design, implementation, and evaluation stages "cannot be stressed enough"

This calls into question the whole process of piecemeal development planning

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[20] Vincent Mosco Lecture delivered at the University of Montreal, October, 1985 Mosco sees the policy recommendation for an efficiently run and profit motivated telecommunications infrastructure as an attempt by the multinational corporations to increase their marketing of telecommunications equipment to the Third World

[21] *Centro de Telecommunicaciones para el Tercer Mundo* (CETTEM),1980, San Jose, Costa Rica, Ano 1, No 1 p 1 Quoted in Fisher 1982

and bureaucratic implementation by separate water-tight government departments in Third World countries and the need for a genuine integrated rural development (Mody and Basrai 1980,320)."

Michael Traber (1986) and Herbert I Schiller (1985, 1987) warn that the new technologies of information and communication are essentially an instrument of the corporate power of the TNC's. The technologies were developed in, by and for highly advanced capitalist economies, especially that of the United States. It is to be expected therefore that these technologies are being employed single-mindedly to serve market objectives of the TNC"s Contrary to predictions that the new technologies would , through information revolution, bring about fundamental changes in economic, political, social and cultural relations the new information technologies have precipitated a rapid growth of "disinformation and misinformation (Traber 1986,1)." Traber argues that the information revolution has had no emancipatory effect on humans by way of improving the quality of life because it was a manifestation of an information implosion rather than explosion and whose benefits were spread in closed corporate structures of financial, TNC and military establishments

The exclusive nature of the benefits of this information revolution is evidenced by the fact that 90 percent of the data flow via satellite is intra-corporate and about 50 percent of all transborder information flow takes place within communication networks of individual TNC"s When this is added to the TDF of military, governments and diplomats the exclusive nature of the closed rather than open sky is evident(Traber 1986) This exclusivity is seen as an exercise of consolidating corporate power which could threaten the sovereignty of individual Third World nations to the extent that

" the threat to independence in the late twentieth century from the new electronic technologies could be greater than was colonialism For many a society communications satellites may become the pipettes through which data which confers a sovereignty is extracted for processing in some remote place (Smith 1980,176) "

The new system of global domination/dependency that may be created by the new information and communication technologies has another strategy for institutionalizing itself. This involves "cajoling" poor nations and their leaders into a "new technologies race with glowing promises that electronic instrumentation offers the means of moving speedily out of backwardness into the 21st century - an exercise Schiller (1985) describes as a remodelling of the entire information system by a few market economies of the United States and Japan, in particular. This relationship between information and economic power reflects an assumption that overtly respectable international development projects, business ventures, marketing, trade and technology transfer have usually resulted in the domination of the weaker peripheral nations Modernization of less developed countries, says Hamid Mowlana(1986) has in fact led to their conversion and has made them amenable to control by western power centers - a process often referred to as "westoxification" because of the "schizophrenic paralysis of creative power" when newly westernized converts are made to behave in ways different from their natural ways

This domination/dependency relationship configurates itself in a variety of ways. Usha V Reddi (1986,89) says information transmission in the developed countries consists of high cost, capital intensive, labour saving devices based on satellites and computers. The Third World would have to invest heavily in such infrastructure and this creates a technologically dependent nation-spare parts and technical skills would have to be imported from the developed countries This creates new forms of dependence and the strengthening of inequities in the distribution of goods and services(O'Brien 1984,41). Mody and Basran(1980,302) say that this point becomes evident in the problems of applied research institutes for instructional design, learning systems, educational technology and communication research associated with leading universities and which have worked directly with and for TV hardware pioneers and innovators that they have evaluated, such evaluations having been funded, planned, approved and monitored by an agency with an interest in the outcome of the project As the corporate power over and control of the information flow

increases as a result of the new information and communication technologies, the Third World nations experience a declining power and capability to make rational and sovereign decisions about the utilization of natural resources and the distribution of goods and services The state systems become "vassals" in a fortified hierarchical corporate-controlled structure described by Abe Moshowitz (1984,10 -11) as "virtual feudalism" because wealth, power and position will be based on the ownership and control of the distributed production facilities spread around the world.

It is within this hierarchical structure of corporate-controlled information and communication technologies that development communication projects have emerged in the Third World The argument in favour of small scale or appropriate technologies for rural development comes in the wake of growing technological imperative to accelerate development that can no longer solely rely on traditional and indigenous methods. Wilbur Schramm (1977) saw the need for such appropriate technology - ranging from low power localized radio stations, community television to mobile audio-visual vans - as important in order to link rural populations with the more sophisticated technologies J Chaplin, H H Fromm and C Rosetti (1984) contend that satellite broadcasting directly to portable receivers is the most effective way of covering entire nations at zero maintenance cost in a bid to overcome a situation in which VHF/FM transmitters are currently reaching an average 20 percent of the rural population

But such localized and indigenized development communication projects appear to have low chances of survival in the long term, considering their existence under a social system dominated by corporate controlled high-tech communications Indeed it could be argued that the nature of the communication technological link between local communities and the more sophisticated technologies may have a repressive rather than emancipatory effect on the rural populations, reflecting a strategy by the TNC's to extend their power to indigenous resources Many attempts at introducing an expensive communication technology, such as

TV, VCR etc, have frequently been viewed as attempts to promote social change, modernization, national development or cultural integration. But while these stated aims appear genuine "the sad fact is that these high sounding laudable goals are rarely broken down into measurable goals .the result is diffuse TV programs nominally related to the project's aims, and barely noticeable impacts on social change or national development (Mody and Basrai 1980,300) "

John Clippinger (1976,1) says that while much attention has been given to the potential benefits of services based upon communication technology, little attention has been paid to how those benefits are distributed or realized in practice. Some studies have shown that the net effect of deploying many of these technologies was often detrimental to the poorer segments of the populations and served to benefit only the already established interests Comparative studies in Socialist-oriented Algeria and capitalist-oriented El Salvador showed that governments and the urban elite were the principal beneficiaries of communication development because they owned and managed all major communications systems and were the locus of political and economic power. On the other hand, the intended or stated benefits of the development projects, increased employment for El Salvador students and an equitable distribution of income and the reduction of regional disparities in Algeria, failed to materialize Clippinger concludes in his study that despite political and ideological differences between the two countries there were striking similarities in the approach to development and the problems they faced. Despite the intended or stated objectives of communication technology for development, the resulting increased social differentiation was evidence that there was no guarantee these objectives would be accomplished

It becomes more evident that the seemingly viable and properly designed micro-level development communication projects are operating within an environment or system where the local population, having been motivated into community action to improve their lives, have little control over the resources and opportunities needed to guarantee a permanent

improvement in their quality of life. The need for increased control of and participation by peasants in policy-formulation on resources and resource allocation places some obligations on governments and funding agencies such as the World Bank to ensure that the provisions of the United Nations declaration on the right to development are embedded in their funding policies. The right to development was passed by all (but one) members of the United Nations in 1987 [122] Even the World Bank's funding policies now have some normative standards to ensure that development strategies do not end up as "maldevelopment." According to Professor James Paul(1987,3)

> The governments of African countries are presently members, albeit junior ones, of the World Bank; their officials solicit its resources and continuously collaborate with its staff to generate "development projects" which impact on the rural poor - quite often adversely. If peasants and other rural workers in Africa - notably women in their crucial multiple roles - are to be better served by these activities, here and now, then it may be quite important to study ways by which these classes, the historic victims of so much "maldevelopment" activity, can become empowered to protect and promote their interests in development processes. Indeed the essence of human rights notably the rights discussed here- is the empowerment of the right holders (Paul 1987,3).

The long-term viability of development communication projects is invariably dependent on informatics. Apart from reaffirmation by the international community and the World Bank of the principle of human rights in development there still exists the reality that the sophisticated technologies of information and communication are a property of the rich industrialized western countries with whom Third World countries have initiated negotiations for a transfer of technology through the New International Economic Order as well as in the various provisions of the negotiations for a New World Information and Communication Order, notably the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC)

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[122]   Resolution A/RES/41/128, Declaration on the Right to Development 25 February 1987

Earlier negotiations for technology transfer had a shaky start because they involved unequal parties in terms of economic wealth and technological skills (Rubinstein 1985). On one hand the developed countries had the economic and technological power to exploit resources to serve their own interests while the Third World, some of them endowed with rich natural resources, lacked the capital and skills needed to exploit them. One example of this informational disparity, transborder data flow involves the use of Landsat and other systems by the United States to obtain raw data about resources of Third World countries. This data is processed and sold to the developing and other countries as specialized information services and flows of technology, a process of commoditization of information in a multi-billion dollar knowledge industry The information banks in developed countries are projected to earn about \$7 billion in 1988 from the sale of specialized information.[123] While most of this specialized information is accessible to TNCs in intra-corporate transactions, putting the Third World at a disadvantage, a glimmer of hope lies in the fact that the interaction between the two worlds has had some potentially beneficial effects on some Third World countries in form of the transfer of knowledge and technical skills This factor and the competitive nature of the market economies of the west have combined to give the Third World some bargaining strength [124]

A crucial question is whether such good bargains obtained in the international markets by this technocratic elite will benefit the rural masses as well Clippinger's studies have shown how in Algeria and El Salvador the elite have accrued such benefits for their own aggrandizement A similar case has been documented in the case of Tanzania's rural campaigns where the bureaucratic elite had been mandated to promote these programs in order to create what former president Julius Nyerere(1967,12) called " a Tanzanian society consisting of rural economic and social communities where people live together and work

[123] "An Industry in Expansion" NTC/NCI Newsletter,Vol II,No 5,April,1987

[124] These are key elements in the balance of power theory

together for the good of all"[125] While these campaigns, using low cost communication and information technologies such as radios, audio visuals, slide projectors etc., appeared successful, having brought about an average 20 percent increase in knowledge of vital health practices among two million people and an array of health, welfare and educational facilities, they did not reflect a radical re-orientation of the macro-economic and social structures John Saul, Issa Shivji (1976,114) Michela von Freyhold (1977) and Deborah Fahy Bryceson (1982) see the bureaucratic elite as having promoted these campaigns for self aggrandizement in order to be seen as people-oriented in their political and ideological culture For Shivji the "seemingly progressive aspects" of the Tanzanian experiment were simply particular ways in which the ruling elite had established themselves in power These campaigns, according to von Freyhold's "nizer thesis" were merely a set of strategies which expanded the elite's powers vis-a-vis the submerged classes and put them in position which made them a viable partner with the metropolitan bourgeoisie

Bryceson noted that whatever the success of the campaigns, the bureaucratic elite severely circumscribed private accumulation by the peasants, who were at the same time being exhorted to work hard In the meantime the bureaucratic elite who manage and oversee the amassing of collective wealth, are in a strategic position to dra t that wealth 'in dribs and drabs" into a type of private accumulation

> Thus the administrative structure and the national development plans have been undermined by the bureaucratic elite Peasants are dependent on the bureaucrats for goods and services Clinics without medicines, schools without teachers or shops without commodities may register in the statistical reports as "development" but these will represent quite the opposite to the peasants dependent on them (Bryeesson 1982,567) '

Thorden von Vezlen (1972,2) sees the promotion of ujaama without a change in property

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[125] Julius Nyerere Socialism and Rural Development Government Printer, Dar es Salaam 1967 p 12

relations, ownership and control of means of production as exacerbating rural differentiation with the emergence of wealthy landowning agrarian bourgeoisie, dubbed "Ujaama kulaks", for having formed "Ujaama villages" which were closer in nature to joint stock companies. Such kulak pattern of development structures with inadequate materials prevails in many Third World countries [126]

Thus despite these development communication and many other self-help projects Third World countries have experienced an economic decline and various analyses by the World Bank, IMF and other international organizations report a crisis situation prevailing in most of these countries In almost all these situations the poor have become poorer, having suffered a relative decline in average income, despite industrialization, foreign aid and investment

3.7 AFRICAN TELECOMMUNICATION NETWORK DEVELOPMENT

Within the context of the political economy of communication technologies in a post colonial African state a key research question is whether telecommunications development in Africa is truly an effort to bring about new structures that are more responsive to the development and communication needs of the majority of the continent's population or whether this is a commercial project out to make profits

SADCC's telecommunications development program is in part a product of three decades of efforts by Africa to establish her own telecommunications infrastructure that would directly interlink the continent's countries The role of telecommunications in development was recognized as early as the formative years of the Organization of African Unity(Okundi 1975)

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[126] While in the case of Tanzania the country may be genuinely poor with the bureaucratic elite not accumulating that much wealth the picture is different in many other countries Studies in ten Asian countries showed that there had been a decline in real income and wages since 1960 yet in six of those countries wealth was highly centralized twenty per cent of the households received 50 per cent of the total income while the poorest 20 per cent got between seven per cent, in Bangla Desh and 3 8 per cent in the Philippines, the latter being the origin of development communication (Griffin, Khan 1978,295, 301)

Hence in subsequent years the OAU blueprint for the integration of African economic development leading to the African Economic Community(AEC) by the year, includes a comprehensive telecommunications development program(Yusuf,1986) Research in Africa has tended to originate from international agencies such as Unesco, ITU and OECD Some of these studies came as a result of the declaration by the United Nations of 1983 as the World Communications Year.[127] One of the most comprehensive studies in telecommunications was a joint ITU-OECD project It was carried out against a background of the widening gap in services of the world network; the growing need to question the historical approach to financing rural telecommunication services and trends in national and international investments and financing which were not favourable towards telecommunications (Butler 1983). The ITU-OECD project, which took six years to complete started in 1977 and its objective was to provide more evidence and data and propose solutions for the development of telecommunications in the rural areas of developing countries by showing how telecommunications work in favour of development The project's findings dispelled perceptions by some Third World policy makers that telephones were a luxury for the urban rich and that the telecommunication infrastructure did not warrant the same intervention priority and treatment for investment as in other categories of public infrastructure such as roads, health and services, (Butler 1983,2) From a total of 18 cases studies the project's findings also concluded that telecommunications had a great potential in contributing to national development and that the telephone, was more than a luxury but a handmaiden of rural development(Butler 1983) Studies in a number of developing countries have shown a need for telephone services in rural areas A typical pattern in most if not all Third World countries is the inability of the telephone companies to meet the demand for new telephone connections This demand, while greater in urban areas has been noticed to be significantly high in rural areas as well Wellenius (1987), Chu, Srivisal, Allan and

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[127]   U N   Transport   and   Communication   Decade   in   Africa   (1978   1988)
Doc UNECA(E/CN 14/ECO/138, E/CN 14/TRANS/136 p 38

Supadhiloke(1985) carried out studies on rural telephones in Indonesia and Thailand. Their findings showed that villagers have a pressing need to communicate with people outside their own environment in order to perform work-related duties, business transactions or deal with government offices or family members in urban areas According to their research findings where a telephone was available in the village it was fully utilized not only by subscribers but others who came to borrow the phone Three quarters of the telephone calls were long distance The study concluded that if more public phones are installed in the rural areas they will be utilized to the full extent and will provide revenues. David Cleevely (1984,149- 150) says the demand for telephones in the developing countries has always tended to outstrip supply and to be concentrated in urban areas. In one African country the urban penetration (telephones per 100) was 10 while the penetration in the rural areas of the same country was 0 1 Cleevely says this disparity could lead to investments in some areas and no investment in others, exacerbating, in turn, the problem of urban migration and unbalanced growth of major cities Thus there is a growing need for policies and strategies to assist both telecommunications and development planners in the equitable and extension of telecommunication services

A World Bank (Table 3 1) survey of patterns of telephone use showed that most calls were to relatives and friends

According to Saunders, Warford and Wellenius (1983,361) the survey showed that the telephone users tended to be greatest in rural villages that possessed one of the following characteristics,

1   per capita village income was higher than average,

2   the village had a relatively large population,

3   the village was located relatively further away from the major economic, social and government center of San Jose,

4   the educational level of the population was above average,

5   the population tended to be clustered more closely around the site at which the telephone was located

TABLE 3.1 PERCENTAGE OF CALLS - GROUPED BY PURPOSE OF CALL

Primary Purpose of Call	Percentage
1 Family,Kin and friends*	59 7
2 Inquiry about health, health related topics	5 9
3 Commerce	12 6
4 Agriculture and Industry	3 1
5 Government Administration	3 7
6 Professional Services	1 1
7 Emergency Services	0 3
8 No Reply	8 6

*Includes calls to search for or inform about work opportunities

Source: World Bank Data (Sanders,Warford and Wellenius 1983,353)

However Jequier (1984,32) says investment in telecommunications is not "very fashionable" among Third World countries. Part of this lack of interest lies essentially on the fact that little was known about ways in which telecommunications contributed to national development Jequier notes however that worldwide, especially in developed countries, the telecommunication industry has a total investment of $60 billion annually and is a public industry in which many governments are involved The telecommunication industry is undergoing major technological changes which offer promises of new opportunities to all countries Telecommunications do substantially contribute to economic growth. A rise by one percent in the number of telephones per 100 people over a period of five years contributes in the seven following years to a three percent rise in an average per capita income

"If one were to consider only immediate financial profitability it would make sense to invest in urban telecommunication, but if one were to take into account not only revenues accruing to the telecommunications authority, from monthly rental fees, calling charges etc but the overall contribution to the national economy in form of an expanded GNP, higher employment and other benefits investment in rural telephones is very important (Jequier 1983,32,83) "

However non investment in telecommunications can be very costly A non-investing country will have not only to forgo the benefits which will have accrued to it had investments taken place but will pay an enormous "economic penalty" which will in the long run affect the economy Sanders, Watford and Wellenus (1983) note that African governments, in their

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[15] It follows that it is ultimately not lack of knowledge that is thwarting expansion of the telecommunication sector in the Third World but lack of political will (Sanders, Watford and Wellenus 1983) This lack of political will was expressed as a matter of concern at a meeting of African ministers of information who had met as a subcommittee of the Organisation of African Unity and charged with the task of examining the possibility of setting a Pan African satellite system It transpired during the course of the meeting that what seemed to be lacking among many delegates who were all well informed of the need to set up such an important satellite system was

attempts to control and plan have too often discouraged investment and innovation in telecommunication.

Inadequate foreign exchange is another reason for lack of investment in telecommunication in developing countries (Goldschmidt 1984,181) This has led to failure to provide high quality and reliable telecommunication services which in turn, has led to the generally lower economic and administrative efficiency. Goldschmidt notes that the available telecommunication facilities are overloaded and overused, leading to poor overall quality of service Major economies of scale inherent in telecommunication are lost, resulting in higher expansion costs. The levels of telecommunication expansion lag seriously behind those in industrialized countries, indicating a serious underinvestment in telecommunications in the Third World According to the World Bank figures the average telephone density in developing countries per 100 people is 3 9, compared to 44 2 in developed countries The annual rate of growth in telephones in developing countries is 9 8 percent, compared to 4 6 percent in North America and eight percent in Europe Investment as a percentage of the GDP is 0 35 in developing countries, compared to 0 95 in developed countries (Goldschmidt 1984,181-202; Saunders, Warford, Wellenius 1983,6 7) The pattern of telecommunication investment in the Third World has been heavily oriented towards concentrating facilities in and around urban areas and providing international telecommunication facilities despite the fact that there is growing evidence of the profitability of rural investment The World Bank statistics show that 60 to 90 percent of the population of the Third World generally have access to less than 20 percent of the available facilities(Goldschmidt 1984) Statistical evidence shows that industrialized countries' telecommunication networks have been developed on a substantially balanced national basis while the developing countries show clear underdevelopment of networks nationwide with smaller towns and rural areas less developed

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the political will to commit member countries to financing the proposed system (Personal interview with Naomi Nhiwatiwa, deputy minister of information, posts and telecommunications, Zimbabwe 1984)

than the cities. This means the industrialized countries have accepted the principle that a universal telecommunication service is necessary to meet basic social, political and economic development objectives. The decision to promote universal service has been accompanied by policy decisions relating to provision of investment capital for rural service, tariff policies to generate sufficient revenues for overall system operations and subsidizing schemes for rural operations.

However underinvestment and urban concentration of telecommunications in the Third World is caused by, among other things, a shortage of trained managerial and technical personnel and lack of substantial capital investment along with large foreign exchange investment. Investments and technology are a monopoly of multinational corporations (MNCs) and banks whose capitalist-orientation virtually dictate the terms, time, place and manner of investments and technology transfer. Profitability is the key condition for such investments. MNCs do not see themselves under obligation to assist in national development efforts and the only rationality that will persuade the MNCs to invest in rural areas is profitability.[129] But there is a dark side to this optimism on the role of telecommunications. While Jussawalla (Gandy 1983 309 - 320) see unique challenges and benefits of technological change in developing-country telecommunications, focussing on appropriate technology; Snow (1987, 51) and Melody (1987, 65) argue that the measurements to determine the benefits of telecommunications in development are flawed.

> Generally the early assumption was that telecommunication infrastructure hastened development. It is certain that such a relationship implies an activist role for researchers, practitioners, policymakers, and funding programs (Snow 1987,51)

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[129] An editorial comment in a telecommunications journal says if telecommunications are to be run as a commercial enterprise, when rural telephone services cannot be run profitably, then it will simply not be possible to bring everyone within easy reach of a telephone - hence the problems of investment in telecommunications in developing countries remain unsolved.
'Flawed Link' Editorial Comment in Telecommunications Policy March, 1985 page 2

What is often sent to the Third World as technology transfer is obsolete telecommunications gear. Given the restrictive economic constraints within which the the third world countries must operate, to date they have not found expansion on basic telecommunication system to be high enough priority, in comparison with other needs of society like food, water, and electricity to warrant the enormous commitment of resources necessary for telecommunications. Enhanced telecommunication technologies and services are responding primarily to the needs of TNCs and other technologically advanced countries (Melody 1987,68).

Historically, the development of the African telecommunications network had been dominated by commercial and administrative relations with Europe As a consequence, a large amount of domestic telecommunications traffic was being routed through Europe which resulted in very high and completely unrelated telecommunications tariff structures[14] The emergence of former colonial territories as sovereign independent states, each concentrating on the development of its own network, precluded the overall improvement of inter-African communication.

Thus when viewed in comparison with other countries African telecommunications development has not kept pace with general economic development (Okundi 1975) It was within this rather complex framework that the Organization of African Unity recognized the urgent need to develop an inter-African telecommunications network, while at the same time preserving commercial and cultural links with Europe and other continents African governments recognized that telecommunications development was not only vital to economic and social development but also " as vital tools in the hands of governments in exercising administrative and other controls at the national level as well as enabling them to participate more fully in the life of the world community of nations (World Forum 1975,1 2 2 3) To

[14] Meeting on the Implementation of the Pan African Telecommunications Network Addis Ababa 30 October - 10 November, 1972, Published by I T U Geneva Switzerland

achieve these goals African governments, fully aware of the inadequacy of their telecommunications infrastructure, made the establishment of an up-to-date telecommunications network among their first priorities in accelerating the overall socio-economic development of the continent. However while these resolutions held out a lot of promise they largely remained on paper as the ITU-OECD project showed several years later.

Long before the ITU studies (especially the pre-investment surveys in African telecommunications development in 1968) African governments had been toying with the idea of such a pan African telecommunication network. The ITU first organized a conference on African postal and communications administrations in 1962. Here the first international plan for the development of an African telecommunication network was outlined(World Forum 1975,1 2 2.3).

In late 1968 the ITU began detailed pre-investment surveys in Africa of the international requirements for the purpose of producing future plans for an integrated African international network for telephone, telex, telegraph and television communication The ITU recommended on the basis of its findings, that PANAFTEL should not only serve to facilitate connection between countries but should also provide communications between national centers thus providing a medium for developing national networks at the same time

At the meeting of the Implementation of the Pan African Telecommunications Network, held in Addis Ababa in 1972 as well as in West Africa in 1973 to discuss the output of pre-investment surveys it was estimated that a network of 20,000km of international transmission links required to set up the network would require $US100 million to finance it(World Forum 1975,1 2 2 3) ITU also studied the traffic potential for the network in order to determine its viability The study that attempted to forecast traffic between 1975 and 1999 showed a considerable increase in the volume of traffic over the previous period of 1970 to 1979 On the whole traffic forecasting in Africa was found to be difficult in view of lack of reliable traffic data As a result, it has been estimated that actual traffic requirements are normally

underestimated by as much as 50 percent or more(World Forum 1975,1 2 2 3) This underestimate was revised upwards by ITU in 1975.

Thus PANAFTEL, which was inaugurated as part of the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade for Africa (UNTACDA 1978 1988) is seen as being the first step in the development of an efficient and modern telecommunications network in Africa and, at the same time, a foundation of an efficient future regional network for the continent The next stage would include the development of an African domestic satellite system (RASCOM) that would best contribute to an inexpensive method of satisfying the continuously changing traffic matrix of the African continent.

However this portrayal of PANAFTEL is basically idealistic, considering the fact that Africa is currently reeling under a number of adverse conditions ranging from drought to world recession PANAFTEL secretary general (Missing Link 1984) described the telecommunications situation in Africa in 1984 as characterized with serious imbalances in the distribution of telecommunications network between major towns, where administrative services as well as the secondary and tertiary sectors are located, and the generally agricultural non-urban areas The secretary general said this problem was being perpetuated by inadequate financial resources and prohibitive costs of imported equipment and a limited choice of types of equipment and technology Research studies by the ITU in the African telecommunications during the 1960s and 1970s undoubtedly heightened an awareness among the newly independent African states of the potential power of telecommunications in development These studies also heightened an awareness among the African leaders of the gross disparity in the density of telecommunications between developed and developing countries

But Third World countries were not without influence The United Nations declaration on

the peaceful uses of outer space,[131] which affirmed that the outer space and the electromagnetic spectrum was a common heritage of mankind and must be utilized for the benefit of all and the increasing membership of African states in international organizations created among the African countries a sense of power and influence. Having inherited telecommunication policies from the international arena (most of the research in African telecommunications had been done by international organizations using expatriates) the Third World sought to get the same international organizations to play a more active role by attempting to transform them from paternalistic technical-oriented organizations to democratic and socially responsible institutions that would bring about a new international order in the field of communication and economics. During the period of the sixties the increase in the membership of the ITU by Third World countries set the stage for a substantial shift in the balance of power - a shift that would manifest itself in the next decade in the form of attempts to make the ITU more responsive to the special needs of the developing countries (Codding 1982).[132]

One element of reform, the *special needs clause* came in form of the addition of *Article 4* to the ITU Convention, *Purposes of the Union*, that said the ITU would in future

> "foster the creation, development and improvement of telecommunications equipment and network in new or developing countries by every means at its disposal, especially its participation in the appropriate programs of the United Nations(ITU 1960) "

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[131]   United Nations Resolution on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space United Nations, New York For an extensive discussion on the international regulatory regime see Donald J Fleming, J D du Charme, Ram S Jakhu and W G Longman "State Sovereignty and the Effective Management of a Shared Resource Observations drawn from Examining Developments in International Regulation of Radio Communication " *Annals of Air and Space Law*, Vol X, 1985

[132]   Between 1959 and 1965 ITU membership rose from 96 to 129 and the increase involved Third World nations only

Another resolution passed by the delegates expanded the role of ITU in the area of development assistance. A milestone in the growing strength of the Third World was the meeting of the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) in Geneva in 1979. Prior to this conference the allocation of the spectrum had been a matter for the more developed countries. But now the Third World had developed the necessary political acumen to deal with issues of spectrum allocation (Dordick 1978). According to Gandy (1983) the Geneva WARC 79 conference and particularly the Nairobi Plenipotentiary Conference of the ITU in 1982 saw a clear demonstration of the growing belief that telecommunications policy was not now, and could never be, a purely technical matter. The allocation of spectrum and orbital slots was linked to economic and political outcomes which the Third World had come to see as perpetuating their dependence on advanced industrialized nations. The call for a new international economic order, says Gandy, was expanded to include demands for a new world information and communication order. With Unesco's support through the McBride Commission's report the Third World embarked on a new effort to dramatically improve their capacities in the area of telecommunications(Gandy 1983,288). Heather E. Hudson(1983) says the WARC '79 conference placed particular emphasis on the role of telecommunications in development and the need for developing nations to gain access to appropriately designed telecommunications technology. Four policy resolutions emerged from the conference.

1. promotion of technologies in rural development for education, health, agriculture and other activities important for social and economic progress.

2. international cooperation and technical assistance in the fields of space, radio communication with the aim of making available any means of technical assistance in space communications in the Third World countries.

3. transfer of technology, urging administrations of the developing countries to establish policies to strengthen international cooperation and activities which will achieve transfer of telecommunications technology(Hudson 1983, 93-94)

Another element of the ITU's work that reflected the influence of the Third World members was a major study aimed at, in part, finding ways of stimulating telecommunication development across the world. ITU set up the Independent Commission for World Wide Telecommunication Development. The commission, popularly known as the Maitland Commission, after the name of its chairman, drafted a series of observations and recommendations. No development program of any country, said the commission's report," can be balanced, properly integrated, or effective unless it accords telecommunications an appropriate role(ITU 1984,78)." The commission noted the grossly uneven distribution of telephones in the Third World and the problems of acquiring appropriate equipment from the developed countries, namely lack of foreign exchange and the unsuitability of some of the equipment. Changes in the manufacturer's products, the commission said, can create problems over spare parts for obsolescent equipment in the developing countries.[*] And this change in technology has widened the range of technical options and complicated the choices developing countries have to make. The future, said the commission, offers improved quality and new capabilities at a lower cost. Conditions in the remote and rural areas suggest that satellite or radio systems may offer cost effective solutions. But not enough to date was being done to develop this potential and manufacturers must be encouraged to develop systems which will enable the needs of the more remote areas of developing countries to be met at a lower cost. The commission said many problems over the available and quality of service in developing countries are symptoms of inadequacies in organization and management rather than a shortage of investment finance. On the controversial and highly debated issue of

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[*] At a meeting of SATA concern was raised by delegates that manufacturers often discontinue production of their equipment while telecommunication administrations are still committed to buy spares and expansion units for systems already installed 7 SATA/BOT/III M 12/DOC 2- Study of the Development of Regional Manufacturing Strategy (Item 89, p 12)
It was recommended that with contracts for the provision of equipment a clause for the availability of spares for a five year period at least be made to avoid equipment becoming obsolete and resulting in spare parts being unavailable (Item 26) But it was noted (Item 90) that even when such clause was made manufacturers could still find loopholes to violate the contract clause

ownership and control the commission had this to say

"It is for governments to decide whether telecommunications are publicly or privately owned and whether competition should be admitted But telecommunications should be run on business lines as a separate, financially self-sustaining enterprise. It should be properly managed and planned with effective controls(ITU 1984,78) "

On the question of inadequate foreign exchange the commission said developing countries should be encouraged to pool their resources in purchasing appropriate equipment Other recommendations by the commission included, a vigorous training program for telecommunications personnel; the establishment of research and development institutions, local manufacture of telecommunication equipment, adequate financing by Third World countries for their telecommunications networks and the establishment of funds to provide for the earth stations and terrestrial facilities in the developing countries

However Mosco (1986) sees the recommendations of the Maitland Commission as an attempt by the developed countries and MNCs to promote dependency on the part of the developing countries by advocating for the privatization of the telecommunications systems in the Third World Mosco argues that the counterpart of this privatization attempt in the Third World is the move in the developed countries towards deregulation of the telecommunications industry, a move which will ultimately end in increased costs to the public and increased profits for the deregulated industries Mosco says The Maitland Commission is the result of attempts by the industrialized countries to prevent the radicalization of the ITU which has over the last ten years come under the influence of proponents of the new world information and communication order

In implementing the PANAFTEL network SADCC had to contend with a number of obstacles most of which were a legacy of colonial domination These obstacles included

1	telecommunications not being accorded adequate priority in most African countries outside SADCC,

2.	lack of communication standards,

3	power supply problems,

4	use of equipment not adapted to the African environment and requirements,

5	lack of telecommunications operation agreements between administrations,

6	unharmonized tariff rates,

7	fast changing technology,

8	inadequate high-level manpower for technical and administrative management.

9	scarcity of financial resources, and,

10	lack of industries and manufacturing capability (Yusuf 1987,52)

Two additional problems, one of them peculiar to SADCC, are equipment damage due to South Africa's acts of regional destabilization and lightning. It is estimated that such infrastructural damage by South African-sponsored agents amounted to over $US10 billion (SADCC 1989,4) One important element of the PANAFTEL program has been the pre-feasibility studies, RASCOM, in the utilization of satellite communication technology to improve services, especially in rural areas [134] The Regional African Satellite Communications System for Development of Africa (RASCOM) was inaugurated under the Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee (IACC) by the Conference of African Ministers of Transport, Communication and Planning RASCOM's mandate was to

undertake a comprehensive and objective study of an integrated telecommunication network for Africa which will take into account the need to provide a satisfactory service particularly to rural areas in order to enhance

[1]	RASCOM S SATAVIEZ A/INI DOC 1

the socio-economic development of the participating countries

The goal of RASCOM is to provide an efficient, reliable and economic means of telecommunications, including sound and television and community reception by satellite, to all areas using a regional African satellite system, complemented as necessary by any other appropriate technology which is properly integrated into the existing and/or planned national networks with a view of fostering development of African countries (Yusuf 1987,52, ECA/UNTACDA/Res 83/26 -Cairo 1983)

The IACC was tasked with the responsibility of integrating and harmonizing all on going pre feasibility studies in order to avoid needless duplication. RASCOM's terms of reference, have as their immediate objectives,

1.   to carry out a country-by-country study in order to identify the needs for satellite communications, including requirements for transmission of sound and television broadcasting and community reception by satellite, with a view to providing services at the national level in particular, rural and remote areas and the regional level and submit proposals for efficient and economical services using a regional African satellite communications system, complemented as necessary by any other appropriate technology, which shall be properly integrated into the existing and/or planned infrastructures,

2   to undertake technical and economic studies for the design, launching and operation of a regional dedicated satellite system for the African region that would cater for the provision of efficient and economical telecommunications, including requirements for transmission of sound and television broadcasting and community reception by satellite and data communication service for, intra-African connection between States, inter urban connection within countries, and, rural and remote areas of participating countries

3.   to cover all aspects with regard to the integration of the space component into the existing or planned network, in particular, the interfaces and any adaptations needed for the smooth functioning of the two components

4   to identify and prepare a broad outline of specifications for the design and local production, where possible, of all types of equipment that may be required individually or collectively for an integrated system These specifications shall be geared to respond to the African economic, social, technical and physical environment(Yusuf 1987,55)

At the national level the RASCOM project aims primarily at

1   identifying truly national development oriented telecommunication service needs in each country, and requires each country to extensively involve users to determine their requirements It shall approach access to telecommunications not just from the conventional telephone/telex demand as perceived by the Post and Telecommunications(PTT) authorities, but also as *felt by the overall national development authority in form of infrastructural support to other activities This will bring to the study the cultural, economic and social breadth that it needs to satisfy the aspirations of the population of each country*

.2   to achieve this objective, multidisciplinary National Coordination Committees (NCCs) have been established with the PTTs as the focal point. A national coordinator has been named in each African country so as to ensure effective follow up at the national level and to act as a contact for relations with regional activities of the project. Each NCC comprises senior officials of the ministries of rural development, agriculture, radio and television broadcasting, interior, internal and external commerce, public health, planning and economic development, transport and telecommunications (Yusuf 1987,54).

RASCOM's regional level activities use inputs from national studies and include

1   data base for the African regional project,

2   telecommunications supply evaluation,

3   regional planning targets for telecommunications including sound and television broadcasting,

4   traffic distribution forecast between the terrestrial and satellite system,

5   formulation of proposals for implementation,

6   financial and economic evaluation, and,

7   organization and management of the African regional system.

Yusuf (1987,53) says African countries recognize that the collective, self-reliant and self-sustaining development of the continent can only be achieved through the establishment of the AEC and that telecommunications have a vital role to play in its realization. This vital role has been underscored at many international conferences. An important strategic element has been the need to link dynamically the telecommunications infrastructure to the productive sectors, notably agriculture. Recommendation 4 of the Tunis conference on broadcasting in Africa (1987) stresses in its preambular paragraphs the need for effective communications with the rural areas with a view to promoting the development of agriculture, health and education. In Recommendation (2) the Tunis declaration states that member states (must) cooperate in extending telecommunication and broadcasting services to the rural areas.

Thus it is from these pan African and international initiatives that SADCC has derived part of its formula for its telecommunications development program. However some aspects of the pan African and international recommendations have not been given at the SADCC regional

level the emphasis they deserve, notably that telecommunications must be part of an *integrated package* of communication services in order to be better able to respond to social and development needs. This has resulted in the over emphasis on the regional structure and relatively less attention to linking dynamically the regional infrastructure with the productive sectors at grassroots levels. This raises the real possibility of exacerbating the disjuncture between rural and urban areas since the present SADCC telecommunications infrastructure is narrow in scope and too external in its orientation [1] The rationale for more investment in the rural areas is simply that development in Africa is very much linked to development of its rural areas where the overwhelming majority of the populations of SADCC live — up to 80 percent. To develop and realize the potential of rural areas requires a basic infrastructure of which telecommunications must be an integral part (Georg and Lautenberg 1984)

3.8. SADCC TELECOMMUNICATION NETWORK DEVELOPMENT

The vast majority of the SADCC population are engaged in agriculture — hence Africa's strategy for economic recovery underscores the need for increased investment in small — scale agriculture(APPER,1987, Lagos Plan 1979) SADCC supports, through two projects the participation of southern African countries in the RASCOM and PANAFTEL projects The African Domestic Satellite project (SADCC Project 5.0.1) may prove to be of practical application in rural development especially in vast SADCC countries like Botswana, Angola Mozambique and Tanzania The feasibility study will take full advantage of knowledge gained from satellite experiments in other parts of the world in order to evolve practical solutions and technical/economic objectives of satellite communications in the region (SADCC Ten Year Plan 1987,131)

Other key regional projects are,

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[1] Being narrow in scope refers to the fact that the telecommunication structure has used a minor proportion dynamic potential that its current utilization

A. Study of the Implementation of a Regional Data Communications Strategy (Project 10-TC-1). This project involves an investigation of the technical and market aspects of the implementation of the regional data communication and packet switching strategy. The project is in response to what is seen as a growing awareness of the increasing role of and need for advanced telecommunications and informatics services The economics of packet switching typically encourage growth in demand for data service from customers who may be discouraged from using alternative data communication solutions by cost or by quality This in turn encourages the growth of computer-related communication, allows widespread use of available information sources in economic activity and eventually leads to a market growth in advanced telematics and terminals.

The study involves,

1   the potential short, medium and long term demand for packet switching and other data communication facilities in the SADCC region,

2   the technical and economic feasibility of meeting short and medium term regional requirements,

3   requirements and technical alternatives for providing access to and enhancement of Zimbabwe's network, including the inter-country circuits, to meet the potential short-term demand,

4   financial and economic implications of a cooperative solution on the income of each administration, considering alternative data communication possibilities,

5   development of proposals for a rationalized regional network in the medium to long-term including the likely ISDN strategic implications, and

6   development of marketing/promotional proposals for the encouragement of various informatics services (like videotex, teletex and facsimile) regionally

B. Study of the Development of a Regional Manufacturing Strategy (Project 10-TC-2).

This study involves the establishment and/or development of local manufacturing plants in the region based on a survey of the market for various telecommunications products in the SADCC and PTA countries of existing manufacturing experience and potential Elements of the study will include

1. the market for various product types and ranges in the SADCC and PTA region to the year 2000. The products will include electronic telephone handsets, PABX's and key systems, small digital public exchanges, PCM equipment (cable and radio) mobile and portable, subscriber carriers, subscriber concentrators, multi-access subscriber radio, HF and VHF single channel radio, multi-pair copper cable and data modems.

2. strategic market factors such as change in technology forecasts, the competitive supply situation, existing PTC purchasing policies, and intra-regional trade policies;

3. existing experience in manufacture of electronics or related products and linkages (e g metals and plastics) in each SADCC country, and the availability of manpower and material resources;

4. infrastructural and economic policy factors relevant to the development of local industry in each country, including foreign exchange allocation issues; and

5   cost and technological characteristics of manufacture for each product

C. African Domestic Satellite System (Project 10-TC-3).

This study will be carried out in conjunction with the RASCOM project

D. Meteorological telecommunications (Phase 1 and Phase 2).

This project is aimed at improving the speed and efficiency with which meteorological data are collected and disseminated within the SADCC region by making major improvements on the telecommunication facilities in each SADCC country. The justification for the project is based on the recognition that the collection, processing and dissemination of relevant data on national, regional and global basis is heavily dependent on reliable and efficient communication channels. The project, which is part of the World Meteorological Organization's global weather information program also envisages establishing a regional telecommunications hub (RTH) in Lusaka , Zambia, and served by a satellite of national meteorological centres (NMC's)   The RTH would feed interactively weather information into the WMO Global Telecommunication System (GTS)

Another dimension of the meteorological telecommunication project is the Drought Monitoring Centre (DMC) based in Harare, Zimbabwe The DMC is part of the WMO

proposal for a regional drought monitoring program for Africa. It relates to the recognized role of meteorology and drought monitoring in, among other things, the improvement of agricultural performance and nutrition within the SADCC region. The telecommunications component is seen as vital to the operation and efficiency of the DMC(SADCC:Ten Year Plan 1987)

At the national level SADCC has also supported telecommunication development projects with a regional impact.[136] While most of the national projects are aimed at improving or rehabilitating the existing infrastructure which has historically been urban oriented a good number of projects with specifically a rural orientation have emerged Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana have been at the forefront in spearheading this rural penetration of telecommunication projects under the SADCC program of action Of the 53 current telecommunication sector projects 22 are concerned with subscriber network development, rural telecommunications, training and maintenance improvement - reflecting an emphasis on national level expansion of the subscriber base and extension services to rural areas (SADCC Ten Year Plan 1987,12)

3.8.1 ANGOLA: In Angola three telecommunication projects involve upgrading and expansion of the training school in telecommunications, the restoration of the telecommunication links in the interior, expansion of the circuit capacity to southern Angola, rehabilitation and extension of the telephone network in several communities and providing villages along the line of rail with telecommunication services (Projects 1-TC-1 to 1-TC 8)

3.8.2 BOTSWANA: Botswana's rural telecommunication development program focuses on the provision of socio-economic benefits to the rural areas The project consists of a technical and economic feasibility study for the development of services for rural areas. While recent

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[136] Under SADCC definition of "national projects with a regional impact" a number of national projects have been included in the regional projects However what is at stake here is the problem of linking dynamically regional projects to the productive rural sectors

network developments in Botswana have been aimed at providing modern digital facilities to the main population centres of the country the vast majority of the rural communities will remain beyond reach of the main network. The government of Botswana has decided to weigh the economic issues of making significant progress in rural telecommunications, with its general objectives of rural development and employment creation (SADCC Ten Year Plan 1987,43). The project's feasibility study will focus on settlements to be served or to receive upgraded service; expected level of demand, appropriate technical solutions, cost and phasing of investments, and most suitable financial and operating policies (Projects 2-TC-1 to 2-TC-3)

3.8.3 LESOTHO: In Lesotho a similar study as in Botswana aims at providing telecommunication services to clinics and health centres, post offices and postal agencies, police stations and small scale business communities in rural areas. Most of these areas are situated in mountainous regions and are easily accessible by road. It is also proposed to provide automatic rural telephone exchange equipment to areas with a potential capacity of between 20 and 200 subscribers. About 100 such sites have been identified for such equipment (Projects 3-TC-1, 3-TC-2).

3.8.4 MALAWI: Malawi's rural telecommunication development is part of the country's 20-year-master plan covering the period 1983 - 2002. Apart from replacing the aging analogue equipment with a digital system that will also serve the PANAFTEL traffic among the neighbouring countries the project also involves the installation of subscriber radio and associated equipment to provide automatic telephone service to rural areas such as Chitipo, Nkhata Bay where rural growth centres have been designated under the government's rural development program. Part of the master plan aims at providing telephone access within a radius of 16 kilometers of all population centres in the country by the year 1990 (Projects 4-TC-1 to 4-TC 7)

3.8.5 MOZAMBIQUE: Mozambique may well serve as a model on domestic satellite communication. As a result of colonial neglect, sabotage of telecommunications

infrastructure, satellite communications have been found to be not only secure but also represent a high quality, low cost solution to the problem of telecommunication development.

The national and regional satellite communication system seeks to expand the international, regional and national trunk telecommunication transmission systems which will enable Mozambique to improve its PANAFTEL and regional connectivity. The project involves

1   the provision of three earth stations in Maputo, Beira and Nampula;

2   two additional domestic antennae in Lichingwa and Pemba,

3   supply of equipment for telecommunication facilities along the Beira corridor (SATCC Project 5 5 5) and spur radio equipment, telephone exchanges, outside plant and subscriber radio equipment to serve communities in the Beira - Machipanda corridor

In the meteorology sector the project involves the provision of HF radios to all meteorological sub-centers This is necessary to ensure a proper reporting of local meteorological conditions over large areas and at regular intervals (Projects 5-1C-1 to 5-1C-5; 5 Mt 1)

3.8.6 SWAZILAND: In Swaziland telecommunication projects involve an International Telecommunications Switching Centre(ISC) at Mbabane, expansion of national trunk network and the expansion of the multiplex equipment for the ISC (Projects 5 6 2, 5 6 3, 5 6 4)

3.8.7 TANZANIA: For Tanzania the poor quality of service in telephones and congestion in the trunk network means most of the projects are aimed at improving the quality of service The 1984 - 1990 Development Plan has as its general objectives

1   to promote telephone service to all border towns,

2   to extend and improve the reliability of the long distance network so as to ensure the likelihood of call completion attaining acceptable levels,

3   to increase the reliability and capacity of the local switching and cable networks at various cities and towns so as to reduce the long list of waiting applicants, and

4   to introduce automatic and STD service in all regional headquarters

The new international transit exchange in Dar Es Salaam will augment the existing system

whose capacity is exhausted. The second project will provide a new digital radio system between Dar Es Salaam and Dodoma to cater for the PANAFTEL regional and national traffic. It will be complemented by other projects aimed at providing a new transit switch at Dodoma and the multiplex expansion of PANAFTEL routes through Dodoma. Other related projects include provision of a new digital microwave in southern Tanzania and along the coast - all linked to the PANAFTEL network. In the meteorology sector it is proposed to introduce additional district centres as well as HF radio systems in order to improve the weather reporting system (Projects 7-TC-1 to 7-TC-12, 7-MT-1 to 7-MT-3)

3.8.8 ZAMBIA: Unlike Tanzania, Zambia has a fairly developed and underutilized network capacity. Designated as the regional transit point for international communication for the region Zambia has completed the Mwembeshi 2 earth satellite station (SATCC Project 5 8 6) and the remaining PANAFTEL link to Zaire (SATCC Project 5 8 3), Zimbabwe (SATCC Project 5 8 6) and Angola (SATCC Project 5 8 3). Like Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho, Zambia has extended its telecommunication infrastructure into the rural areas. The introduction of new microwave links to Luapula, northern and eastern provinces and the installation of the multi-access radio systems has improved rural communications in those provinces

At the regional level the Mwembeshi earth station (Phase 2) incorporates the regional connectivity plan. The existing earth station has been expanded with additional antennae and associated carrier and multiplex equipment. The project is intended to meet the following objectives.

1   forecast of traffic growth on international routes;

2   redirection of traffic currently handled by other transit centres;

3   improved diversity in routes out of Zambia; and

4   improved interconnectivity with other earth stations in the region

Under SADCC (Project 5 0 4) Zambia is the prime transit point for communication to and

from the region. The regional connectivity project involves the introduction of Intermediate Data Rate (IDR) and Time Division Multiple Access (TDMAA) technologies into the facilities of earth stations in the region. This move is to keep SADCC countries in step with the changing technologies where digitalization, a new technology, is fast outpacing analogue techniques in efficiency and costs. SADCC's project (8-TC-9-3) will involve the installation of a third antenna at the Mwembeshi earth station complex as part of the long range planning based on technical innovations in satellite communications. Long range planning will include,

1   the evolution of regional terrestrial and satellite connectivity,

2   evolution of regional routing strategies,

3   technology changes, including the emergence of IDR/DCME as a digital mainstay satellite carrier,

4   the shift of the Intelsat system toward distributed network concept, and

5   space segment tariff restructuring to directly pass the benefits of DCME to users

At the national level Zambia's telecommunication development program includes the establishment of radio monitoring services(8-TC-1) in order to check, control or reduce illegal transmissions harmful to the secure operation of national communication systems, a message switching system for national and international telegram services. A computer controlled system will process and route telegrams automatically thus increasing speed, efficiency and interconnectibility while at the same time, reducing costs

Zambia also plans to establish a master plan and Fundamental Planning Unit (FPU) aimed at making strategy plans for the long range development on the national telecommunication infrastructure. To avoid the present situation where the Zambian PTC prepares "its investment programs on an ad hoc basis and without any long range strategic view," the FPU will focus on demand and traffic analysis, network development strategy, economic analysis, and investment plan preparation and project identification. A notable element in the FPU is the integration in long range planning of the PTC's social responsibility of contributing to

overall national development and the creation of dynamic communication links with agencies involved in rural development.[137]

> The TPU would act as a support and strategy group within the technical planning department and have the objective of integrating all future network growth and policies with sound commercial, technical and economic principles
> It is recommended that this project commence with the preparation by a consultant of a switching network review, including interim planning proposals for the medium-term in order to recommend solutions for the most urgent outstanding expansion requirements
> Future expansion projects would be identified, defined and configured to meet the technical and economic guidelines of the national network plan. They would be appraised according to financial and economic criteria appropriate to the commercial requirements of the PTC and the PTC's social responsibility of contributing to national development
> An initial and ongoing responsibility of the TPU would be to create and maintain necessary lines of contact between the PTC and those government or other agencies concerned with the development of the Zambian economy to ensure that all requirements, including those relating to rural development are included within the PTC's fundamental demand and investment planning process(SADCC Ten Year Plan 1987, Project 8 TC 5)

Another project aimed at improving rural telecommunications in Zambia is the provision of a radio link in western Zambia. This will complete the 'ring' transmission network covering both western and north western provinces. Rural areas are expected to also benefit in the long term from the proposed mobile radio system planned for Lusaka - Copperbelt corridor.

To meet the anticipated demand forecast for the year 1995 as well as its obligations as the main international transit centre for southern Africa Zambia plans to expand its ISC. Part of the demand forecast for 1995 includes the rural areas where it is planned to install new and expand existing telephone exchanges. Other projects include,

1. upgrading, as part of the PANAFTEL network the microwave link in southern and western Zambia,

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The subject of the social obligations of telecommunications is contained in other parts of the SATA calling for the need to balance motives for profit for the telecommunications enterprise with social obligations (S SATA/TZ/VIII M9/DOC 5)

2   a new telex switch in Lusaka.

3   maintenance of equipment under the NPIM program; and

4   a computerized switching centre for the RTH (Projects 8.1C-1 to 8-1C-12, 8-MTI-1)

3.8.9 ZIMBABWE: Zimbabwe has a twenty-year master plan on telecommunications development with the following mandate:[5]

1   to plan for the entire telecommunications network and its growth over the period 1986 - 2005, taking into consideration effective service penetration into rural areas of the country and close correlation and integration with national industrial economic plans, in order to enhance rapid national progress;

2   to analyse existing situation, establish forecasts of telecommunication services demand, including domestic telephone and telex/data traffic, international telephone and telex/data traffic per destination, particular needs of special users such as civil aviation, broadcasting (sound and television) and other service agencies, facsimile services, leased services and new services resulting from technological innovations; and

3   to assess the economic viability of proposed development projects.

For sound and television broadcasting the master plan recommends:

Television

1   one hundred per cent coverage for TV1 broadcasting

2   introduction of external broadcasting service;

3   introduction of FM stereo in urban areas by 1995;

4   increase in indigenous content of programs, new studios and an increase in O/B (outside broadcasting) facilities.

For rural telecommunication development the plan proposes:

1   Targets for rural telecommunications should be set as *social objectives*, not completely tied to costs.

2   Concessions should be offered to the Post and Telecommunications Corporation in form of interest free loans for specific rural projects.

3   In planning for rural development, the minimum telecommunication facilities should be included in the same way as for other public facilities such as *inter*

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Republic of Zimbabwe   **Telecommunication Development Plan, Vol 1 - 3**   Harare 1986, p 1

Because of its relatively high level of industrialization Zimbabwe is the leading force behind plans to introduce telecommunication services in the region.

alia health, water supply and electricity

4   In future a regional satellite system may be implemented in which case small earth stations could become economic for use in isolated areas. Small "receive-only" TV earth stations (TVRO) could be used to extend broadcast service to these areas

Like Tanzania, Zimbabwe has had to contend with a congested telecommunication network. This problem has been exacerbated by less exuberant financial support for local network rehabilitation program as compared to hardware system expenditures. The result has been the creation of a paradoxical situation of having achieved only relatively limited service improvements in the face of large scale expansion in the PTC's fixed assets(SADCC Ten Year Plan 1987). Zimbabwe has however invested in local network rehabilitation and maintenance. The country's NPIM program takes up a relatively large chunk of the national development projects. At the same time Zimbabwe has included the rural areas in some of its telecommunication development programs. In some parts of the rural areas the multi access radio service (Mars) has been introduced.ᵃ The manufacturer of Mars SR Telecommunications, installed its first microwave transmission system in the Gokwe rural area of Zimbabwe. Gokwe is hilly and has an unpaved road network which is impassable during the rainy season (Michen 1986).ᵇ Under the NPIM Zimbabwe's telecommunication projects include, establishment of maintenance and repair centres, procurement of telecommunication tools and test equipment, underground cable material and components for manufacture of electronic party line equipment, factory tools and microprocessor based research and development systems to support local manufacture of telecommunication

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Gokwe Rural Radio System SATA Mo It 10 Do

In introducing Mars a centrally located base station serves a number of outlying ordered stations. The base station is located near a local exchange or some other convenient access point to public telephone network. They use a limited number of channel for a fixed number of subscribers. When a path is required to a particular subscriber the system automatically allocates a free channel to the subscriber. Once the call is completed and the path is no longer required the system releases the channel for other subscribers to use.

ᵇ   The Mars system had some technical problems attributed to design and component failure in the power system and to an underestimation of skills required for installation and maintenance (SADCC Telecommunications, 1986)

equipment in Zimbabwe, vehicles to support installation and maintenance, establishment of electronic repair centre and transmission equipment for broadcast services. A number of projects involve upgrading, rehabilitating or acquisition of new telecommunication technologies and services. An important element in some of these projects is the incorporation of rural areas in the plans to expand services or acquire new technologies.

One top of the line technology is the Packet Switching System for the country's data network (Project 9 IC 10). This will primarily be for urban-based commercial and industrial enterprises. Another related project involves the provision of facsimile services in rural and urban areas. A bureafax service will be installed to serve subscribers who cannot purchase their own machines. To improve transmission efficiency and expand services Zimbabwe intends to introduce large capacity digital radio links to replace the analogue system. Such sophisticated technologies have been subject to damage by, apart from South African sponsored destabilization campaigns, lightning. One project aims at protecting the equipment from such natural damage by installing surge protection devices such as triple path gas arresters, metrosils and transzorbs.

Zimbabwe needs an effective frequency management system to ensure, through proper assignment of radio channels to users, the correct performance of all types of radio equipment used in the fields of public communication and transport, broadcasting, maritime, aeronautical and meteorological services. One such channel assignment would facilitate the operations of the envisaged public radio paging network for Harare and Bulawayo. In both rural and urban areas part of the network expansion will involve the supply of subscriber radio systems to boost the network of rural telephone exchanges.

In the meteorological sector additional telecommunication facilities are planned for the Drought Monitoring Centre in Harare. This project will involve the supply of Primary Data Users Station (PDUS) or an earth station for reception of Meteostat data as well as,

- a radar picture remote display unit at the Meteorological Telecommunication Centre

(MSTC) at Harare Airport,

2. low density point-to-point UHF or microwave radio links between the DMC and the MSTC at Harare Airport,

3 telecommunication interface equipment between PDUS, remote radar unit and the DMC, and,

4 telecommunication interface between the DMC and the RHH in Lusaka

3.9 CONCLUSION:

A complex and high tech telecommunications infrastructure is slowly taking shape in the SADCC region. It has undoubtedly some tremendous capabilities. It can dynamize the region into one of the most developed enclaves in Africa, or it can force the region to a new level of dependence. What is crucial right now is the extent to which the infrastructure stands ready to promote the productive sectors

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 CASE STUDIES AND RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 COMMUNICATION RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In assessing SATCC's telecommunication development program the researcher's basic objective is to establish the nature of the relationships (not just relationships) between the telecommunication infrastructure and its role in development, taking into account the dynamics of self reliant development and patterns of human communication which coalesce into the capacity of the human agency to influence structures in the process of social reproduction as part of reality construction and knowledge generation (Krippendorff,1984) A key research question is what possibilities are there for the human agency to find full expression, creativity and self fulfillment in the telecommunication infrastructure? Since, in terms of developing its full potential in informatics, SADCC telecommunication infrastructure is still evolving any projections as to its potential can only be assessed on the basis of literature review on case studies in selected Third World countries, field studies in Zimbabwe as well as evaluations on the performance of SADCC itself [1]

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* The research design for this thesis looks at SATCC telecommunications as part of a larger whole of the SADCC communications systems highlighting the failure of SADCC telecommunications policy to integrate all communication strands in the region. This is despite the fact that a large range of telecommunication services is being introduced especially in Zimbabwe

4.2 SADCC COMMUNICATION MEDIA PROFILES

The SADCC telecommunication infrastructure described in the preceding chapter represents one leg of a strategic communication and media triad that ranges from the electronic (telecommunications, radio, television, computers, telex), print (magazines, newspapers, newsletters, posters) to traditional (interpersonal, traditional dance, theatre, drums). A more effective application of the communication in support of development strategy would require the appropriate utilization of all three aspects of communications. While the regional communication policy has focussed almost exclusively on telecommunications SADCC member states have made some policy articulations that include some aspects of the communication triad [142] At the regional level it goes without saying that telecommunications are a necessary but insufficient element in regional development

4.3 CASE STUDIES - A GLOBAL PROFILE

Case studies from around the Third World show that communication in support of development strategies requires a careful balance of communication channels a kind of a hybrid approach for the maximization of the reception of any communicated message. This hybrid or integrated strategy must be built into the project. That way it relates dynamically to the particular demands of the project the project participants will not only be able to receive knowledge and information but to access relevant agencies for a wide range of needs associated with that project. In designing a development communication project it is important to take into account a number of interventions that have impacted adversely on development communication projects. The following case studies a few of hundreds that

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[14] Communication policies are defined by UNESCO (1980) a set 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 the media. These policies exist in every society though they may sometimes be latent and disjointed rather than clearly articulated and harmonized

have mushroomed around the Third World, have in the long-term failed to completely achieve their intended objectives as a result of several problems including the appropriateness of strategies selected to deal with a given problem, project design flaws, resource scarcity, problems in training suitable personnel and hierarchical structure of project organization and implementation. Undoubtedly the projects had varying degrees of effectiveness in social change and development but this was largely in the short-term because they were largely ad hoc projects with no program of action for continuity.

Hence people who became literate during the project implementation lapsed into illiteracy in the long run because of the socio-economic and cultural conditions that may not have given them an opportunity to nurture their newly literate status. In most cases the social system, typically often neo-colonial, meant communication-based solutions were not wholly appropriate to their problems of lack of resources such as land or government farm support infrastructure. Thus even if the communication based strategies for development ended with thousands of people being mobilized to undertake given tasks the institutional interventions characterized by resource scarcity meant the people's development problems had hardly been solved. It goes without saying however that, development communication projects have a great potential in that given a situation of equitable access to resources, the recipients of information or participants in such projects can develop a higher order knowledge to help them to utilize more rationally and efficiently resources at their disposal

4.3.1 TANZANIA RADIO CAMPAIGNS: The radio campaigns in Tanzania were aimed at educating people and involving them as active participants in community-based development projects. In a country where nearly half the population are adults and at one time 90 percent were illiterate Tanzania's 'first we must educate the adults" policy became the underlying clarion call for a campaign to use development communication for mass education. The thrust of the campaign were the rural areas dramatically described by former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere as "While others are trying to reach the moon we are trying to reach the

village " The campaigns, using the radio as the main instrument of communication, also included printed materials, group discussions (interpersonal communication) as supporting elements The subject themes varied from the modest issuing of instructions on the electoral process in 1970 to the more substantive *Mtu ni Afya* literally "man is health", a health education program that reportedly reached two million people and had some dramatic effects on the health practices among a very large number of people (Hall, Dodds 1977)

Initially conceived as a project to educate by radio members of cooperative societies in northern Tanzania as well as for university extension in the south the radio campaign included programs on *economics for everyday life* for peasants in the cooperatives Such programs dealt with questions of budgeting, savings, unions, credit unions and comparative economics Another aspect of the program was a study guide on the country's five year development plan

Implementation of the project was based on the group listening concept Members of the group got a chance to discuss and ask questions based on the messages received by radio Information about groups and their responses to the program was fed back to the program designers Some of the early problems in the implementation of the program resulted from the fact that local leaders, who were expected to promote the project at the local level had not been involved sufficiently in the project's conceptualization and design There were 70 groups with an average of 24 enrolled members of which about 19 attended regularly There were also regular listeners who were not necessarily part of the listening groups The network of schools provided meeting places and local school teachers served as group leaders A group meeting lasted about 75 minutes which included 10 minutes before the radio program, usually devoted to music and announcements, 30 minutes for listening to radio programs and the last 35 minutes for discussions based on what the group had heard on the radio The discussions were led by group leaders who used printed materials as a guide

He(group leader) then invited members to comment or to ask questions Thus

the discussion was started. From then on the group leader would refer to passages in the book to explain difficult parts and answer members' questions. Usually the discussion followed questions from the book, though nearly always this led to raising and exploring of supplementary questions from members. Occasionally members wandered away from the main points, but the group leader usually felt able to bring them back without much difficulty. On the average 12 members of the group made some active contribution in each meeting.

When time was up - and on many occasions this was before all questions had been adequately discussed - the chairman closed the meeting with a summary of what they had been talking about. Sometimes he told members what would be the subject of the following week's meeting, and which section of the booklet they should read in preparation (Hall,Dodds 1977,269).

The next phase of the program was an ambitious attempt to use radio campaigns to involve masses of people in debating the progress, if any, of the country's development since independence. Printed materials were used as a guide to group organization as well as reference information in discussing radio messages. Group membership varied from three to over 200. The pattern was to listen to radio messages and passages read from textbooks after which they broke into discussion groups. An assessment of whether there was any increase in knowledge on the part of the group members was done by testing - written tests for literates and oral test for non literates. The range in the results for the pre-test was 20 to 100 percent with a mean of 72 percent. The range for the post-test was 50 to 100 percent with a mean of 83 percent. A statistical test, "t" test, showed a significant difference in the means of scores, showing that there had been a significant increase in knowledge (Hall and Dodd,1977).

The most far reaching radio campaign *Mtu ni Afya* had three objectives,

1   to provide information about symptoms and the prevention of specific diseases,

2   to increase participants' awareness and encourage group actions regarding measures which groups and individuals could take to bring about their own better health,

3   to encourage the maintenance of newly-acquired reading skills by providing suitable written follow up materials to those who had participated in the national literacy campaign.

The campaign was aimed at reaching one million people and mobilizing popular participation in collective or individual activity in changing the physical environment and living conditions

of people in the rural areas.

> The training of the 75,000 group leaders in the *Mtu ni Afya* campaign emphasized the move from discussion to action. Group leaders were encouraged to give suggestions as to what groups might do in their villages to improve the health conditions. It was suggested that each group leave behind some monument to good health - new latrines, a clean water supply, or similar tribute to their group's activities (Hall and Dodds 1977,283)

The format of a group meeting always began with initially playing radio music whose lyrics related to the campaign as well as political songs, poems and short announcements. This was followed by listening for 20 minutes to radio messages after which the group leader read aloud messages from prepared texts. Discussions were followed by a concrete program of action based on the day's subject. The program of action could mean building toilets or other disease prevention measures. The success of this method of learning depended on the ability of group members to involve themselves in an active discussion of how what is being talked about related to their own particular situation. It was therefore important to involve the maximum number of people in discussions. That way they could be expected to actively participate in the practical aspects of the program. An evaluation of this aspect of the program involved a determination of the extent to which the program of action had been implemented. Activities related to health themes - cleaning areas around the house, building and repairing latrines, destroying containers of stagnant water, boiling or filtering water, cleaning areas around water sources, using malaria prevention tablets, digging rubbish pits and wells, building racks or stands for eating utensils and covering food - were found to have been carried out as a direct result of the campaign.

There were a number of problems associated with such mass oriented campaigns. The size of some groups often exceeded the recommended numbers, making it difficult to ensure an effective participation by all in the discussions. Materials were in short supply or poorly distributed. Stocks ran out, radios were not adequate, some often broke down or ran out of

batteries in an environment where radio repair facilities were non-existent or battery costs were prohibitively high. In some remote areas radio transmission signals were very weak. There was also a shortage of tools like spades and picks necessary for digging toilets, draining ponds or digging trenches for water pipes. While there were some signs of knowledge gain among the group members it was difficult to prove this conclusively partly because the national character of the campaign and ethical considerations, precluded the isolation of segments of people for a control group that would be denied access to the radio information. Another crucial factor was the question of the *life span* of such knowledge gained since the campaigns were for a fixed duration.

Despite these problems the use of the media for popular mobilization aimed at achieving development goals has a tremendous potential. While a lot of skepticism has been expressed about the efficacy of mediated communication in support of development there can be no doubt about the enhanced prospects of some success if the project is properly planned.[14]

4.3.2 BOTSWANA: "ACTION RESEARCH": In Botswana an attempt to avoid the problems of mediated communication in development efforts involved a research protocol that provided media practitioners with information about their audience to help them produce comprehensible media containing relevant information. Two major elements of such research were, topic research, which included studies of the audience knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning the topic in question, and, pretesting. Known as "action research" this method was tested in two campaigns to publicize mainly among the rural population the problems of grass fires and their destructive effects on the eco-system, and to encourage farmers to take regular action against parasites that carry diseases which infect cattle. Earlier campaigns using the radio, leaflets, posters, village meetings, and slide shows had not been very successful. Research showed that the rural people were already aware of the dangers of

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1   One skepticism was based on the view that 'media communication is often ineffective because it is
     trying to share irrelevant information in incomprehensible language in inappropriate forms
     (Garforth 1987 3).'

increased dramatically Mytton believes this has peaked and mentions the dual problems of the shortage of batteries and radio repair services in rural areas as some of the major obstacles to further expansion of radio ownership in the developing countries. The prohibitively high cost of radios is a critical intervention.[14] While the high cost of batteries has prompted the need for plug-in radios most rural areas have no electricity.

4.3.4 SWAZILAND: PRE-PROGRAM RESEARCH: The importance of pre-radio program research as the Botswana experience showed has been the basis of Swaziland's accelerated campaign for the expanded program of immunization. Such research ensures built-in feedback mechanisms to ensure that messages are relevant and can go a long way in avoiding the problems of misinterpreted messages. Mndzebele (1986,4) says message design based on research highlighted three critical elements,

1   *media use* - by determining current media use behavior, attitudes and knowledge of the target audience, planners were able to design messages that appropriately addressed the desired changes,

2   *resources* - by ensuring that an ample supply of vaccines and refrigerators would be available to implement the immunization campaign, planners were able to reach their campaign goals, and

3   *training* - by designing and holding a training program planners could be assured that all health personnel coming in contact with target audiences knew their teaching responsibilities

Mndzebele highlights five major lessons derived from the Swazi experience in systematic development communication,

1   Greater impact is possible when interpersonal communication is combined with the radio, newspapers, posters and television

2   Message conception and design are critical in guaranteeing that messages will be delivered consistently and correctly.

3   Message reinforcement through different media channels can produce a greater overall impact

4   Multiple media applications can extend the reach of the message

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14   E. Kumar, ZBC Director-General said "with radios in Zimbabwe costing an average of $100 each - a figure way beyond the reach of the rural masses and urban poor - it was impossible to forecast any dramatic increase in the ownership of radios in rural areas." (Speech at the Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communications, Harare, Zimbabwe, June, 1988)

5   Audiences other than the targetted ones can be reached. For example, a nutrition message directed to mothers can be heard by farmers who can learn about the special emphasis the message may place on selected foods (Mndzebele 1986,4)

4.3.5 EMPOWERMENT: FOUR CASE STUDIES: Empowering rural people in development communication strategies, at both project conceptualization and implementation, can have far-reaching results in the successful outcome of a given project. In **Tanzania** an innovative project aimed at understanding how non-literate rural people respond to visual aids involved giving the rural people - after a crash course in elementary photography - an opportunity of taking pictures of subjects of their choice in the context of their development experience. The villagers' pictures displayed a strong emphasis on the "how we work" notion by showing subjects at work. In a sense, says John Stedoff (1982) who carried out the experiment, this reflected how villagers taught and learned from one another in their daily lives.

In **Ghana** an experiment aimed at decentralizing and democratizing communication infrastructures envisaged the establishment of a rural newspaper and community radio stations. Known as *Wonsum*[14] the experiment will, when fully operational, use a combination of a rural newspaper published in the local Fante language, rural radio broadcasts, radio listening clubs and slide projectors to carry development oriented information to communities in the project area and to "mobilize and stimulate people for development programs (Boafo 1986,3) "

In **Senegal** the *Radio Educative Rurale* project was aimed at involving farmers in radio program inputs, in addition to testing the use of modern media in the context of adult education in Africa. Under the project design 57 radio listening groups were established and programming focussed on pressing issues of local concern as identified and expressed by the farmers themselves. One important feedback mechanism were letters dictated by the farmers and read over the radio.

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14   *Wosum* is a Fante expression which means literally "Let's carry together"

the Third World face common problems of underdevelopment. Communication strategies aimed at dealing with development problems are basically similar, although the character of each strategy needs to be in tune with the local culture. Cross cultural experiences in development communication can be comparatively analyzed in order to "network the know how" skills of cultures that have been more successful at development communication applications. This is important in building a case for regional cooperation because such cross cultural networking of information can strengthen the foundations of regional development like SADCC. Cross cultural analysis can also help determine the efficacy of a given development communication project. Where a project design can be replicated across cultures it can also bring with it experiences of one cultural setting to another.

One example of a simultaneous application across cultures of a project design was the Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) in The Gambia and Honduras. In both cases the ORT campaign represented a highly specific objective that was being pursued through the use of multiple channels - radio, print materials and interpersonal communication. Pre program research proved useful in the design of the projects. The research had included

"village level investigations to understand local behavior, concepts and vocabulary related to campaign objectives and to develop an audience profile. Focus groups, direct observations of practices in households and in depth interviews of local health personnel were used. Educational objectives were ranked in terms of what the audience needed to know and do (Meyer, Foote and Smith 1987,3)."

Experiences in one culture can be an inspirational model for other cultural settings. The Peruvian and Mexican case studies underscore commonalities of development communication problems and strategies to overcome them.

4.3.6.1 PERU

Recognizing that attitudes, knowledge and skills of rural people are major factors in development especially in the poorer areas of the Third World, and that rural people often lack the basic education and the understanding of concepts, the confidence and self esteem, the Peruvian authorities launched in the mid 70's an extensive course in the use of videos More than 1 000 video programs (each about 20 minutes in duration) were used with more than 150,000 farmers Over 150 Peruvians were trained in production and use of video programs for rural development and 200 were trained in the use of programs The task facing the Peruvian National Training and Research Centre for Agrarian Reform (CENCIRA) Communication Department was

> to develop a methodology that would inform, motivate and train rural people on a massive scale the objectives of the methodology would be to transfer to the rural producer and his family information aimed at helping them make better use of natural resources and farm inputs, to improve the quality of rural life education and rural employment (FAO Peru 1987 13) "

An underlying principle of the methodology was to "recuperate, produce, conserve, and reproduce peasant knowledge by adding modern scientific knowledge and practice to it when appropriate "

Problems arose in methodology, equipment and training manuals The approach taken by extension officials, who were short-staffed, under-trained and under-equipped tended to be that of "one way transmitters of information in an autocratic top-down manner " In the process of filtering information down through several layers to the grassroots level the risk of distortion was invariably high In terms of equipment the video was chosen on the basis of its technological compatibility with the needs of the area it was compact, easy to carry along rough terrain and ran off a rechargeable battery Technical problems with the playback unit

arose when it was tried in the field. There was also fear of technological dependence on Japan for spares. In the case of programs the project's activities had been aimed at researching the farmers' information and training needs and use these as strategic inputs in designing programs. But it soon turned out that *What is practical supersedes What is ideal*. There was less farmer involvement in the production of programs. The programs, because of their objectives of mass education, tended to be less target specific, and lost sight of the specific needs of local communities. Resource persons for program design and production tended to be university and research staff who had their own sophisticated definition of what constituted "quality" programs.

"It should be understood that, in this context the word 'quality' is being used to describe the audio visual components and the way the subject matter is structured, as seen through the eyes of an educated person from an industrialized country (consultant). (Such) judgment does not take into account the quality of "utility value" to the audience for which the materials are intended, nor the perception of those audiences. (Quality judgment on video programs shown within the headquarters of development agencies invariably invoke criticism because most people judge the programs by the standard of television series they follow daily, and they tend to forget for what purpose the programs are made. For example, comments regarding the slow pace of programs are frequent, but in fact farming communities with a high level of illiteracy would not be able to follow properly if the pace was that of a modern TV program. The situation is not helped at all by the communicators who, coming as they do from the broadcasting world, are less than enthusiastic in their work, as shown by the bland and listless delivery.) (XO Deutschebp..." Peru 1987,27)

Time and space can be crucial elements in a successful application of a development communication project. In the Peruvian experience efforts had to be made to ensure the farmers did not travel too far from their farms or disrupt their daily routines in order to come to watch a video show. But the methodology of the program required some practic[al] demonstration on the field. This raised questions as to the necessity for the video because it appeared farmers benefited and learned more from practical demonstrations like... in the selection of potato seeds. Another problem was lack of an institutional structure to allow for

an open ended two way dialogue between the government and the farmers as well as for a more dynamic and on going training program for farmers

4.3.6.2 MEXICO

An innovative development program in Mexico, Proderith, was intended to include the peasants participation in an integrated rural development project in which development communication had been embedded. The communication element would ensure at all times the participation of the peasants and incorporation of their needs which took into account their attitudes and perceptions of development problems. The video was used to record the peasants' views which, in turn would be played back to development planners. Thus communication inputs were planned as an integral part of the program and there were communication staff and equipment available even in limited quantities right from the start.

> "This was in marked contrast to many development communication projects which are more usually tagged on as an afterthought. This frequently happens once human and social problems have already begun to afflict a project that no amount of later communication work can ever put right. The so-called beneficiaries, once alienated, remain so (FAO Mexico 1987)."

Proderith's rural communication system's strategy included,

1   *communication for situation analysis* - motivation and participation whose aim was to obtain the conscious and informed participation of the peasant in each and every stage of the rural development process. This was to ensure the establishment and maintenance of a proper and mutually satisfactory relationship between the peasants and the institutions that are supposed to serve them

2   *Communication in training and education* - audio-visual training programs were intended to help to determine the needs for training with the local population. Also video pictures of simple subject matters were shown to peasants in the presence of a specialist in the hope of stimulating a discussion which was at times in form of a question and answer session

3   *Communication to facilitate the flow of information at the institutional level in order to network with other agencies and government departments*. Such network of information among different ministries and agencies underscored the multi disciplinary character of the Proderith program

But while the Proderith program design and implementation stressed the active involvement of the peasants to ensure its success the critical economic situation in the country meant that the program was crippled by a chronic shortage of materials. Mexico's indebtedness to the international banks and financial institutions meant the country's resources and wealth had to be diverted in large chunks towards the repayment of its debts. Another problem was an overreliance on the video almost as a substitute for, rather than complement to, the radio. This meant that the message's potential reach was greatly circumscribed.

4.3.7 LESSONS FROM CASE STUDIES: What emerges out of these case studies across different cultural settings is a profile of a development communication program that requires as essential elements;

1   a conceptual framework based on *audience research* to ensure that the project addresses dynamically the specific needs of a given situation;

2   a *multi-media approach* ensures that the messages will reach the maximum possible number of intended recipients. Each channel of communication has its strengths and weaknesses and an integrated strategy will consolidate the strengths and potentially minimize the weaknesses to ensure not only maximum audience reach but maximum audience interactive participation and comprehension since the audience will interpret and amplify the messages in the context of their experiences;

3   an *institutional infrastructure* to support research, training and administration of development communication projects. This will ensure some continuity and a build up of skills and knowledge over a long period of time;

4   the *community media concept* to promote decentralization and democratization of the communication and information infrastructure.

With changes evolving in the field of development communication are new approaches to the age-old question of development strategies. It has long been accepted that with the scarcity of resources Third World countries must seriously consider a regional approach to development [116] This ensures a pooling of resources, reduction of waste through duplication

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[116]   The integration of Europe strengthens an age old view that *The sovereign nations of the past can no longer solve the problems of the present. They cannot ensure their own progress or control their own future.* (Jean Monnet 1888 - 1979)

and a better chance of success in combatting development problems that are common to the Third World. These two evolving concepts or strategies are likely to converge in the agricultural sector which has long been recognized as the most critical in Africa's economic recovery efforts.

Regional development communication strategy in the SADCC will essentially have to focus not only at communications and agriculture as priority areas for regional economic development and cooperation but also at the elements of the communications infrastructure that will need to be mobilized to trailblaze regional development. Telecommunications, specifically the telephone, should thus be seen as one strand of a spaghetti package of intertwined communication channels that would need to be collectively utilized to promote regional development and cooperation. Admittedly SADCC is not a bureaucratic supra national structure but merely a coordinating agency with no effective decisionmaking power - an inherent weaknesses in the regional approach to development. But a policy framework for operational coordination exists through sector coordinating units such as SATCC and SACCAR as well as institutions of information exchange in agriculture, weather and drought monitoring.

Within this institutional framework of sector coordinating units a viable development communication structure can and should be designed. Within this conceptual framework of an integrated development communication strategy the role of the media must be analyzed.

SADCC media are fragmented with little evidence of a coordinated information exchange to promote the ideals of regional cooperation and development. Citizens of one country know very little about their neighbours in the region. Yet they are all exposed to foreign news as a result of the hegemonic dominance of western news agencies.

4.4 RESEARCH RESULTS

4.4.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SADCC MEDIA: The sample of SADCC publications that were content-analyzed included **Zambia,** *The Times of Zambia* and *The Sunday Times of Zambia*, **Zimbabwe,** *The Herald, The Sunday Mail* and *The Chronicle*, **Malawi,** *The Daily Times*; **Tanzania,** *The Daily News* and *The Sunday Times of Tanzania*, **Swaziland,** *The Times*. Content analysis covered three time-periods between 1980 and 1989. Most of the publications were obtained through inter-library loans and sent in micro-fiche form. While there was a sizable number of copies of newspapers received and covering the periods 1980—1986 there was a tapering off for the period 1986 to 1989/90. Apparently updated publications were not in micro-fiche form in many North American libraries. But this tapering off did not significantly affect the representativeness of the content analysis for the second half of the decade SADCC has so far been in existence.

The contents of the mainstream media of the SADCC region reflect varying degrees of emphasis and editorial interest in a wide range of topics. They also reflect, on one hand, similar patterns in their urban orientation, a deep and unquestioning respect for the country's head of state, a western styled news writing format and the linguistic dominance of English.[10] On the other hand the media contents in some papers, notably Zambia's *Times of Zambia* Swaziland's *Times of Swaziland* and Zimbabwe's *The Chronicle* *Moto, and Parade* [11] reflect some variations in occasional bursts of energy aimed at self assertiveness along the lines of press freedom and a more critical but not analytical editorial policy. *The Times of Zambia*, in a remarkable contrast to its sister paper, *Zambia Daily Mail*, seems to lead the pack of "rebel" publications in the region with its sustained commitment to professionalism and sometimes ran stinging criticisms of the country's economic policies.

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[10]   In Mozambique and Angola the dominant language is Portuguese.

[11]   *Moto* (literally "fire") is published by the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe and *Parade* by a businessman in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital. These two publications were not part of the sample for content analysis.

The Times often ran screaming headlines reflecting in most cases a critical social commentary The headlines often developed a charisma of their own - using punchy expressions and bold lettering On the national budget the headline simply said, *Budget a Mockery* And on food riots after Zambia had instituted tough measures in compliance with the IMF requirements *The Times* headlines told the story of unrest: *Food Riots, Riot Flares, Give Us Food* The country's security was constantly threatened by South Africa One time there was a rumor that the country had been infiltrated by saboteurs. *The Times* headline was even more chilling *Hitmen are here* Other headlines told stories of clashes between government and trade unions *ZCTU, MUZ clash with KK*[149] and of corruption and assaults: *Policemen bribed; Minister beaten, Stop the rot*, *(Ruling) Party fed on fake information, Pilfering (in government) rampant, Bootlicking out!* At one time a government minister warned

> the concept of a free press is an imagination of journalists It does not exist anywhere in world and newsmen who do not understand this may end up without jobs [150]

The Times of Swaziland uses the tabloid journalistic style that is characterized by sensationalized and bizarre stories It is more of a social than a political or economic critic - this may be a result of the paper's attempt to stay competitive amidst the proliferation in the country of the media from South Africa The paper spared no punches in its social commentary with eerie headlines like *Lovers die in petrol inferno, Brutal attack by axe gang, Mum murderman in court, "Deadmen" collected salaries; Confessions of a hitman, Son told*

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[149]   ZCTU, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, MUZ Mineworkers Union of Zambia, KK, President Kenneth Kaunda

[150]   John Banda Minister of State Zambia quoted in *The Times* October 2, 1981

father to eat baby, Prisoners eat dog food, Woman killed rapist's baby, Man kills love rival, Explosion rips Manzini house.[152] The paper's stories of social scandal often ran alongside reverent articles about the monarchy. Here traditional language was liberally sprinkled with English. When the king returned from the *incwala*[153] *The Times* greeted the king with the traditional expression *Bayethe Ngwenyama*.[154] And when the king died *The Times* drew on its experience in its treatment of social scandals to dramatize the occasion. *His Majesty, the King is Dead; Swearing in of the Liqoqo*[155] *Specially designed casket carried the king in a sitting position.* On the day the king was buried (in a sitting position) *The Times* filled the top one third of the tabloid's front page with the bold banner headline that was a story in itself, *FAREWELL.*

The Zambia Daily Mail and *The Herald* in Zimbabwe can be characterized as diplomatic and ideological in their editorial outlook. Their systematic pruning out of sensational and anti government stories and their rigidly pro-government and "the party' line make them the faithful steward tending the Establishment garden. *The Chronicle* on the other hand, appears to be a cross between *The Times of Zambia* and *The Times of Swaziland*, revelling in both social scandals and political criticisms although in a more sober and controlled manner. The high-point of *The Chronicle's* journalistic sojourn was undoubtedly the celebrated *Willowgate Scandal* in which the paper exposed a car selling racket involving government ministers.[156] The incident resulted in a government-appointed commission of inquiry whose hearings were held in public and where government ministers found themselves uncomfortably answering

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[151] Muti refers to herbs or portions used by witchdoctors or herbalists.

[152] Manzini is the capital city of Swaziland.

[153] *Incwala* is a traditional ceremony during which the king retreats to a residence in the remote area of the country for meditation and ancestral worship.

[154] Means Hail Your Royal Highness.

[155] Liqoqo is the Supreme Council of State.

[156] *Willowgate* refers to Willovale, the name of the car assembly plant in Zimbabwe.

questions about their personal financial dealings.[157] The commission's report led to the resignation of five government ministers one of whom later committed suicide. The editor of *The Chronicle* was "promoted" to a post of "company public relations manager" which had been specially created for him.[158] *The Chronicle* carried a number of hair - raising headlines that reflected its tradition as a loose canon: *Crush dissidents*; *Landless must wait*; *Be patient on land*; *Ex-guerrillas clash in city fire fight*; *Firing ceases: 18 dead,200 hurt*.

In a remarkable contrast, *The Malawi Daily Times* and *The Tanzania Daily News* with its sister paper *The Sunday Times*, were noticeably systematic in their coverage of rural topics. Emasculated of any effective role as social, ideological or political critics the three papers appear to have found solace in focussing on rural and foreign coverage. For the *Daily News* such rural coverage came under the column *"Focus on Rural Development."* The *Daily* was restrained, avoiding inflammatory headlines or language in its columns. However once in a while the paper came up with punchy stories like a book review on the role of the press in development. The review attempted to demystify the notion of "I get what I like is not the same as I like what I get" in which the author, Ng'wanakilala (1981), had stated

> If *The Daily News* printed what the audience wanted its content would probably range from obscenity and amusement to autocratically oppressive memoranda. What we see in *The Daily News* is not necessarily what we want to see. Oftentimes we get what we did not want to see and see little of what we wanted to get.."[159]

In neighbouring Malawi *The Daily Times* gives extensive coverage to the country's head of

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[157] All the time ministers were giving evidence they were being cajoled to tell truth from the packed public gallery (Personal interviews).

[158] It was observed of course that the post of public relations manager for a newspaper company was virtually meaningless as each of the company's newspapers promoted itself through its publications

[159] The review appeared *The Daily News* on August 1, 1981

state's "annual crop-inspection tour."[160] One rare departure from the paper's lacklustre profile was the celebrated trial of Orton and Verna Chirwa, two exiled and outspoken opponents of President Banda. They had been abducted under mysterious circumstances from neighbouring Zambia into Malawi where they were subsequently arrested and tried. The *Times* ran, without comment or analysis a story about a police witness who was responding to charges by Orton Chirwa that he had assaulted him before forcibly bringing him and his wife to Malawi.[161]

> The police witness denied having beaten up Orton Chirwa but instead claimed that in the course of the struggles that led to the arrest of the Chirwas, Orton Chirwa injured his eye, loosened his teeth and broke his lip by knocking against things (Times, August 26, 1982).

All the publications surveyed showed a predictable pattern in their treatment of stories, namely, the predominance of socio-political and foreign stories (Tables 4.1 to 4.5; Table 4.7; Table 4.8). In quantitative terms the preponderance of socio-political stories was undoubtedly a welcome development - considering the fact the colonial media put far more emphasis on foreign stories. But from a qualitative perspective such post-colonial stories were intellectually weaned of any knowledge content.

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[160] Malawi's president always has his full title printed in the papers - His Excellency, the Life President, *Ngwazi* Dr Kamuzu Hastings K. Banda - each time they print a story about him.

[161] Inspite of *The Times'* hands-off editorial policy there was an international campaign to save the Chirwas, especially after they had been sentenced to death by a "traditional court"- resulting in the commutation of their sentence to life in jail. This was another characteristic of the SADCC media - lack of advocacy spirit for basic human rights were these were being blatantly violated in their own countries

TABLE 4.1 ZAMBIA: CONTENT ANALYSIS 1980 - 1987

Times of Zambia/The Sunday Times of Zambia

SUBJECT	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Socio-Political	7524	57.1	7956	46.2
SADCC	96	0.7	198	1.2
Development	324	2.5	402	2.3
South Africa	492	3.7	738	4.3
Economy	1020	7.7	2568	14.9
Agriculture	192	1.5	534	3.1
International	84	0.6	96	0.6
Africa	660	5.0	1236	7.2
Foreign	2784	21.1	3468	20.2

COUNTRY				
Angola	24	2.9	96	8.5
Botswana	12	1.4	60	5.3
Lesotho	12	1.4	60	3.7
Malawi	48	5.7	60	5.3
Mozambique	120	14.2	126	11.2
Swaziland	0	0.0	78	6.9
Tanzania	252	30.0	342	30.3
Zambia	-	-	-	-
Zimbabwe	372	44.2	324	28.7

They tended to contain a lot of information without knowledge. A disaggregation of the content analysis statistics shows that regional cooperation, SADCC, agriculture and the economy fell in the least covered categories (Table 4.8). However in Malawi and Tanzania development stories received a relatively high ranking (Table 4.6) while information on the economy was in relative terms ranked high in Zambia and Zimbabwe, the two most industrialized countries in the SADCC region.

TABLE 4.2 MALAWI: CONTENT ANALYSIS 1980 - 1987.

Daily Times

SUBJECT	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Socio-Political	8010	41.4	10368	33.6
SADCC	342	1.8	864	2.8
Development	2214	11.4	1728	5.6
South Africa	774	4.0	864	2.8
Economy	108	0.6	432	1.4
Agriculture	882	4.6	432	1.4
International	90	0.5	432	1.4
Africa	2250	11.6	2808	9.1
Foreign	4680	24.2	12960	42.1

COUNTRY				
Angola	90	5.4	432	10.5
Botswana	72	4.3	432	10.5
Lesotho	0	0	0	0
Malawi	-	-	-	-
Mozambique	72	4.3	648	21.2
Swaziland	72	4.3	432	10.5
Tanzania	180	10.8	432	15.8
Zambia	270	16.1	432	10.5
Zimbabwe	918	54.8	1296	31.6

In terms of regional cooperation and development the SADCC media gave relatively little publicity to the regional organization even though there was a marked increase in the coverage of SADCC; 0.5 percent to 3.9 percent in Zimbabwe(Table 4.3); 0.8 percent to 2.2 percent in Swaziland (Table 4.4); 1.1 percent to 2.9 percent in Tanzania (Table 4.5); 0.7 percent to 1.2 percent in Zambia (Table 4.1) and 1.8 percent to 2.8 percent in Malawi (Table 4.2).

TABLE 4.3 ZIMBABWE: CONTENT ANALYSIS 1980 - 1987

Herald, Chronicle, Sunday Mail, Sunday News

SUBJECT	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Socio-Political	5364	57.3	3510	44.2
SADCC	46	0.5	306	3.9
Development	334	3.6	630	8.0
South Africa	581	6.2	864	10.9
Economy	663	7.0	567	7.1
Agriculture	149	1.6	414	5 2
International	46	0.5	54	0.7
Africa	437	4.7	441	5.6
Foreign	1738	18.6	1153	14.5
COUNTRY				
Angola	67	12.1	54	7.6
Botswana	62	11.2	36	5.1
Lesotho	15	2.7	18	2.5
Malawi	10	1.8	9	1 3
Mozambique	123	22.2	369	51.9
Swaziland	26	4.7	27	3.8
Tanzania	72	13.0	99	14.0
Zambia	180	32.4	99	14.0
Zimbabwe	-	-	-	-

SADCC was consistently the least covered topic in the region's mainstream media throughout the seven-year period under analysis. There w s also relatively little and inequitable coverage of each other's countries by the region's mainstream media (Table 4 7). Zimbabwe was consistently the most publicized in all the countries; followed by Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, and Angola, respectively. Malawi was the least covered, falling last behind Lesotho and Swaziland, the two other least covered countries.

TABLE 4.4 SWAZILAND: CONTENT ANALYSIS 1980 - 1987

Times of Swaziland

SUBJECT	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Socio-Political	9684	44.8	14904	44.7
SADCC	180	0.8	720	2.2
Development	540	2.5	3096	9.3
South Africa	1944	9.0	1836	5.5
Economy	540	2.5	1080	3.2
Agriculture	720	3.3	1764	5.3
International	216	1.0	432	1.3
Africa	2052	9.5	1944	5.8
Foreign	5760	26.6	7596	22.8

COUNTRY

	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Angola	36	2.4	36	1.8
Botswana	144	9.8	36	1.8
Lesotho	36	2.4	108	3.5
Malawi	36	2.4	72	2.4
Mozambique	252	17.0	396	13.0
Swaziland	-	-	-	-
Tanzania	36	2.4	252	8.2
Zambia	252	17.0	576	18.8
Zimbabwe	684	46.3	1585	51.8

This is one evidence of the failure of the mainstream media in actively promoting in the regional discourse the ideals of regional cooperation and development. SADCC populations are still strangers to each other and, except for those who live along the border areas, lack the means of contacting each other in order to exchange information, knowledge and experiences. The little publicity SADCC mainstream media have given to each other's countries is made of information largely obtained from foreign news agencies like the *Reuters*, *Associated Press* (*AP*):*Agence Francaise presse* (*AFP*) and *United Press International* (*UPI*).

TABLE 4.5 TANZANIA: CONTENT ANALYSIS 1980 - 1987

Daily News/Sunday Times of Tanzania

	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Socio-Political	6573	46.1	10152	44.8
SADCC	151	1.1	648	2.9
Development	1324	9.3	2376	10.5
South Africa	857	6.0	2160	9.5
Economy	468	3.3	1944	8.6
Agriculture	136	1.0	432	2.0
International	180	1.3	216	1.0
Africa	1152	8.1	1296	5.7
Foreign	3405	23.9	3452	15.2

COUNTRY

	1980-2	%	1985-7	%
Angola	187	14.7	1296	40.0
Botswana	14	1.1	216	6.6
Lesotho	7	0.6	7	0.2
Malawi	28	2.2	7	0.2
Mozambique	136	10.8	648	19.9
Swaziland	22	1.7	216	6.6
Tanzania	-	-	-	-
Zambia	216	17.1	216	6.6
Zimbabwe	648	51.5	648	19.9

A major problem with information about the region coming through the services of foreign news agencies are inherent biases and stereotypes held by these news agencies about the Third World. These biases are cancerously recycled into the regional information dissemination system. Deadline-driven editors, like their counterparts elsewhere in the Third World, often pay no more than passing attention to subtle ethnocentric biases embedded in the newsagency copy.

TABLE 4.6 SADCC COUNTRY RANKING IN MEDIA COVERAGE

	1980-1982	1985-1987
Zimbabwe	1	1
Zambia	2	3
Tanzania	3	4
Mozambique	4	2
Angola	5	5
Swaziland	6	7
Botswana	7	6
Lesotho	9	8
Malawi	8	9

TABLE 4.7 SADCC SUBJECT RANKING IN MEDIA COVERAGE

	1980 -1982	1985-1987
Socio-Political	1	1
SADCC	8	8
Development	5	3
South Africa	4	3
Economy	5	6
Agriculture	7	7
International	8	9
Africa	3	5
Foreign	2	2

The result is a situation where the media in the region will carry foreign agency stories critical of other SADCC countries but not their own. This has a real danger of spawning regional ethnocentrism, biases, feelings of hostility and class consciousness.

TABLE 4.8 CONTENT ANALYSIS:SUMMARY (SUBJECT RANKING)

SUBJECT	Malawi		Swazi		Tanz		Zambia		Zimb.	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Socio-Pol.	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
SADCC	7	5	9	8	8	7	8	8	8	8
Development	4	4	7	3	3	3	6	7	6	4
S.Africa	6	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	3
Economy	8	7	6	7	6	5	3	3	3	5
Agriculture	5	7	5	6	9	8	7	6	7	7
International	9	7	8	9	7	9	9	9	8	9
Africa	3	3	3	4	4	6	4	4	5	6
Foreign	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

COUNTRY

	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Angola	4	4	5	7	3	1	5	4	4	4
Botswana	5	4	4	7	7	4	6	6	5	5
Lesotho	8	8	5	5	8	7	6	8	7	7
Malawi	-	-	5	6	5	8	4	6	8	8
Mozambique	5	2	3	3	4	3	3	3	2	1
Swaziland	5	4	-	-	6	4	8	5	6	6
Tanzania	3	3	5	4	-	-	2	1	3	2
Zambia	2	4	2	2	2	4	-	-	1	2
Zimbabwe	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2		-

A 1980 - 1982   B 1985 - 1987

This situation is not helped at all by comparative analyses of the political and economic strengths of SADCC countries leading to some, like Zimbabwe and Zambia being characterized the key sub-centers and the rest peripheries in the geo-politics of the region Such class consciousness can militate against efforts aimed at fostering regional collective self-reliance, cooperation and integration.

African countries have tried to develop their own pan African news agency, PANA. But the agency has been saddled with a host of financial and operational problems. The financial

crisis at PANA led the agency's director general to say "the political will and enthusiasm which heralded the creation of PANA have waned." This was largely due to the fact that member states were in arrears in their contributions to PANA. As of July 1988 only eight countries were up-to-date in their payments. The remaining 44 had not updated their contributions. PANA was also hamstrung by a section of its mandate which required it to use, without editing, copy from national news agencies only.[162] The SADCC media in general fits into the traditional theoretical mould that characterizes the post-colonial press in the Third World i.e. they are essentially an instrument of the powerful coalition of the entrepreneurial and political elite. The occasional bursts of energy manifested by what appears to be critical articles in the press exposing corruption and scandals are largely no more than a manifestation of a temporary lapse of cohesion and power structures among the ever quarrelling fractions in the ruling elites. The editorial decision to publish such articles usually represents a decision of an odd intrepid editor rather than a spontaneous assertiveness among the media practitioners.

4.4.2 FIELD RESEARCH ZIMBABWE:

Communication and media research in the SADCC region is still in its infancy and in a malnourished state. There is to date very little literature and scholarship on the subject. It is not inconceivable that the regional media practitioners do not have an empirical basis for ascertaining the information and communication, let alone development needs of their readership, especially the rural populations. Where some research has taken place, like in Tanzania, Botswana and Swaziland this had been specifically zeroed in on a single topic with specific objectives. The objective of content analyzing Zimbabwe's media was specifically to determine *on a disagreggated basis* the level of knowledge on agricultural information both in the print and broadcast media.

The significant increase on the coverage of the rural areas (compared to the colonial period)

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[162] PANA Must Not Die, *West Africa*, Sept 12-13,1988

TABLE 4.9 CONTENT ANALYSIS: ZIMBABWE MEDIA

Category	No.of Stories	
BUSINESS	542	
COMAGE	67	Communal Agricultural Production(Educational)
COMAGG	106	Communal Agricultural Production(General)
GENDEV	455	General Development Stories
NATURB	477	National Urban Stories
NATURR	474	National Rural Stories
SADCC	355	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
AFRICA	319	
SOAFAP	495	South Africa/Apartheid
ENTERT	141	Entertainment
FOREIGN	548	
TWORLD	285	Third World
STMIEA	130	Selected Topics· MIddle East
STNONA	100	Selected Topics: Non Aligned Movement
STUNESCO	13	Selected Topics: Unesco
STUN	82	Selected Topics: United Nations

would appear to indicate that the post colonial media have re-oriented their editorial policies in favour of rural areas. However when a *qualitative* dimension is added in the content analysis, as was the case in this research, the results show a different picture. Rural oriented stories that had some *knowledge content*, at least in the field of agriculture, constituted only 1.46 percent (Table 4.9) of the total editorial content. Obviously too much rural information with little or no knowledge content is being churned out [163] In contrast *Business* stories, the bulk of which featured the private sector, had a high knowledge -level content. One explanation of this would appear to be that the media set the agenda in terms of rural coverage while the private sector determined the nature and form of discourse for the media on *business* stories. Empirical evidence shows that the business sector determines, through

[163] Rural stories typically featured exhortations by the bureaucratic elite on the peasants to "work hard" "support the government and the Party" "Be vigilant against enemies of the State and rumor mongerers" The text of these exhortations often contained little information with the type of knowledge people would need for development Traber (1987) calls such stories "fake stories" while J B Rose (1975) calls them "sunshine stories"

press releases, advertisements, receptions, supplements and organized tours of the bureaucratic elite and media personnel on business premises, the agenda for the media. The knowledge-content level of business stories, while in some cases manipulated in the shadowy world of business operations, is relatively high and is of interest and relevance to the business community.

In the case of rural coverage the bulk of the rural stories are a reflection of an agenda set by the media personnel and the bureaucratic elite both at national and local levels. Most rural stories will tend to originate more from the bureaucratic elites than from the rural peasants. Where rural people have an opportunity to express themselves their views are essentially considered as not constituting valid reality unless they bear a bureaucratic stamp of approval. Such approval manifests itself in the way rural stories are treated

"Minister denies rural people have been denied farm support..... "Provincial Governor and district Administration officials refute claims by villagers...... "MPs satisfied with progress at self-help project.... (from various sources).

The media often construct rather than co-construct, reality for the villagers as reflected in many editorialized rural stories that paternalistically describe the plight and aspirations of rural people;

"A Reporter confirmed that people at such and such village were living in poverty.... "The Sunday Mail calls upon authorities to give help to villagers.." "The reporter who visited the area did not find evidence of widespread food shortage....." (from various sources).

Such journalistic expressions have tended to have the unintended effect of portraying the

villagers as passive objects incapable of fully expressing themselves without an intermediary.

Business stories, on the other hand, come well packaged to reflect the discourse of the business community. The high-tech idiom ingrained in business stories often guarantees their publication in the media with little or no editing or commentary by the media personnel, the majority of whom have rudimentary knowledge of the complex business world. In many cases advertisements appear to consolidate the corporate power in constructing reality, resulting in a high correlation between the message of an advertisement and that of a business story - both are essentially technocratic statements made to reinforce each other. Ghartley-Tagoe (1986) says advertising is an important form of communication.

> It may represent a conscious choice as to the most effective and efficient way to generate consumer demand and create a mass market...but it also runs the risk of contributing to rising frustrations when people do not have the wherewithal to satisfy desires that may be stimulated(Ghartey-Tagoe 1986,133).

Peter Golding and Graham Murdoch (1977,37-38) say the insistent pressure to maximize audiences and revenues creates a consistent tendency for the commercial media to avoid the unpopular and tendentious and draw, instead, on the values and assumptions which are most widely legitimated, which almost inevitably means those which flow authoritatively downward through the social structure. The largely non-critical and non-analytical approach to business stories by the media personnel has also been criticized by a Catholic publication, *Moto*, whose editorial policies often put it outside the mainstream media. Referring, as an example, to *The Sunday Mail's* coverage of company reports of the Nedlaw Group of Companies *Moto* said the media were using "borrowed ideas" in their treatment of business stories.

> "Instead of a critical and analytical assessment of the company's activities the reporter's instinctive urge seems to be fulfilled by simply reading the

company's report. Instead of any investigative report, however, what the reader is treated to is a series of undefined and ill-researched opinions gleaned from the report itself. There is no indication in the way the (newsstory) is written that any investigation has, or ever will, take place. We learn, instead, that 'an outstanding feature of the group is its concern for the people.' But no people are quoted or, apparently, interviewed. We are assured that the working conditions for employees are 'among the best' in the country. But no comparisons are given, no backup provided to make this assertion in the least bit believable. Suspicions from the reader are aroused by the fact that there are altogether three stories in *The Sunday Mail* (May 25) proclaiming the Nedlaw Group of Companies as 'an absolutely fascinating company' to be working for.[164]

Foreign stories focused mainly on North America, and Europe, notably the United States and Britain. Hence while there was some diversity in the coverage of the Third World, institutions, regional and international organizations such coverage, especially of the Third World, was relatively meager in comparison to Europe and North America. This shows that the South-South dialogue whose epistemology is enshrined in the Unesco Mass Media Declaration for a New World Information and Communication Order *has not been vigorously promoted in* the African media. Considering the fact that Zimbabwe's business sector is 60 percent foreign-owned (Clarke,1980) through international capital largely from Britain, South Africa, United States and other western European countries, coverage of these countries has had the effect, intended or unintended, of consolidating the consumerist culture from the developed countries and thus maintain and expand in the developing countries markets for corporate business.

For television (Table 4.10) *foreign* programs accounted for 83 percent of broadcast time. These were mostly western sitcoms, like *The Jeffersons, Good Times* prime-time programs like *Dynasty, Dallas* as well as a variety of British feature films. The news bulletins (Table 4.12) typically allocated up to 60 percent of their time to government, political and urban

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[164] "Questionable Report." *Moto* Number 46, 1987, p.20

stories while foreign coverage, mostly from the western news agencies, took up 20 percent of the news broadcast time. Rural stories (six percent) were usually broadcast in the context of a government minister's visit or press statement.[165]

In the case of Radio2 (Table 4.13) which was designed specifically to cater for the needs of the majority of the Zimbabweans, mostly rural peasants, *entertainment* programs, especially music, constituted 82 percent of the air time with *news*, nine percent, and *development* stories, one percent. Considering Radio 2's popularity the hegemonic predominance of musical programs must come as a serious indictment of the stated development-oriented policy of the ZBC.

4.4.2.2 FORMAL INTERVIEWS

Another important aspect of the research was focused on profiling the rural information and communication environment as well as assessing the level and degree of the rural penetration by the mainstream media. Two methodological strategies, namely, *formal interviews* and *observing group interactions* among the rural people, were used. The theoretical rationale for group observation was to study conditions affecting the reception of messages. R. Salinas and L. Paldan (1979) stress the need to study how subgroups use their culture for survival.

"Cultures and subcultures are the expression of men's and women's lived experience of the condition of existence. Accordingly, the constant invasion of meanings that do not express this reality will often generate some limits to its assimilation. It is important, therefore, to study the conditions affecting the reception of the messages, as well as to examine the possible distance between the models of interpretation provided by the media and the real level of assimilation by the 'audience' to them(Salinas,Paldan 1979,93)

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[165] The second channel, TV2, which was inaugurated specifically to cover the Non-Aligned Movement's conference in Zimbabwe,1986, operates with no clearly defined objectives and most of its programs are repeats from TV1

TABLE 4.10 CONTENT ANALYSIS (TV)%

Foreign	83
News	10
General	7

TABLE 4.11 TV NEWS %

Govt/Political/Urban	59
Foreign	20
Rural	6
General	15

TABLE 4.12 CONTENT ANALYSIS (RADIO) %

Music/Entertainment	82
News	9
Development	4
General	5

The challenge (Econtreras 1984,185) is that "researchers must redefine their parameters of orientation in ways of approximating reality" by not being just a participant observer in the western sense but, as Freire(1973) put it, "their investigation must be an involvement" and being witness to the fact that the struggle of the oppressed is a common task and work with people to learn about the realities of their world.

For the formal interviews 84 peasants, randomly selected from **Murehwa** (50) and **Murombedzi** (34), individually answered a series of questions. In the interviews peasants

TABLE 4.13 PEASANT INTERVIEWS ON UTILIZATION OF THE MEDIA

CLESS5	55	(Own less than 5 cattle)
CMORE5	29	(Own more than 5 cattle)
OR/TV	27	(own radio or TV)
LR/TV	63	(listened to radio and TV)
PAPER	16	(read or exposed to print media)
AGIEX	68	(information from extension agent)
AGIRAD	34	(information from radio)
AGIPAP	12	(information from print media)
AGIOT	83	(information from others)
FERT	79	(information about fertilizer availability)
SEED	56	(information about seed, variety and availability)
LOANS	36	(information about availability of loans)
MARKTS	74	(information about markets location)
VARY	74	(information about (need to) vary or diversify)

were asked a number of questions from a prepared questionnaire, revised after pre-testing.[166]

The restructured questionnaire consisted of the following;

1.   **How many cattle do you have?**

2.   **Do you have either a radio or a television set?**

3.   **Did you in the past month listen to a radio or watch television?**

4.   **Did you ever read any newspapers in the past month?**

5.   **Where do you get most agricultural information from?**

For *Q1* answers were coded *0-5* and *Over 5* after a pretest had shown that most of the respondents claimed to have less than five cattle. Answers to *Q2* were coded *Y/N* each for radio and television but not a combination after a pretest had shown that none of the respondents had a television set. For *Q3*[167] and *Q4* the answers were also coded *Y/N*. *Q4*,

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[166]   The questionnaire for individual interviews was shortened after a pre-test had shown that a lengthy questionnaire tended to confuse respondents. The pre-test also showed that peasants answered in a more coherent manner fewer structured questions although they were very conversant when it came to answering questions that evolved spontaneously from discussions

[167]   In *Q3* reference to the past month, chosen on the basis of the freshness of memory, did not reflect the planting period (normally September - January) since the research was conducted during the

deliberately listed last, was probably the most important. Here respondents were asked to rank their sources of information. A second method of the field research involved observing group interactions. Here the researcher listened-in to discussions - although there were times he intervened to ask questions. Thus, apart from soliciting individual responses the interview incorporated group responses where individuals within groups gave information either in response to questions or as part of a spontaneous group conversation.

The importance of a group approach to diffusion of innovations and information flow has been subject of interest to many researchers. **Focus group research** (Obeng-Quaidoo 1987; Merton 1956) refers to interviews with a group of respondents "who have been or not been exposed to a given situation in order for the researcher to derive a sense of their description of the situation." One advantage of such group interview is that "apart from providing richer information, particularly information which relates to emotional processes and inner reasons, it inhibits group members from exaggeration. It is quite easy to lie, boast or exaggerate if one is alone with the interviewer (Obeng-Quaidoo 1987,58)." There are of course problems that can arise in such interviews. *Group dynamics* can create a sense of *group think* with a few dominating discussions and leading everyone else to agree with a given position which may or may not be exaggerated (Stycos 1981, 450-456). However on the aggregate the potential for groups in not only networking information but helping others to understand the contents of any innovation is great.

June- August period However listenership patterns tended to reflect a long-term habit even though the past month was taken as a reference point

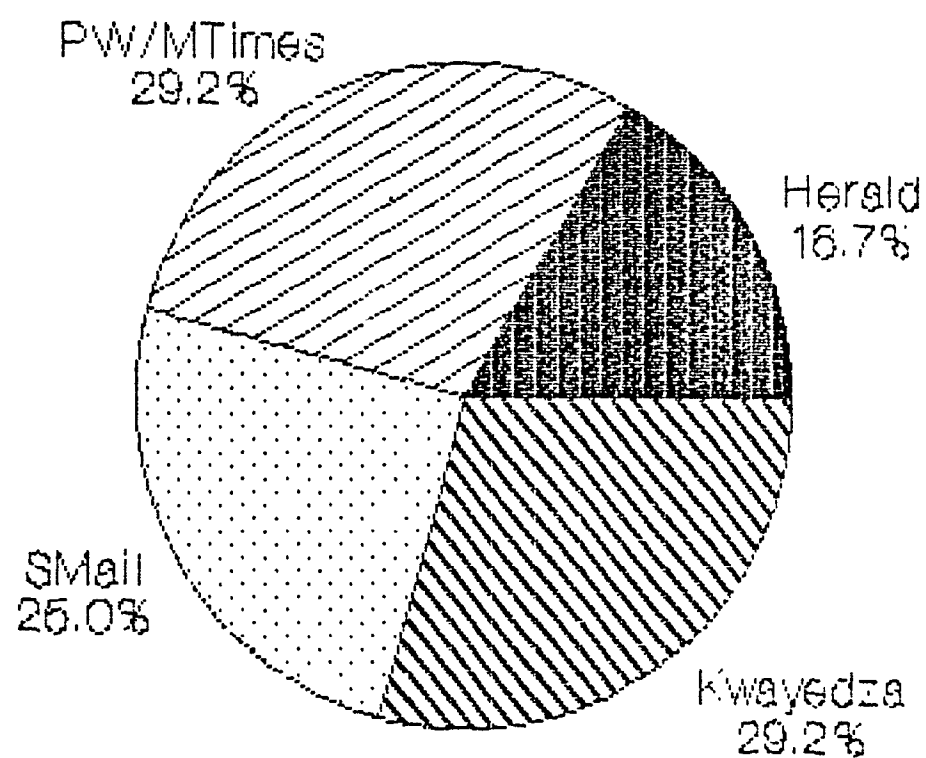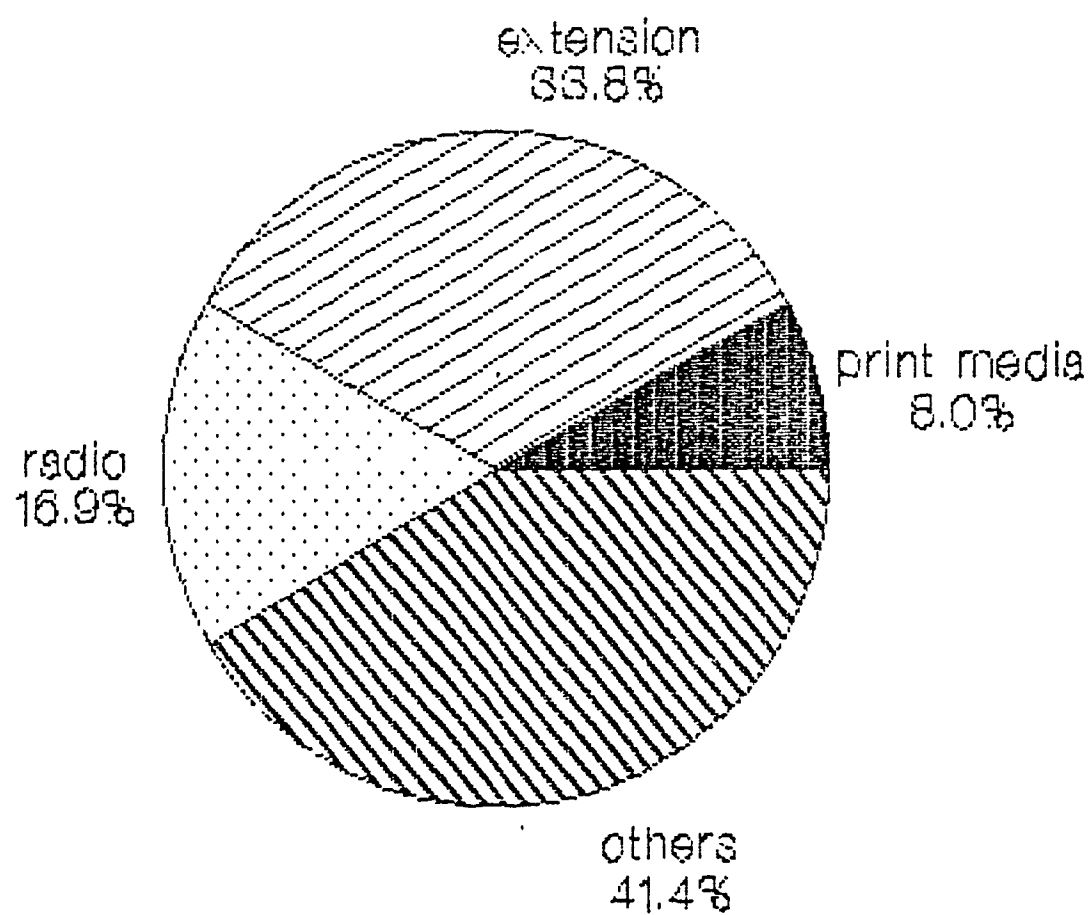**FIGURE 4.1. MEDIA EXPOSURE AMONG ZIMBABWEAN PEASANTS**

Media Exposure

PW/MTimes
29.2%

Herald
16.7%

SMail
25.0%

Kwayedza
29.2%

FIGURE 4.2. INFORMATION SOURCES AMONG ZIMBABWEAN PEASANTS

extension
33.8%

print media
8.0%

radio
16.9%

others
41.4%

Milton Esman (1974) says that in a group,

> The right questions are likely to be asked, the key objections raised.....if the content is developed at a central location, discussion by a group may provide an opportunity for localization of the message. A well trained group leader can ensure (an orderly) discussion of how a particular (innovation) can be applied locally (Obeng-Quaidoo 1987,58).

One other advantage of a group approach to development communication is that the group can provide long-term motivation for continuity and support for social change - a reflection of the integral nature of rural living and social practices.

On the structured interviews responses from the peasants (Table 4.11) showed that the majority of them owned less than five cattle per household (CLESS5) indicating a serious shortage of draught power for tillage and source of meat and milk. In terms of media exposure 75 percent of the respondents had listened to radio broadcasts although 32 percent owned radios (Table 4.14, Table 4.1)[168] This showed that rural people listened to friends' and neighbours' radios or those at shopping centers where traders played radio music to attract and/or retain customers. But listening to the radio did not necessarily mean a significantly high exposure to agricultural information - hence only 19.05 percent of the respondents (Table 4.14 and Figure 4.2) who reported exposure to radio broadcasts recalled hearing agricultural information. It would appear that listening to the radio was largely *a social experience* where the subjects of primary interest were music and drama. A strategy to attract and retain attention and interest in radio agricultural programs by interspersing them with entertainment programs will not in fact guarantee the acceptance of innovations by the peasants. Chances are the peasants will take such "pauses for agricultural information" as an opportunity to discuss other things, going to the washroom etc. (a practice that closely resembles behavior

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[168]   Variations (insignificant) in percentages (Figures 4 1. and 4 2) reflect an overlap of respondents who were exposed to both print and radio.

patterns of TV audiences in the developed countries) while waiting for the resumption of the entertainment programs unless there is an influential person who, having developed some interest in the message, will keep the others attentive. Such social orientation of the radio listenership patterns was confirmed by the largely festive circumstances under which the rural peasants listened to radio broadcasts, namely when visiting friends, out shopping, or, for those with radios, while relaxing after a hard day's work. Thus those who heard agricultural information on the radio did so incidentally and under circumstances they were apparently expecting entertainment programs.[169] This probably explains why their recollection of agricultural information they may have heard on the radio was relatively low, compared to their recollection of similar information through interpersonal communication and information from the extension agents (80.95%) (Table 4.14) friends, neighbours and relatives (98.81%) (Figure 4.2). However, comparing the percentage of people who listened to agricultural information on the radio, *notwithstanding the social or festive circumstances*, to the percentage of agricultural information on Radio Two (Table 4.13) it appears that there is a sizable and possibly not insignificant audience that listens but is not adequately served by the radio

For the ZBC media policy makers, an important policy question arising out this data would be whether a significant increase in agricultural information on radio would result in a corresponding increase in rural radio listenership patterns or whether there are any institutional interventions such as availability (or lack of) radios, poor reception in the remote rural areas, shortage of batteries and poor radio repair facilities in rural areas - in the case of shortage of batteries some peasants with radios would switch them on for a few hours a day to preserve the batteries - that would keep the listenership pattern inelastic. In terms of the print media one intervention, which may not apply to radio listening is illiteracy which is

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[169]   AGRITEX Acting director, Sam Pazvakavambwa complained that ZBC scheduled agricultural
          information programs at times (evenings) when people, tired after a hard day's work, expected
          entertaining programs to help them relax (personal interview, August, 1987)

relatively high in rural areas especially among women and has undoubtedly contributed to the low print media exposure - although stories published in vernacular languages appear to have been the preponderant contributory factor to the peasants' exposure to the print media.[170]

In the print media (Table 4.13; Table 4.14) of the 19 percent of the respondents who reported having been exposed to the print media only 14 percent of them said they had read about agricultural information and over 50 percent (*PW/MTimes*; *Kwaye;Table 4.14*) said they had read vernacular papers only - *Kwayedza/Umthunywa*, *Murehwa Times* (for the Murehwa respondents) and the semi-vernacular *Peoples Weekly*. These vernacular papers, with an exception of *Kwayedza/Umthunywa* ceased publication, some of them within one year of their inauguration.[171] The surviving *Kwayedza/Umthunywa*, inaugurated about six years ago, is part of the Zimbabwe Newspapers Ltd chain of publications. In almost all the cases the respondents who reported some exposure to the print media said they had received the papers from friends or relatives. In one case the respondent had 'received' the paper, or part of it, as bread wrapping! None of the respondents had gone out with the specific aim of purchasing a paper or, in the case where the papers, like the *The People's Weekly* were given free, acquiring one.

While 60 percent of the respondents indicated exposure to *Kwayedza/Umthunyuwa*, *Murehwa Times* (Murehwa respondents) and *The People's Weekly* 19 percent were able to recall reading about agricultural stories, the vast majority appeared to enjoy the sensationalized and folklore-type stories in *Kwayedza/Umthunywa*, the vernacular paper that in some ways resembles the American *National Inquirier* in terms of its emphasis on township gossip, rumor mongering and other unconventional stories - all of them bursting at the seams with

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[170] It appears an increase, to some extent, in radio programs on agriculture would satisfy the current short-changed audience But any further increase would need to incorporate traditional means of communication to help spread radio messages to a wider audience

[171] However over the past two years a few rural publications have been revived as *provincial* rather than district publications

TABLE 4.14 PEASANTS EXPOSURE TO MEDIA

HERALD	4	
PW/MTIMES	7	Peoples Weekly and Murewa Times
SMAIL	6	Sunday Mail
KWAYE	7	Kwayedza/Umthunywa
BCHRON	0	Bulawayo Chronicle

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idiomatic and slang expressions usually reserved for spoken rather than written communication. The story-line, capitalizing on unmitigated exaggerations characteristic of the yellow journalism of 1920 America and evident in the majority of the paper's articles defies logic and normality as the following text shows,[172]

TEXT 2. NEWSPAPER REPORT

A man who allegedly paid an insufficient fare for a taxi ride experienced a rude shock when the taxi driver, in an unbelievable show of acrobatic feat, dragged him, while driving the taxi at the same time, for over seven kilometers and later chased him with an incredibly huge spanner through a crowded township until the poor passenger sought refuge among a group of beer drinkers. The incident which happened not too long ago began after the passenger had paid what the taxi driver said was an insufficient amount - something the passenger could not verify as the taxi metre was not functioning. Initially the taxi driver appeared willing to accept the money he had been offered. After taking the money and pocketing it he let the

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[172] While the translation from vernacular languages to English waters down the strength of indigenous cultural idioms and expressions the text still dramatically exhibits its logic-defying characteristics.

passenger out of the taxi, closed the door behind him and called the passenger over to the driver's door. The taxi driver had one hand firmly clamped on the steering wheel and another stretched out and indicated that he wanted to shake hands with the passenger as a way of saying goodbye and wishing him a good day. The passenger readily obliged. But, lo and behold, as soon as the taxi-driver had held the passenger's hand he tightened his grip and drove off dragging the passenger along the tarmac.

At a traffic light, which had just turned red, the driver brought his taxi to a screeching halt. The badly bruised passenger managed to wriggle himself free and run away. The fuming taxi driver,who was hurling insults all the time, got out and wielding the incredibly huge spanner, gave chase on foot for another four kilometers. The passenger sought refuge at a house where a beer drinking party was in progress.....A police spokesman said the incident was being investigated. This story was told to our reporter by the passenger who is recuperating in a city hospital. (*Kwayedza/Umthunywa* August,1987)

While *Kwayedza/Umthunywa* carried some agricultural information the majority of its readers tend to see it as an entertainment medium . Its full impact as a serious medium of communicating agricultural information has yet to be determined

On specific agricultural subjects the respondents (Table 4.14) were able to recall information they had received from extension agents and others through interpersonal communication on *fertilizers* (94.05 percent), *seeds* (66.67 percent), *loans* (42.8 percent), *markets* (88.1 percent) and *crop diversification* (88.1 percent). This high level of agricultural information recollection from extension agents and others proves that formal and informal interpersonal networks are still and will probably remain a predominant means of rural communication and information flow. There is potentially *a hermeneutic-dialectical orientation* in the relationship between the formal and informal interpersonal networks. What is needed is to institutionalize this relationship by embedding it in communication structures that will allow for interactive communication and a two-way flow of ideas.

However a mere appreciation or understanding of the message does not guarantee that it will be acted upon Resource availability remains the crucial component of the critical equation for improved standards of living. The matrix of forces that are an important input into the

equation makes it difficult to determine conclusively the role of information, even where it may have been communicated through the local informal channels. While agricultural production trends may be an empirical indicator of how peasants have responded to various innovations there are many other variables that play a role. Hence one can only postulate that information may have played a role in the production trends of the peasant farmers.[173] Having said this there is evidently a need to understand from a participant-observer position the nature of the formal and informal interpersonal communication and information flow in a rural environment in order to determine the way innovations are networked and synthesized with one's experience, a creative process, in order to produce a higher order knowledge.

4.4.2.3 LISTENING-IN AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

Listening to peasants and bureaucrats talking among and between themselves was an insightful experience for a researcher attempting to understand the way the two groups constructed their realities. There were notable differences in their perceptions of development problems. The bureaucrats tended to reflect an urban-centered bias through their technical language, time-consciousness and high brow social discourse. The peasants, on the other hand, used highly idiomatic language intended to establish an environment for a homophilous interactive communication; were not time-conscious and tended to adhere to cultural formalism both in presentation, discussion and acceptance of ideas. The following texts were drawn from spontaneous group discussions between and among peasants and bureaucrats. The texts which were surreptitiously taperecorded in order to avoid "freezing" or exciting the discussants have been reproduced literally to highlight the artifacts used in homophilous rural communication as well as communication among the urban bureaucrats.

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[173] It is very likely that where the farmer was already well off chances are he sought information in order to improve his productivity

TEXT 3. RECORDED AMONG PEASANT PASSENGERS DURING A BUS TRIP

SPEAKER 1.

Is that you?
It will rain today![174] Imagine meeting you here after such a long time. How are they at home?

SPEAKER 2.

Yes it has been a long time. *The family is fine if yours is.*[175] I am returning from a visit to my uncle who now lives at *mindamirefu*.[176]

SPEAKER 1.

So your uncle finally decided to go there? How are they progressing?

SPEAKER 2.

Vanongoedzawo.[177] They have the same problems as us, no fertilizer, poor rains, but they seem ɩ coping well.

SPEAKER 4.

Pamusoroyi.[178] Did I hear you say you have a relative at *mindamirefu*. I have a cousin there too.[179] I hear they have had problems getting fertilizers and seeds.

SPEAKER 2.

Yes. This seems to be a problem everywhere. What is the name of your

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[174] An idiomatic expression based on the belief of good luck (rain is usually welcomed as good luck) when one encounters someone they had not met for a long time

[175] Idiomatically expressed to reciprocate or exchange a greeting

[176] literally "long fields" - under the government resettlement program people who qualify for resettlement are expected to till larger fields than small plots that characterize subsistence farming.

[177] Translated "So so. Not bad!"

[178] Translated, Excuse me or may I join in.

[179] Speaker 4 did not just barge into the conversation He established his credentials by showing an association with a common point of reference - mindamirefu Common points of reference are strategic in the homophillous communication among peasants

cousin?

Speaker 4.

Chigumadzi.

SPEAKER 5.

Which Chigumadzi? The one who lives near *Zhizha's* store. I know him. I attended an Agritex[180] field demonstration with him last year. I know him very well. Did he try the new maize seed that the *mudhomeni*[181] talked about?

SPEAKER 4.

Well he told me about it. I understand that farmers at Rweya[182] tried it and produced big maize cobs. We may try it during the next planting season.

SPEAKER 1.

We would try it this year if we could get it. As it is we are running short of cash. I just paid school fees for my four children at a boarding school and I was left with virtually no money at all.

As the conversation progressed more and more people joined and new ideas were discussed. SPEAKER 2 told others how people living in *mindamirefu* were using new methods of tillage, land preparation, preparing livestock feeds and grain storage. Another speaker joined in because he was a local district councillor and said he had some experience with the new maize seed. One speaker mentioned his doubts about the government policy enjoining farmers to grow more groundnuts. He cited the poor soil while another suggested intercropping as the best way of ensuring that soil was enriched.

There was a discussion on the knowledgeability of the extension agents in farming matters. One passenger said his method of growing groundnuts had been successful over many years and "long before he (extension agent) was born." Another countered this by saying " so why

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[180]   Agritex, Agricultural Technical and Extension Services a government agency charged with the task of promoting agricultural development in the rural areas.

[181]   local name for an agricultural extension official

[182]   Name of a village

do we educate our children if we do not allow them to help us benefit from their educational experiences?" The conversation died down as the speakers got off the bus at their respective destinations along the three-hour route.

The egalitarian environment ensured a free and equal opportunity for all not only to recount what innovations they had heard about but to give their own assessments of the innovations on the basis of their experiences. The dialectic-hermeneutic rationality clearly formed the epistemological basis for the discussions out of which new creative ideas were hopefully developed. Empirical research would show that this was an important source of information for the rural people.

TEXT 4. RECORDED DURING A CONVERSATION AMONG BUREAUCRATS

SPEAKER 1[183]

These events are running late. I want to get back to the city before 6.30 p.m. for a reception being hosted by (name of the country mentioned) embassy officials on the occasion of their national day.

SPEAKER 2

Me too. I really need to get to the city before sundown. This heat is killing me. I hear there are five more choirs that have yet to sing before the main speeches.

SPEAKER 3

If the program is followed strictly we will not be able to leave this place until late in the evening. They should cut back on some of the afternoon events.

SPEAKER 1

Or change the order of some of the events. For example, we could have the main speeches now and leave the choirs to entertain people after we are gone.

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[183]   the conversation took place at a rural agricultural show, August, 1987

The chairman and master-of-ceremonies, a local peasant farmer was called and he agreed to a rescheduling of the events.

TEXT 5. RECORDED AT ANOTHER AGRICULTURAL SHOW.

SPEAKER 1.[184]

This show is certainly better than the one held at (*another rural area*).

SPEAKER 2.

I was impressed by the diversity of crops being produced in our rural areas. Did you see those huge carrots and cabbages?

SPEAKER 3.

I am taking some of them to my house. They were certainly very impressive. It shows that people are slowly getting our message.

SPEAKER 1.

But unless they agree to be properly resettled they will not be able to overcome major problems in a long time.

SPEAKER 2.

Changing people's patterns of settlement is the greatest challenge to the government's rural development program

SPEAKER 4.

How do you change that?

SPEAKER 1.

How does one change those attitudes? Through education. We need to be more involved in the educational process.

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[184] It features bureaucrats talking among each other in a caravan provided by a fertilizer manufacturing company that was using the occasion to promote its products A public relations official had brought several cartons of beer for the bureaucrats.

During the discussions some of the bureaucrats gave examples, to prove their points, of their experiences or what they had read about in China, The Soviet Union, Tanzania, Algeria, Roumania, Scandinavian and eastern bloc countries. The text highlighted the elitist perceptions of the urban-based bureaucrats evidenced by their inability or unwillingness to interactively communicate ideas with the peasants. Where some communication took place it was largely one way - a pattern that runs counter to the logic of the egalitarian environment in which the peasants interactively communicate among each other as shown in Text 1. The hierarchical top-bottom pattern of communication was evident even in situations were it may have appeared that the bureaucrats were interactively communicating with the peasants as the following text will show.

TEXT 6. RECORDED AT A RURAL AGRICULTURAL SHOW

SPEAKER 1.[185]

Today we are very honoured...shall we all sit down and be quiet....Today, we are very happy to be visited by some very important people from our government...Hey you children over there, keep quiet. Will the women please ensure peace and quiet among those children. Let us show our respect to our guests who , as I was saying, have come with a very important message for us here at Muchinjike. We are also honoured to have in our midst our own Chief, Senator Mangwende and our District Administrator. Let us all give them our traditional welcome after which I will call upon our DA to introduce our guests. (*Men clap hands while women ululate*) Thank you very much. I now call upon the District Administrator.

SPEAKER 2.

(Made a brief statement highlighting the progress achieved in developing the area but also pointing out challenges to development and the amount of work that remained to be done. He then introduced the guests.

SPEAKER 3.[186]

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185   Local farmer who was master of ceremony for the occasion

186   Local chief

Before I say what I want to say I want everybody to sing with me the song (named).... *everybody joins in the singing....*) Good. That song has an important message for us all. It is a message exhorting us all to work hard to improve our lives. We cannot expect the government to do everything for us - already we now have better roads, bridges, more schools and hospitals...this shows how much our government cares for its peoples. It's now up to us to complete the task. Here I want to emphasize the role of the family in development. No matter how well served our community may be with good roads, schools etc..if we have broken families we will always lag behind other nations. Let our progress be shown not only by the number of bridges and roads and schools and hospitals but also by the way you take care of your families. I mean the way you women prepare your children for school, cook for your hardworking husbands (*laughter*). I mean it! If you women do not take good care of your husbands you are likely to lose them to other women able and willing to take good care of them. Lest I be accused of being one sided I also want to emphasize that you men must ensure that your wives have everything they need to take care of you. (*cheerful laughter from women*).[187]

SPEAKER 4.[188]

This show has demonstrated that you have increased your production. It is only through increased production that we can accelerate development in this country. I was pleased to see a wider range and variety of products on display at this agricultural show. Keep up the good work. You are truly blessed with good climate and good potential. But if you wish to improve on your crop production you must follow the following steps.

1. Woodclearing

2. Get all necessary inputs in time. Do not wait until the last minute to get seed and fertilizer.

3. Plant your crops with the first rains.

4. Rotate your crops.

5. Use the variety of crops suited to your agroclimatic conditions

6. Increasingly grow more oilseeds because, apart from obtaining cooking oil from such oil seeds, they are also an important source of nutritious feeds for livestock consumption and cash income for families as well as foreign exchange for government on surplus exports.[189]

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[187] The chief talked about many other things - all the time using philosophical and idiomatic expressions that appeared very effective in bringing his message home This proves the notion of community leaders as an important channel of information to the people People are likely to remember certain messages on the basis that they came from the chief

[188] Deputy Director,Agritex Main speaker His speech was preceded by traditional dancing and singing

At the end of his speech there were cheers and he and his entourage were presented with gifts and after two choral songs the bureaucrats left. Thus while the environment allowed for such interactive communication the bureaucrats followed the logic of their hierarchical one-way flow of communication. There were no efforts to engage in discussions with the peasants on the issues raised in the main speech and no feedback that may have helped the two groups to understand each other better. The master of ceremonies had, of course, highlighted some of the problems encountered by the peasant farmers. These problems had also been, amidst exhortations to work hard and adopt innovations, dramatically expressed through sketches, songs and dances by women. Music was an integral and strategic element in communicating messages.[190] This form of expression highlighted the following messages

"You, mother, prepare your children well for school. Use plastic containers instead of those rusted and unhealthy metal tins for your children's and husband's take-away lunches.

"Good farming practices are our game....and we must play to win.

"We are grateful for the independence the government has brought to us. Let us use it to better our lives....

"Our grievances ...are about our unemployed schoolleaving children....please prime minister help us help them."[191]

Messages communicated through song and dance have tended to have a strong impact because of their spontaneity. Peasant songs

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189   The Speaker went on to give a highly informative and educative account of improved agricultural practices.

190   Robert Marere, deputy Minister, *"Music is the Medium of Communication,"* Zimbabwean government, Department of Information Press Release, Harare, Zimbabwe, July 27, 1988

191   Songs recorded at Muchinjike Agricultural Show, Murehwa, August, 1987

reflect both spontaneous aspirations of the masses and organizing
activity...people appeared spontaneously to put their woes and their hopes in
music...expressing the hopelessness of poverty and the bitterness of the
people(Omvedt,1977,243).

Songs, drama and folklore are essential elements in rural information and communication.
The women singing about their experiences were passing important information like the need
for better family life. Individuals listening to the messages got a better understanding of the
message because of the cultural values it articulated. It reflected their everyday experiences.
Invariably, cultural artifacts like language and behavior helped to reinforce the message.

4.4.3 PEASANT AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT: The degree or extent to which farmers had put
any information received through any of the above channels of communication to practical
use and with what effects is an important test of the effectiveness of the communication and
information environment. Statistics on peasant agriculture (Table 4.15) show that maize crop
production increased more than tenfold from 53.2 million tones between 1975 and 1980 to
576.4 million tones during the 1981 - 1985 period. But groundnut and Soya Bean crop
production actually declined.[192] Peasants diversified their crop production patterns although
maize continued to be predominant. The increase in cotton and sunflower indicates the
growing importance of cash cropping - albeit a colonial legacy - to peasant agriculture. Was
this increase attributable to agricultural information? If so how come the government
incentives on producer price for groundnuts over the years did not lead to a corresponding
increase in production? This research was able, from evidence available, to establish that
some agricultural information had permeated the rural information and communication
environment but could not determine conclusively a causal relation between information and
agricultural production. The rural communication environment had shown its capacity to

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[192]   This is despite the fact that, as an incentive for farmers to increase production the producer price
for groundnuts has consistently been increased, reaching an all-time high of Z$1 000 per tone,
compared to ZS200 per tone for maize   (Department of Information Press Release Ministry of
Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Harare, July, 1987,2)

receive and amplify agricultural information by networking it through its arterial system of interpersonal communication channels. But information, as has been mentioned, while capable of organizing people into some purposive and useful activity does not offer material solutions to the peasants' development needs. What the people need is more land and farm inputs *not necessarily* more information. This has been the key flaw in the state's policy perspective on development communication which had consistently focused on the need to bombard people with information so they could better their lives.

4.4.2.5 POLICY PERSPECTIVES OF THE STATE

The third element of this research was concerned with the contemporary policy perspectives of the state in the field of communication and development. While from a political economy theoretical framework such policy posturing would predictably be structured within the context of the neo-colonial social system some measure of flexibility aimed at accommodating the developmental interests and needs of the peasants (Ranger 1984) has apparently contributed to some reported successes in peasant agricultural production although statistics show that this star performance was largely recorded among the SSCFs. Elements of this flexibility include the popular local governmental structure or VIDCOs; planned rural information centers; the decentralization of Agritex and new approaches aimed at making extension services more responsive and effective in meeting the development needs of the rural farmers.

These structural changes would appear to have their roots during the liberation struggle when guerrillas and peasants interacted and formed makeshift administrative structures in the areas where the colonial administrative structures had collapsed(Ranger 1984).

An analysis of interviews with representatives of the state system shows a policy articulation that highlights the need to prioritize rural development and attributes the farmers' successes to the "progressive agrarian policies" of the government's information systems and extension

TABLE 4.15 PEASANT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ('000 TONNES)

CROP	1975/80	1980/85
Cotton	2001	5770
Wheat	14	68
Sorghum	104	2700
Groundnuts	4490	3922
Soya Beans	1838	607
Maize	53249	576403
Sunflower	N/A	7064
Munga	N/A	6627
Rapoko	N/A	2711

Source: Agritex, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1987.

services. However amidst such optimistic profiling of the dynamism of the government agrarian policies and the communal farmers lie fundamental structural, economic, political, social and bureaucratic problems and interventions that have heavily circumscribed the pace and extent of the flexibility in policy.

While there has been some policy articulation on the role of information and communication systems in development the government has still not come up with a well researched and defined, rational and structured communication policy.[193] Policy pronouncements have tended to be *ad hoc* arrangements to suit particular historical occasions. A senior bureaucrat in the Department of Information[194] said while government did not have "a communication policy as such *this does not mean it is not there.*" Its effects, he said, could be seen in the way the rural information services operate, the way the masses had been mobilized toward development objectives like improved and increased agricultural production. To come up with a formal communication policy document could easily lead to varied interpretations such as press censorship. Government's actions to date had primarily been aimed at decolonizing the media institutions and ownership structure. Instead of controlling and owning the media the government opted for the creation of the *Mass Media Trust (MMT)*, a parastatal, to handle the ownership of the media "on behalf of the masses." The government's commitment that the media "be owned by the people and operate in the interest of the people" is evidenced by the fact that members of the board of trustees of the MMT are not drawn from government nor

[193] A government policy paper on communications was published recently The thrust of the policy was that government had democratized the media and therefore expected the media to play a more dynamic role in promoting development by reporting more extensively on rural development *Policy Paper* Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Harare, 1989

[194] Personal interview with the Director of Information, Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Harare, August, 1987

paid by the government but "are ordinary respectable citizens."[195] Government had also set up institutions for the training of media personnel, *Zimbabwe Institute for Mass Communications(ZIMCO)*, and for receiving and disseminating news, *Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency (ZIANA)* as well as restructured the *Censorship Board* to ensure that

> We do not feed our people on a diet that is offensive to our culture. European morals are not the same as our own. We do not believe that our people have an appetite for them.[196]

According to the senior official government expects the media to promote national unity, reconciliation and to mentally decolonize people into thinking as Africans. "For a people who won their independence through sweat and blood it is imperative that they think and act like Africans as a reflection of their hard-won independence from colonial rule."[197] In order for the mass media to play their role effectively it "is important that the selection of editors and senior staff be acceptable to government."

On agricultural information the senior official identified the rural information centers, rural newspapers, mobile cinema units and rural information officers and extension workers as key elements of a government policy thrust aimed at bringing information and innovations to the people.

> (Zimbabwe Information Services) has , through publicity, contributed extensively to the formation, activities and successes of cooperatives, clubs and other groups: boosted local participation in the construction of schools,

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[195]   Members of board of governors include a medical doctor, a lawyer, a university vice-chancellor, a businessman, a commercial farmer and a city council administration executive. These certainly belong to an elite class

[196]   Personal Interview, Director of Information,Zimbabwe

[197]   Personal interview, Director of Information,Zimbabwe

bridges, roads, dams and clinics; enhanced and facilitated the work of extension workers - Agritex officials, Village Health workers, adult literacy tutors and youth brigades.[198]

Communication technology such as satellite dish antennas, rural telephones, videos, telex and computer facilities would have to be "screened" in order to ensure that they "serve the developmental interests of the people rather than the commercial interests of the manufacturers."

The Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, has described information as the fourth factor of production after land, labour and capital.

> Development is non-existent if it is not accompanied by a well coordinated and efficient dissemination and propagation of information....our objective is to mobilize and motivate the masses... for national development, national unity and vigilance. Accordingly, the number one priority of my Ministry is to take mass communication to the people, particularly in rural areas...so that they can enjoy the benefits derived from radio and broadcasting services. . Radio 2 caters for those people whose medium of communication are the vernacular languages. The objective is that it should reach the masses in their own languages so they can better understand themselves and their environments as they grapple with the challenges of development...."[199]

On the freedom of the press and the ZBC the Minister said,

> There is no such thing as freedom of the press. The press is a structural component of the society whose interest it must reflect, promote and indeed defend. Therefore freedom of the Press is only relative to a given social, economic and political circumstances you are in relation to the existence of others.... (T)his broadcasting station (ZBC) is a Zimbabwean organization which exists to serve the people of Zimbabwe. It will therefore concentrate on

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[198]   "Ministry's Achievements Since Independence," *Public Service Bulletin*, August, 1986, p 3

[199]   Dr Witness Mangwende, Minister of Information Posts and Telecommunications, Speech in Parliament, *Hansard*, Vol 15, No 19, 16 August,1988 pp 836 - 842

issues relevant to the peoples' needs, particularly developmental ones.[200]

But the Minister also noted that radios and television sets in Africa are limited to urban areas.

> All too often it is only the rich and elite in these areas who can afford them. Indeed, television has become so expensive that it has become a status symbol. Another problem is that in most of our countries, television programming depends almost entirely on material imported from the developed world. *Most of the messages and content of these programs conflict with the interests and values of our people.*"[201]

One of the editors of the country's mainstream publications said he and his colleagues had taken a decision to publish the truth "no matter how much it may hurt. Facts are facts. It is our responsibility to bring those facts to the public light."[202] However there does not seem to be a well-defined editorial policy on agricultural information. Hence coverage of agricultural stories is not systemic or well structured.

Agricultural information is a responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture which sets out guidelines for Agritex the executing agency.[203] Agritex is mostly decentralized with a small core bureaucracy remaining at its head office in Harare. It is planned to eventually

[200]   Mangwende, ibid.

[201]   "Africa (must) Decolonise Broadcasting Services," *Department of Information Press Release*, Harare, August 3, 1988.

[202]   Interview with a Sunday newspaper editor, Bulawayo, August, 1987. Other interviews with communication educators and researchers showed that the newspapers were polarized with the Bulawayo-based papers adopting a more critical editorial policy than those in Harare. One explanation for this was that Harare-based papers were too uncomfortably close to the center of political power where "bureaucratic heat" could always be easily turned on them for publishing controversial articles

[203]   Interview with Assistant Secretary, Economics and Marketing, Edmund Sakala, Ministry of Agriculture, Harare, August, 1987.

decentralize Agritex completely. The parastatal is headed by a director with several deputies each with specialist functions. Below them and based away from the capital city are provincial agricultural extension officers (PAEO) each of whom has two deputies. Next are regional agricultural extension officers (RAEO) under whom serve a network of agricultural extension officers (AEO) and, on an experimental basis, farmer extension representatives (FER). Communication with farmers is carried out through Master Farmer Training Schemes; Group Development Areas; Radio Listening Groups; Training and Visiting System; Farmer Extension Promoters; Intensive Resettlement Schemes.[204] At Agritex agricultural information is generated from two basic sources, namely,

1.   *in-service training courses* at all levels. The course includes oral and written agricultural information that is passed onto the field staff in three languages and, in the case of written information, in an in-house magazine, *Kunzwa/Ukuzwa* (to understand);

2.   *advisory notes* written mostly by extension specialists and also published in farming magazines such as *Farming World*, *Farmer*, *Murimisi/Umlimisi* (farmer).

The information in these magazines is intended for those who can read. Advisory notes and magazines are distributed to all provinces. Topics for publication are chosen to match the occasion.[205]

Agritex has a mass media section where specific topics are dealt with through radio, video and slides. The problem is there is not enough airtime on the ZBC. Two Agritex programs, *Farm Diary*, is allocated 15 minutes a week while *Kurima* (Farming) gets only 30 minutes. There is no allocation for agricultural information on television![206]

Mobile Cinema Units (MCU) are a training program intended, at least in theory, to create an awareness and networking of experiences among farmers. This involves bringing farmers for

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204   Interview with Agritex staff, Harare, Murehwa and Murombedzi, August,1987

205   Farming magazines, because of their limited circulation tend to be in-house magazines for the administrative staff or accessible to a few, usually well-off farmers, leaving out the vast majority of the peasant farmers

206   Interview, Sam Pazvakavambwa, Director, Agritex, Harare, August,1987

training during the days they are not committed to their work. Here farmers meet with extension officials who, as a result of being *motorized* under a World Bank aid program, can move around more quickly on their motorcycles and access many farming communities in remote areas. These meetings take place at demonstration plots where apart from listening to messages and discussing innovations farmers can watch a practical demonstration of innovative farming practices.

To expand and localize the network of AEOs Agritex has introduced, on an experimental basis, FERs. These are local farmers chosen by their peers and, in some cases, seen to have shown a capacity to adapt innovations. Their role is to promote innovations in their communities. Because they are well known and respected their messages are likely to be listened to and acted upon. As an incentive the FERs are given bicycles and a small allowance. An evaluative study carried out in one rural area (Truscot 1985) showed that there was a dramatic improvement in the farmers' access to extension services.

Agritex' administrative structure also serves to translate highly technical information into simple language. At each hierarchical level the administrative structure simplifies the language and adapts innovations to local conditions. Such complex and technical research information is a product of experiments carried out in a controlled laboratory environment. The research often has to be replicated through field testing. The *On Farm Research Farming System Demonstration Unit* carries out trials on the selected farmers' fields and under local agro-climatic conditions.

4.4.2.6 THE WEDZA FEP PROJECT: A CASE STUDY

The results of this multi-dimensional approach to extension services cannot be viewed from the perspective of a successful penetration of information or diffusion of innovations only. One Agritex evaluation of the *Wedza FEP Project* (Chipika 1987,7) observed, "It is extremely difficult and even dangerous to say radio was the prime cause of any of the intended

changes." A summary of the main conclusions of the evaluation showed that the messages were standardized and tended to be beneficial to the early adapters, in whose favour the messages themselves appeared biased. As a result late adapters or laggards, who formed the bulk of the peasant farmers adopted a small portion of the innovations or modified them substantially to suit their environment. The extension workers themselves did not incorporate the farmers' experience and knowledge in designing innovations to suit particular environments. The study recommended that

1. Appropriate messages and recommendations should be made with respect to farmers with a low resource base if such farmers are to participate and benefit from the limited agricultural extension services.

2. To alleviate the problems of shortages of resources that are essential for agricultural production, especially with the less advantaged farmers, the implementation of a more comprehensive agricultural package program should be considered.

3. A more broad-based agricultural extension program incorporating the less advantaged peasants in communal (areas) is essential for a more equitable distribution of extension services(Chipika 1987,10).

The bulk of the extension workers believe their message to, and interaction with, rural farmers have produced results toward better agricultural practices. During the colonial era the extension agents were viewed with suspicion and, at times, open hostility, for working for the white settler-colonial regime. After independence the extension agents believe they have gained credibility, trust and respect, although their message on better agricultural practices has remained essentially the same - an indication of the complex nature of the ecology of communication. A group approach to interactive communication with farmers has been adopted partly for economic and manpower reasons and partly because of message receptivity and acceptability in group dynamics.

Another innovative program to enhance rural development was the formation of Group

Development Areas (GDAs). These have been found to be more effective than cooperatives because the latter have traditionally been marketing enterprises and have historically been viewed negatively because of levies and membership cards that were imposed on farmers. GDAs, on the other hand, are formed by the farmers themselves who make their own rules. The GDAs have a loose structure and membership largely consists of neighbouring villagers who are in many cases a network of extended families. This way village cohesiveness and peasant autonomy are maintained. Apart from some recorded successes of increased EO-farmer contact in Wedza as a result of the GDAs and FERs a number of innovations are reported to have been adopted by farmers in Murehwa and Murombedzi. In Murehwa, for example, adoption of the Soya Bean crop resulted in an increase over a period of five years of farmers growing the crop from less than ten to over 150.[207] Farmers also reported an increase in the growing of new maize crop and sunflower varieties. But, as noted earlier a number of interventions mean that such benefits can only be attributed to a small percentage of rural farmers.

4.4.3 POLICY ANALYSIS: On the basis of this paper's research findings as well as literature on development communications it is evident that the "policy" perspectives of the state system are fundamentally flawed even though in some instances the objectives, namely bringing mass communications to the people may represent a desirable strategy in agrarian reforms. In the absence of a well-designed and critical development communication policy research assumptions behind the policy perspectives represent intellectually discredited and empirically unsubstantiable theories. Thus there has been a yawning gap between the optimistic expectations of development communications and what has been achieved. In some cases, as findings of the Wedza Project show, benefits have accrued to a small percentage of farmers with resources needed to make use of information and innovations available.[208]

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[207]   Personal communication with Murehwa District RAEO, August,1987

[208]   Cees Hamelink (1983,5) says whether the possession of information enables access to social power depends upon a series of conditions such as access to resources

While many extension officials claim varying degrees of success in the adoption of innovations by the peasant farmers there is no hard empirical evidence linking directly agricultural practices of the majority of peasant farmers to the activities of the extension agents. Even where the vast majority of the respondents in this research reported increased contacts with and exposure to messages from extension agents it would appear that *agro-climatic conditions, availability of loans and markets* were the key factors that contributed to increased production. The role of information would largely have been to show farmers who were already well-off the existence of opportunities, or the government farm support system. The negative agro-climatic conditions that dogged peasant farmers during the colonial era still persist. This means agricultural productivity by the peasant farmers, controlling for the SSCFs, continued to be circumscribed and any growth was marginal, caused by additional land acquisition which in turn was checked by population growth.

The effectiveness of the mainstream media and rural newsletters in mobilizing masses toward defined development objectives has to be viewed against the background of

1. poor or non-existent rural penetration;

2. English language as the medium of discourse in the major publications;

3. the collapse of newsletters;

4. little agricultural information on radio;

5. the scarcity of radio sets due to their shortage and prohibitive costs;

6. little progress in the establishment of rural information centers;

7. lack of well defined policy with a solid communications policy research base.

This research found little evidence to indicate that, as an independent variable, the media had played any significant or meaningful role in mobilizing the peasants towards development goals. But reference to the media as a source of information by some respondents does indicate some role, although it is difficult to ascertain the extent of that role.

Another policy perspective, the restructuring of ownership and control of the media under

the Mass Media Trust was probably *less of a decolonization exercise than an -in-house shift of power relations among the various fractions in the ruling elite*. None of the trustees was drawn from the urban poor, rural peasants or the trade unions. The trustees of the MMT are not just "respected citizens" but members of the elite. The same applies to the media personnel in ZIANA, ZIMCO and Zimbabwe Newspapers and the broadcasting media the bulk of whom are drawn from various hierarchical levels of the urban elite. While there is no known formal research into the socio-economic status of the media personnel empirical evidence, based on this researcher's experience, shows that the media personnel are relatively well-educated, some of them are widely travelled and educated abroad, earn salaries at various levels way above the minimum wage, live in the more affluent suburbia, own or have access to cars, have more interactive contacts, social, professional or political, with the state bureaucratic elite than the rural masses.[209] On the basis of this socio-economic profile the media personnel articulate the discourse of the bureaucratic elite not so much as a result of coercion as out of self-interest or personal aggrandizement. This is of course not to say the media have been completely non-critical but that any critical elements in the media discourse are largely a reflection of intra-fractional struggles within the ruling elite and they are often kept within acceptable limits of bureaucratic tolerance.

The view that information is *the fourth factor production* shows how information has been commoditized and now comes with a price tag.

> "....the mass media...together with advertisers, take a central part in the process by which monopoly capitalist system grows or declines in strength ...the mass media *produce* audiences and *sell* them to advertisers of consumer goods and services, political candidates. ....These audiences work to market these things for themselves. At the same time, these audiences have their basic human concerns....advertising is a major component of commoditized information, being wrapped around the free lunch (of)

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[209] Author's experience as a journalist, News Editor,Zimbabwe C Wright Mills (Olsen 1970,286) talks of the unity of the power elite based on "men of similar education, of similar career and style of life, their unity may be said to rest upon the fact that they are of similar social type "

entertainment, news, drama, programming on television, in magazines and newspapers and radio (Smythe 1981,xix,4).

According to C. Wright Mills (Olsen 1970,250) mass media of communication are important instruments of manipulation: the media "lull people to sleep...by suppressing political topics and by emphasizing entertainment."

For the peasants "taking the mass media to the people" can, given the existing social structure, mean extending a consumer culture to the untapped market in the rural areas Undoubtedly the *kulakization* of the rural agrarian economy (Moyo, Mumbengegwi 1987) represents a systematic and calculated extension of the purchasing power to the rural middle farmers and thus create more viable markets through the capitalization of agriculture. One of the key strategies for the re-establishment of rural newsletters has been to secure long-term advertising from the business community because it was believed that the previous newsletters had collapsed for economic reasons District administration officials, faced with dwindling budgetary allocations from central government and increasing responsibilities in health, education, road and bridge building and maintenance as well as salaries and capital expenditure for local bureaucracies cut off funds for newsletters.[210] This shows that, by ranking newsletters low on development priorities, the optimistic rhetoric about how masses were reading and enjoying newsletters and were motivated to work towards developmental goals had been exaggerated.[211]

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[210] Personal interview with the Chief Executive Officer, Murehwa Kubatana District Council, Murehwa, August,1987

[211] Bornwell Chakaodza and Richard Sanders (1987) talk of *developmental advertising* as a new concept of deriving advertising revenue for rural newsletters without creating a consumerist culture along the western models This would involve soliciting for advertisements from development agencies like NGOs Whatever merits developmental advertising may have it is extremely doubtful that development agencies, who usually operate on shoe string budgets, could sustain on a long-term basis rural newsletters At any rate the assumptions behind the reasons for reviving rural newsletters do not have a reliable research base and are, at best, speculative

Another dimension of the problems with the bureaucratic policy posturing on development communication were the inter-ministerial bureaucratic rivalries and the rigidly vertical lines of command. Each ministry worked less through coordination with others than alone in order to enhance its own image. In this respect agricultural information policy was the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture with Agritex as its executing agency. But the Ministry of Information controlled the hardware in form of broadcast facilities and the print media. Agritex farm programs tended to have a restricted coverage in the radio. Out in the field extension officials often had to go through a bureaucratic red tape in order to access local communication and information facilities run by the Ministry of Information.

ZBC radio depends for its rural news on rural information officers, who are relatively less knowledgeable about the intricacies of agricultural and rural development, rather than extension officers, who are relatively more knowledgeable. Both report directly to their bosses in their respective ministries with little evidence of a well structured and meaningful networking of individual skills and capabilities as well as sharing of communication and information facilities. The Mobile Cinema Unit was seen essentially as a vehicle for propagating national policies on unity, development, integrity of government and political leadership rather than dealing with local problems of development especially in agriculture.[212]

Plans to introduce rural information centers (RICs) appear to have stalled. Each district or growth point was supposed to have an RIC made up of postal , telephone, telex, radio, television facilities. Newspapers and library facilities would also be available. Rural people

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[212] A top district administration official at Murehwa denied that there were sharply defined lines of vertical command among various ministries at district and local levels He said if that was true at national level the situation was different at the district or local level because all agencies of various ministries were coordinated by the district administrator However the local governmental structure has yet to be seen to work in an integrated manner This researcher attended a number of local government meetings and it would appear that members from various ministries saw these meetings as an opportunity for them to explain or clarify their respective ministries' policies rather than institutions to which they were accountable They kept on restating their ministries' positions on various issues and it seemed they viewed the district administrator, who in fact is part of the Ministry of Local Government, as an unwarranted intrusion into their ministerial hierarchies

would have a centralized point for information and radio listening groups would be formed within the infrastructural framework of the RICs. A model information center at Murombedzi was, as of August 1987, yet to be completed. The solar TV experiment for group viewing operated briefly at Murombedzi. It was dismantled and has never been heard from since. One district administration official had this to say,

> They came and set this experimental solar TV and called a few people to come and watch. After a while they dismantled everything except that TV antenna and went away. We have not heard from them.[213]

This was another reflection of lack of consultation with local people by bureaucrats. Interviews with a number of peasants and a local chief indicated that none had any idea about what the experimental solar television was intended to achieve. One peasant thought it was private property and that the owner had relocated.

The notion of radio listening groups appears to have hit some economic and socio-cultural snags. The prototype rural radio for group listening which was designed in 1982 has to date not been mass produced because of financial constraints.[214] The budgetary allocation for the Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications for the year 1989/90 was slashed from $35 million to $21 million.[215] In his speech on the occasion of the opening of a new session of Parliament Zimbabwe's president Robert Mugabe did not, as in previous presidential addresses, make any reference to the RIC's.[216]

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213   Interview with local administration official, Murombedzi, August, 1987. Since then the RIC's are being developed more dynamically

214   Interview, Naomi Nhiwatiwa, former deputy Minister of Information, Harare, 1984

215   Budget Statement, *Financial Gazette*, July 29, 1988

216   Presidential Speech, *Hansard*, June, 1988 However a diplomatic official in the Zimbabwean High Commission in Ottawa said the fact that the president had not mentioned the RIC's did not mean government was no longer committed to the plan But a Ministry of Information in Harare

From a socio-cultural perspective it was observed that the notion of radio listening groups was an artificial imposition on people and that to get rural people to travel some distance to a prescribed place for the purposes of listening to a radio did not fit well in their scheme of rural living and behavior. Government was now apparently investigating the prospect of manufacturing low-cost radios so rural people could have them in their homes.[217]

4.4.4 FIELD RESEARCH: CONCLUSION: The research findings on the utilization of information by the peasants have shown a predictable pattern where the optimism generated by policy makers and theorists has not been empirically substantiated. The most fundamental problem would lie in the perpetuation of old theoretical conceptualizations of communication, development, or development communication. At a methodological level the implementation of communication policy, or what appears to be communication policy, has tended to be a haphazard and ad hoc arrangement dogged by inter-ministerial rivalries and lack of proper research base.

What is needed is a theoretical retaxonomization of the concept of communication in support of development. Communication has, first and foremost, to be seen in the context of a matrix of forces in dialectical and multi-dialectical relationships in a given social system. The role of communication has to be viewed in the context of the status of other factors like land and credit availability

At a local level the diffusion of innovations and transmission of information must put into account the fact that peasants are knowledgeable and active agents of development. Information must be networked rather than mechanically transmitted. In networking such

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indicated that there was no clear-cut mandate on the RIC (Personal Interview, July 1988)

[217]   Interview with Prof Walter Kamba, chairman, ZBC Board of Governors, April, 1988 While the idea of individual ownership rather than group listening, would be a major policy shift it does not appear to have been explicitly stated but would be a logical follow up to the notion of commoditizing information

information the local information and communication environment which the peasants have used to their satisfaction must be the framework upon which new communication and information technologies such as telephones, radios, VCRs, TV etc are integrated organically. The Japanese experience, leading to its characterization as *an electronic village* shows how local traditions and culture when properly integrated with modern means of communication can significantly enhance development.[218] Blake (1987) argues that the development of communication capabilities and mass media products impacted significantly on Japanese cultural identity.[219] He taxonomizes lessons which he said can be learned from the Japanese experience:

1. Culture is not stagnant particularly in a world dominated by sophisticated systems

2. Practically all societies undergo cultural changes through contacts with other cultures.

3. The flow of culture-oriented messages is mainly North-South and not vice versa which, therefore, creates an imbalance in the process of refining or making adjustments to cultural development,

4. However communication processes - rhetorical, group, interpersonal etc.- within a given culture could be aggregated and articulated pedagogically so as to ensure at least an understanding of the basic differences and similarities among different ethnic groups

6. Cultural heterogeneity is not undesirable (Blake 1987,22)

For Africa the challenge is to capture the essence of various communication processes in their respective cultural milieu and convert observations to "concrete media products" that would perhaps be a start in the overall process of capturing various processes in the existing cultural groups in any given country. With the development of media vehicles, such processes

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218   The question of to what extent Japan is truly an electronic village is subject of debate as many Japanese intellectuals and radicals believe Japanese culture has been subsumed by American consumerist culture (Personal interviews with a number of Japanese scholars, McGill,1987 -88)

219   See also Youchi Ito(1987)

could be portrayed in various forms for crucial and pedagogical purposes. Repeated projections of such images could conceivably assist in forging a national cultural image that could be readily recognized as "national symbols" even though not fully accepted by all (Blake 1987,23). The notion of radio listening groups may sound appealing as way of mobilizing masses. But unless it is properly defined and structured it can easily become anti-thetical to the logic of rural communication. Under these circumstances it would be unnatural to create such a radio listening group structure and expect people to make *periodic pilgrimages to the information shrine*. But it would be natural if such ̴ ctures were implanted at places where people routinely go, like health clinics, dip tanks, farmers field demonstrations, schools, women's clubs etc. That way the radio listening groups would be exposed to and discuss messages on subjects primarily suited to the occasion. At a health clinic, for example, a radio listening group could be loosely formed to listen and discuss health-related messages mediated by a village health worker, doctor or nurse. At field day demonstrations or dip tanks such loose radio listening groups could hear and discuss messages mediated by extension workers and other agricultural specialists. However at each occasion information about upcoming events in other areas could be distributed.[220]

Community radio broadcasting, while viewed with suspicion by political leaders who fear it may be used by malcontents or the local opposition groups to harm the fragile national unity, can go a long way towards bringing the radio to the community. Interactive communication can help farmers network not only with experts but with their colleagues in distant areas. The radio must be part of a hybrid of communications media, like pamphlets, charts and newsletters. Here each medium of communication will reinforce the other as they all have varying strengths and weaknesses. A hybrid approach will maximize the strengths and effectiveness of mediated communication (Smith,Ray 1985).

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[220] Loose formations, as the GDA experiment has shown, have a far better chance of attracting interest from the peasants than formally constituted and bureaucratic radio listening groups.

The western-oriented media structures and their sophisticated technologies of communication and information must be humanized by integrating them in the traditional communication and information environment with all its rich culture and spirited dialogue. This alternative communication theory would see the communications system as blending old traditional forms of communication with the new technologies of communication. In this structure the main roles of the mass media systems would be to promote, rather than cause, self-reliant development by

1. providing technical information about development problems and possibilities and about appropriate innovations, in answer to local requests, and

2. circulating information about self-development accomplishment of local groups so that other such groups may profit from others' experiences and perhaps be challenged to achieve similar experience (Rogers 1976, 141).

4.5 CONCLUSION

This form of self-referential or multi-directional informational structure is preferable to the paradigmatic uni-directional causality that is implicit in hierarchical forms of organization (Krippendorff,1984). In this context the peasant and the extension official or the expert must enter into a dialogue, each recognizing the other as a knowledgeable human agency with whom one is involved in the process of co-constructing reality. By recovering the de-centered human agency and restructuring the mass media institutions so that they can begin to serve with sensitivity the development needs of the masses, agricultural information can be a critical variable in a program of action aimed at empowering the peasants who, in turn, can be expected to use their knowledge and experience to trail blaze self-reliant development.

However such empowerment will have to include another critical variable of radical land

reform and increased access by masses to the government farm support system. Without this variable even the most optimistic development communication programs like Tanzania's radio campaigns (Hall,1977) where knowledge among the peasants reportedly increased, are sooner or later undermined by structural, socio-economic interventions like resource scarcity and the unintended consequences of rural kulakization (Thoden von Vezlen,1972; Raikes,1975; Shivji,1976; von Freyhold,1977; Saul,1975). Under such circumstances even though physical infrastructures such as buildings may stand as evidence of development communication strategies the shortage of resources means no development has taken place.

What is needed is a thorough research that will chrystallize these alternative development communication paradigms into a structured purposive program of action toward making communication more effective and relevant to the information and development needs of the rural population.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

STRATEGIES FOR AN INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

5.1 SADCC AND THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

The transformation of the post-colonial SADCC nation-states' social, economic and political institutions along the lines of collective self-reliance is likely to remain an unfulfilled dream for a long time to come. This is in part because SADCC's strategies for achieving this objective are too closely aligned to the institutions and structures of global capitalism - the very cause of the dependence status of SADCC countries.[221] While policy posturing on the part of SADCC is in some ways a nostalgic reflection of Kwame Nkhrumah's vision of a *United States of Africa*, strategies that have been adopted largely reflect the logic of global corporate capitalism in which Africa has a dependency status. This means, given the dictates of the world economic system, economic integration and regional cooperation based on collective self-reliance in Africa will remain an unfulfilled aspiration.[222] SADCC's theme of

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[221] It has been argued vigorously by the SADCC Executive Secretary Dr Simba Makoni that in seeking investments from international institutions SADCC will develop in the long run the sound economic base on which to direct her policies towards a dynamic regional economic development However with the increasing indebtedness and the economic crisis facing SADCC countries the view that a sound economic base will be developed in the long run appears too optimistic

collective self-reliance and regional integration draws its logic from the protocols of the

OAU's Monrovia Strategy for Economic Development of Africa, Lagos Plan of Action and

the Africa Priority Program for Economic Recovery (APPER).[223] These declarations contain

measures aimed at the creation of the African Economic Community (ECA) by the year

2000. The aims and objectives of the ECA are

> to promote development, cooperation and integration among its member
> states, in all economic, social and cultural fields for the purpose of closer
> relations among its member states towards accelerated collaborative and
> endogenous economic, social and cultural development of the African
> continent to raise the quality of the standard of living and dignity and respect
> of its people."[224]

Through the strengthening and establishment of sub-regional organizations it is hoped the

following measures will be taken;

1. fostering sectoral integration at all levels in many fields including food and agriculture, industry, transport, science and technology,

2. abolition of obstacles to free movement of persons, ideas, services and capital between the member states,

3. the harmonization of financial policies and monetary integration among member states with the ultimate objective of adopting a single unit of currency by the member states,

4. the establishment of a common development fund for cooperation, compensation, guarantee and development, and,

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[222] Shaw(1985,11) notes"Despite resolutions, declarations, constitutions and diplomacy, integration as measured in terms of economic, communication and social transactions, remains at a stubbornly low level."

[223] OAU *Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU on Guidelines and Measures for National Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* Monrovia, Liberia, 1979
OAU *Draft Protocol on the African Economic Community* Doc ECM/ECO 8(SIV) Rev. 2 Add 1

[224] Onwuka,1979)

5.   such other activities that would promote the grand objectives as may be decided upon.

SADCC leaders while in full sympathy with the idealism of the ECA and the need for regional integration, have defined the terms of SADCC's existence in the context of the historical and geo-political realities of southern Africa. The President of Botswana and chairman of SADCC, Dr Quett Masire gave this definition of SADCC,

> Our determination to seek a peaceful, non-racial and prosperous region in which our people can have hope for the future develops naturally into a commitment to work together. It was out of this solidarity that SADCC was born. It(SADCC) was not conceived as a platform for rhetoric nor a plaything for those who desire a larger canvas on which to experiment with their patent solutions for Africa's problems. Rather, SADCC has grown out of a common awareness of common interests. Its immediate objectives are well defined and limited. SADCC exists only to the extent that member states breathe life into its common programs and projects. It does not have an autonomous existence separate from the priorities of member states (SADCC,1982)."[225]

Thus SADCC has been reduced to an object of convenience for the region's leadership, or a kind of tool to be discarded once it was determined to have ceased to be of any usefulness to its owners. This has left serious questions as to whether the regional organization could ever be allowed to develop a dynamic or momentum of its own. While the statement reflects the harsh geo-political realities of regional cooperation and integration - to the extent of rejecting as too idealistic the key elements of the OAU vision for the economic community for Africa - it fails to allow for creative innovations aimed at making SADCC dynamic. But the principle of coordination in dealing with the ever present problems of underdevelopment remains in the long-term a central tenet of the SADCC program of action - more than the objective of reducing dependence on South Africa. According to the former President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere,

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[225]   President Quett Masire of Botswana and SADCC Chairman, SADCC,1982

Our purposes are not simply greater independence from South Africa. If South Africa's apartheid rule ended tomorrow, there would still be need for the states of southern Africa to cooperate, coordinate their transport systems, to fight hoof and mouth disease together and to rationalize their industrial development(SADCC Handbook 1988,11).[226]

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, now President, saw SADCC as part of the historical project of pan Africanism.

"We view the evolution of SADCC as part of and parcel of our own history. Though formally launched only last year, SADCC to us is but part of the unfolding manifestation of the historic spirit of pan Africanism. More immediately SADCC represents the expression in more sharply focussed and telescoped form, of ideas of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMESCA, 1958 - 1963)...Ours is not a begging bowl. We know that the region is rich in resources which the industrialized world needs....the attitude of SADCC states to international cooperation is based on the recognition of overlapping interests and agreements freely negotiated between equals (SADCC 1981; SADCC Handbook 1988,7) [227]

But such policy posturing appears far removed in the practical sense from the operation of SADCC during the first decade of its existence. Despite the completion of the rehabilitation work on transport and communication infrastructure there has not been any significant reduction of dependence on South Africa. Neither has there been any significant increase in interstate trade.

"Economic crisis, which has affected the whole of sub saharan Africa has had a crippling impact on the economies of SADCC member states and has made cooperation for survival more urgent and more difficult. The crisis has rendered the region poorer and more dependent than it was in 1980 but it

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[226]   Former President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, speaking at the SADCC Consultative Conference 20 July, 1981

[227]   SADCC Summit, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1981

would certainly be in worse position without the cooperation which has taken
place among SADCC member states. In fact the crisis has served to
underscore the validity of the objective of seeking economic liberation
through regional cooperation (SADCC 1985,1).

Another review for the following year reported that the overall economic performance hardly

improved for most SADCC countries and the external debt and balance of payment problems

remained severe. SADCC regional debt stood at US$15 billion or about 60 percent of the

GDP (Table 5.1). This is considered a very high level of indebtedness. Most seriously

affected were Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique with debt servicing of over 80 percent. The

balance of payment and trade positions of Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia

worsened during 1985 owing mainly to reduced export earnings, increased debt repayments

and mounting arrears (SADCC,1986). Total exports and total imports of the nine SADCC

member states were estimated at US$5.5 billion and US$7.2 billion, respectively. Mineral

exports accounted for 57 percent (US$3.13 billion) of the total revenue.

"The picture that emerges from these figures is of a region which is likely to
be in a large structural trade deficit for some time, and which depends on the
export sector as the engine of economic growth and on the importation of
capital, intermediate and most consumer goods. It is this structural
dependence, coupled with the weak demand for the region's primary products
and the deteriorating terms of trade, which is the root cause of its economic
ills. No meaningful degree of economic independence for the region is,
therefore, achievable unless this basic problem is effectively addressed
(SADCC 1988,1).

This macro-economic profile of SADCC is a reflection of the geo-political structures that

perpetuate the region's dependency status. With the "hostile international economic

environment" South Africa destabilization and natural disasters like drought, the poor

economic performance of the region raises fundamental questions about SADCC's viability in

face of the struggle by individual member states to survive serious economic dislocations and

TABLE 5.1 TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT OF SADCC MEMBER STATES

(1984/86)

$ Million. Country	1984	1985	1986
Angola	1,024	1,403	3,071
Botswana	395	363	358
Lesotho	142	178	186
Malawi	898	994	1,113
Mozambique	1,231	1,442	3,156
Swaziland	253	276	232
Tanzania	3,047	3,374	3,955
Zambia	3,933	4,491	5,299
Zimbabwe	2,030	2,119	2,480
Total	**12,953**	**14,640**	**19,850**

Source SADCC External Debt Study, 1988. Quoted in SADCC Regional Macro-Economic Survey. 1988, p.61.

the attendant problems of rising unemployment, urban poverty and a general decline in the standard of living.

The SADCC program of action has grown into a multi-million dollar project - thanks to a heavy infusion of capital investment from external donor agencies. With such a weak economic base it is unlikely that SADCC countries will be able to sustain this program of action with their own resources. External funding and personnel have become the mainstay

of SADCC, entrenching the dependency situation the region's policymakers wanted to avoid in the first place.

The region has became a food importer (Table 5.2; Table 5.3). Some of the food imports, especially for the BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), come from South Africa. Some of the SADCC countries increased their use of the South African ports for exports and imports of agricultural produce.

> On the basis of current trends and historic, locational and climatic situations, a blanket program of reduced dependence does not look to be realistic in the short or even medium term. An alternative procedure would be to identify - step by step - specific sensitive areas in all sectors where dependence on the outside world is held to be detrimental. This should be followed by the implementation of appropriate strategies designed to reduce dependence (SADCC 1988,18).

5.2 CONCLUSION

5.2.1 COMMUNICATION/DEVELOPMENT DISJUNCTURE IN SADCC: In an attempt to reduce the region's dependence SADCC countries in 1986 focused their attention on a program aimed at mobilizing the region's resources to support SADCC's program of action But this mobilization of resources largely involves the corporate sector for financial support. It does not include in "its regular contacts and dialogue" the small-scale rural farmer not so much in terms of what he can contribute financially to the SADDC infrastructure as to how the infrastructure can relate to his information, communication and development needs, considering the fact that the small-scale farmer represents the rural productive sector that can in the long term help to sustain the organization financially and materially The involvement of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in working out strategies to bring the SADCC infrastructure into a symbiotic relationship with the rural productive sectors can be critical in

TABLE 5.2 SADCC - FOOD IMPORTS AND AID REQUIREMENTS

SADCC Countries:Cereal Production, Imports and Food Aid Requirements 1987/88
'000 tones

	Ang	Bots	Leso	Mala	Moza	Swaz	Tanz	Zamb	Zimb
1986/87 Cereal Production:									
Total	**350**	**26**	**149**	**1258**	**350**	**100**	**4034**	**1040**	**1464**
As Av.% of last five years	103	156	110	85	85	112	123	97	63
Position for 1987/88									
Cereal import requirements	340	202	187	195	750	57	100	160	132
Anticipated Commercial Imports	100	142	147	73	0	55	50	50	97
Total Food Aid Requirements	240	60	40	122	750	2	50	110	35
Cereal Import Position									
Commercial Imports already contracted	10	58	20	0	0	5	1	-	18
Food Aid. Pledges	118	76	33	45	57	1	30	87	0
Received so far	27	8	2	0	272	1	18	26	0

Source: Global Information and Early Warning on Food and Agriculture. FAO Special Report, October,1987, SADCC Regional Economic Survey 1988. p.126.

mobilizing local resources for collective self-reliance in regional development and cooperation. In addition local grassroots organizations such as farmers' clubs and associations, radio listening clubs, and women's groups can be involved in helping anchor the SADCC infrastructure in the rural areas which have the resources that could be mobilized to sustain SADCC.

Looking at the performance of SADCC's telecommunications and transport infrastructure in relation to agricultural production the following conclusions may be drawn

1. SADCC, as a regional organization was planned and designed by a combination of forces representing foreign capital and the bureaucratic elite in the region. SADCC's performance in the past decade has resulted in a consolidation of the region's states as dependencies in the world economic system. According to the SADCC's own survey (SADCC,1988)

> "while data deficiencies seriously constrain attempts to measure the extent of SADCC's trade dependence on South Africa these trade gaps notwithstanding, it is clear that trade with South Africa far exceeds intra- SADCC transactions. Trade relationships with South Africa are extremely one-sided with SADCC imports from South Africa exceeding exports by more than five to one. Regional imports from South Africa during the 1983- 86 period were estimated at $5.5 billion while regional exports were less than US$1 billion(SADCC 1988,228)."

2. SADCC/SATCC telecommunications infrastructure was designed as a corporate enterprise - operating in areas which had a relatively high potential of earning the sector some profit. To this extent therefore the social role of the telecommunications sector, particularly in promoting development in rural areas has yet to be comprehensively defined and implemented. While many SADCC and national projects include rural telecommunications these are commoditized projects in that the users of the telecommunications infrastructure have to pay for the services

   If telecommunications had been part of an integrated communication package including periodicals, radio and television then the media would have been able to meet their social role of facilitating interactive mass communication and networking of information and ideas. As long as information and/or knowledge is transmitted through the telephone, for whose services a fee is charged the information or knowledge are likely to

remain property of the individual.[228] On the other hand, mass communicated information and knowledge (through a hybrid of media channels like the radio or newspapers) can benefit a whole community. SADCC, in its design and implementation of communications for regional cooperation and development, has placed too much stress on telecommunications to the almost total exclusion of other media channels. It goes without saying that the telephone is a necessary but insufficient condition for the communication approach to development in the region.

3. The transport and telecommunication sector has through the rehabilitation of the existing infrastructure program, been developed along the old geo-political lines that had institutionalized the dependency status of the region's countries. Such rehabilitation program has merely served to strengthen the extractive industries and the export-led economic development of SADCC.[229]

4. At the national level and using Zimbabwe as a case study for field research - there is little evidence of a well formulated and integrated strategy for a communication approach to development. There seems to have been a greater preoccupation on the part of the policy makers with keeping the communications media under their ideological and political leash than to develop an integrated strategy for the mobilization of the media along interactive and participatory lines in support of development goals.

5. The media have not displayed any meaningful capacity to articu'ate systematically, intellectually and analytically issues in regional cooperation and development The neo-colonial tradition of maintaining a high content level of business, foreign and bland socio-political articles has become an institutional characteristic of the SADCC media.

6. The policy objectives of regional cooperation and development through collective self-reliance are no more than forms without substance - empty rhetoric. SADCC's infrastructure will most likely remain a corporate enterprise financed largely by foreign capital In 1988 SADCC had a total of 493 development projects with 86 percent of the required investment funding for them coming from external sources and only 14 percent from local sources(SADCC Survey 1988,4). There has been neither sign of any significant reduction of the external financing nor any proportionate increase in local financing.

Political will, according to SADCC's own survey,

is a necessary but insufficient condition for the attainment of SADCC objectives. An examination of SADCC projects indicates vividly that local funding for many projects is non-existent or insignificant. Financial

[228] The individual is unlikely to share freely or substantially information he obtained for a fee It can be argued that the rural poor, with no regular income, pay proportionately more for telephone charges than their affluent urban counterparts

[229] The fact that SADCC telecommunications infrastructure has developed an efficient and effective capacity for calls out of the region while the national telecommunications systems are breaking down confirms the export-led orientation of the SADCC telecommunications It is a lot easier to dial and complete a call to overseas destinations in a matter of seconds than calling the rural areas where call waiting can take hours and the quality of internal calls often leave much to be desired

commitment to projects is essential to ensure the effective control and sustainability of programs and projects. A lack of control over the funding of the projects is a contradiction of one of SADCC's key objectives - the reduction of dependence(SADCC Survey 1988,20)."

However attempts to mobilize local resources have essentially focussed on regional financial institutions whose capacity to sustain SADCC is low. Suggestions by the NGO's to expand the productive base of SADCC to include small-scale farmers in a more integrated development program do not seem to have been seriously considered since no demonstrable action in that direction has been initiated. The result is SADCC has been caught in the whirlwind of a vicious cycle of dependency, in a dramatic contradiction to the logic of its mandate, namely reduction of dependence.

TABLE 5.3 SADCC AGRICULTURAL STATUS,1987

Country	Characteristics	Per Head Consumption of Cereal.Kg.
Angola	Low income, food deficit country. Civil disturbances Inadequate port, rail and road	72
Botswana	Landlocked country Drought prone Agriculture in west and southeast only Most imports through South Africa	175
Lesotho	Landlocked. Low income. Food deficit All imports through South Africa	185

Malawi

Land locked
Importer and exporter of grain
Imports/exports mainly through SA
But increasingly through Dar/Beira   160

Mozambique

Low income.
Food deficit
Affected by civil strife   69

Swaziland

Landlocked.
Good road network.
Imports through SA   180

Tanzania

Cereal surplus in south and southwest
Deficit in northwest
Serious distribution difficulties   136

Zambia

Land-locked .Low income.
Food deficit.
Imports through Dar es Salaam
Poor road/rail connections

Zimbabwe

Land-locked
Exporter and importer of grain through
Mozambique or SA   174

TOTAL AVERAGE   **145**

Source: SADCC Macro-Economic Survey,1987

5.2.2 INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION: In designing the proposal for

an integrated development communication strategy a number of meta-theoretical assumptions

have to be evaluated on the basis of empirical evidence available.[230] But first, using a neo-

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[230] Case studies in development communication constitute the empirical evidence needed to evaluate the meta-theoretical assumptions

Marxian or systems analysis, the dynamics of social reproduction in the region have to be viewed from two scenarios. Firstly, the geo-political profile of southern Africa is an reality based on the region's historical and colonial experience within which the definition of reduction of dependence and increased inter-state trade has to be seen. If this reality can be viewed as, in neo-Marxist terminology, the thesis, then the anti-thesis would be focused on the ability of the masses to sustain themselves. The rural small-scale farmers have, by mobilizing their own resources, managed to be the rear guard of the region's agricultural strength.

Attestations have evolved from thousands of case studies of the peasant farmer's productive potential, given the farm support he needs along the following lines,

1. Incentives to grow more than just what they need to subsist,

2. inputs, such as seeds, fertilizers and credit,

3. institutions for agricultural development, and the

4. infrastructure necessary for producing, distributing and marketing

The small-scale farmer thus becomes the anti-thesis of the corporate interests that define the geo-political ideology of the region. SADCC should ideally be the new thesis arising out of the two constituencies, that is, the corporate transnationals on one hand, and the small-scale farmer on the other hand. Since the balance of power is tilted in favour of the former SADCC communication infrastructure should be seen as mobilizing information and development resources to the small-scale farmer as part of the program to expand the region's productive base. SADCC has already identified agriculture and food security, next to transport and communications, as priority sectors for regional cooperation and development. What is needed now is an institution-building program in which the communication infrastructure will support in an organic and dynamic way the small scale farmers This integration of productive sectors as part of SADCC strategy to mobilize its own regional resources has been part of the policymakers' initiatives since 1986. Already an institutional framework within which resource mobilization can occur exists Under operational

coordination primary executive and operational responsibility for regional activities rests on national rather than supra-national institutions, with regional agencies, such as the sector coordinating units and the secretariat providing the link between various national entities(SADCC-Luanda,1989).

Although the regional-national dichotomy can create some methodological problems since national priorities have a potential of undermining regional cooperation the institutional framework can ,with modifications, be a useful foundation for an integrated development communication strategy. If one of the elements of regional cooperation, as spelled out in the SADCC blueprint for resource mobilization (SADCC Luanda) should be to design projects which have "spread effects" in local resource utilization then an integrated development communication strategy can be developed to enable the networking of information and experiences among farmers. Here farmers in one area, who through a unique experience have managed to mobilize their resources successfully, can share their experiences through SADCC communication infrastructure with their counterparts in other parts of the region.[231]

5.2.3 REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION AGENCY: The notion of an integrated development communication arises from the need to include all facets of social reproduction in a systemic strategy that will ensure a balanced growth and development of the region. While SADCC has SATCC as a sectoral commission to coordinate communication activities its mandate falls too short of the prerequisite conditions for an effective communication approach to development. SATCC is essentially a technical enterprise in the field of telecommunications and has neither the mandate nor skills to relate organically the telecommunication infrastructure to the productive sectors. What is needed is an agency that will integrate dynamically the communication and productive sectors.

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[231] The communication infrastructure can include a variety of both print and electronic media coordinated at an information center SADCC need not own the infrastructure but can facilitate the inter-regional communication among farmers by sponsoring the exchanges

In proposing the Regional Development Communication Agency this is not to suggest the formation a new bureaucratic structure. The proposal is based on the institutional structure of the Rascom's NCC's whose functions can be expanded and extended to accommodate the objectives of the RDCA. It can be built upon the existing institutional framework by straddling various sectors and projects. The region's communication and media infrastructure is fragmented into autonomous and exclusive entities with very little coordination or information exchange. Another dimension of this fragmentation is between the communication and development infrastructures. The rural information officer and the extension officer are, as the field research in Zimbabwe determined, two autonomous institutions each accountable through a rigid vertical hierarchy of command to his ministry's authority and with a non-existent institutionalized horizontal interaction. The result of this dichotomy is usually an information officer dealing with information on issues about which he has no substantial intellectual knowledge and is thus unable to analytically evaluate development problems of the rural farmers. On the other hand there is the extension officer who has the knowledge but has no easy access to or skills to operate the instruments of communication since they belong to another ministry or he has not received training in the basics of communication.

The RDCA, through its network of National Development Communication Agencies (NDCAs) will attempt to bridge that gap by coordinating the functions of development and communication agencies. The institutional framework for the RDCA will be SATCC and SACCAR under which will be a satellite system of national coordinating committees(NCC's) established under the RASCOM project.

At both regional and national levels the RDCA and NDCA will be non-bureaucratic structures that will coordinate activities in training, research, educational and data banks institutions in the region. It will be a multi-disciplinary agency to ensure an equitable representation from both the productive and information and communication sectors

5.2.3.1 TRAINING

Under training, schools of communication and journalism will be expanded to give instruction in development communication as well as the traditional forms of communication. Development agents, such as extension agents, community and health workers and farmers will receive instruction in basic communication and media studies.

In the case of non media practitioners such training could be in form of short term seminars since they cannot be expected to be away from their activities for too long. The purpose of training would be to expose them to the basics of communication and communication technology using new media technologies such as computers. It is accepted that communication technologies will be out of reach for the majority of the small-scale farmers. But the availability of such courses will at least help those farmers with better resources and higher education to access the computers and use them profitably. For those who cannot afford individual computers such hardware could be available through the cooperative movement where services could be rendered to cooperative members.

5.2.3.2 RESEARCH

The RDCA could promote research in communication and information by coordinating the activities of communication schools and research institutions. Here the RDCA could act as a procurement agency, in collaboration with SATCC in negotiations for communication technologies such as low-cost satellite dishes for rural development. The choice of relevant technologies, research themes, funding policies for research etc. can be crucial aspects of the RDCA mandate

The most important element of the RDCA mandate will be to coordinate an information and communication network covering both the communication and development institutions. This will ensure that both development and information needs of the small-scale farmers will be articulated. If for example farmers need more government farm support in form of land the

information and communication network will ensure that both the policymakers and the farmers are interactively involved in negotiations for the supply of land and other resources needed for improved productivity. This will go a long way in ensuring that the communication approach to development does not only peddle information by way of responding to problems that do not require information as their solution as the following example will show

> The meeting has begun and the newly arrived Change Agent is addressing the participants. He is describing a different farming system, one which will be kinder to the soil and produce more reliable long-term results. The presentation is carefully illustrated with the help of flip charts hung from a pole. At the conclusion he seeks questions. One of the women in the gathering commends the thoughtfulness of his presentation and the possible usefulness of the system and then asks her question: *Is it possible for you to help us obtain land* (Holland 1987,1)?"

In the process SADCC communication infrastructure will be expanded and democratized in the sense that it will have an organic relationship with national communication and information structures as well as respond more effectively and rationally to the development and information needs of the rural farmers. SADCC executive secretary Simba Makoni has said that

> "citizens of the region must convert themselves into SADCC and make SADCC theirs by direct pro-action. The people are key actors in the democratization of SADCC and SADCC supports citizens of the region coming together to analyse their role in the struggle toward economic liberation (Makoni,1989,1)."

But in reality it is SADCC that should convert itself to the people rather than the other way. Ironically Simba Makoni alluded to this fact when he talked of the need for a structural transformation of SADCC economies "which will place them in a position where they have collective internal capacity for self-sustaining development on the basis of their own

resources(Makoni 1989)."

5.2.3.3 RDCA: HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIO

Singer Hugh Masakela's song about the Johannesburg-bound coal train at the beginning of this thesis is a powerful symbolic characterization of the region's transport and communications as serving repressive interests. The following scenario - based on true accounts of government communication patterns with rural people - highlights the problem with that top-down pattern of communication and how, in an effort to redress the flaws in that top-down model, a more integrative and participatory communication strategy can be used to serve emancipatory interests.

Concern has been expressed that people in village A of country A are depleting the forest and not taking adequate measures to replace the trees. They are felling trees at such a rate that it is projected that the district will be bare of trees by the year 2,000. Government has been appealing to the people to conserve the forest by (a) creating woodlots (b) planting trees (c) and use fuel efficient wood-burning stoves as well as wood substitutes like asbestos for roofing.

At one time the country's Head of State visited the village on the occasion of the national tree planting day. Addressing a rally during which, flanked by the Minister of Natural Resources, the Head of State appealed to the villagers to implement the program of action aimed at conserving the forest. The Head of State's speech was reported widely and prominently in the radio, television and the newspapers where, in the case of the latter, it was front page news with an editorial comment characteristically supporting the Head of State but without an analysis of the issues involved.

That was two years ago.

Today there is no sign that the villagers are reducing their tree-felling activities As a drastic

measure government sent in forest rangers who cordoned off a large section of the forest by building a barbed wire fence around it and introducing patrols. The villagers were incensed at what they saw as the deprivation of their natural right to cut down trees for a variety of uses. Worse still their anger was exacerbated by their realization that they had been deprived of this natural right by a post-colonial independent government whose pre-election promises had been that they would have their traditional rights, denied by the colonial regime, restored to them. The villagers resort to a program of civil disobedience, cutting fences and trees- usually at night in order to avoid the patrols. Up to now the problem of woodcutting remains unsolved.

The assumptions behind government officials appeared to be that

1. Villagers are not resource minded and that they need to be told by the nation's President to conserve the forest.

2. Villagers have alternative resources for meeting their daily needs without resorting to cutting down trees at that rate.

3. If the villagers do not heed the friendly advice government will have to take stern measures to which they will respond positively,

4. That way problems of "indiscriminate" tree felling will be solved,

5. The villagers have heard and understood the messages brought to them through multi media channels of information,

6. The message was rational, for the peasants, because peasants know that forests are being depleted at a faster rate than can be replaced, creating an ecological hazard with all its negative consequences on development,

However from the peasant's perspective

1. Trees have grown naturally since the beginning of time *"People don't plant trees. They plant crops What will those government officials come up with next - building mountains?"*

2. Trees are being cut as part of the activities for human survival in the peasant communities - for use as fuelwood, in building materials such as roof trusses and other utilities and to clear an area for settlement or creating more land for crop fields.

The problem with the government strategy is that it does not offer the peasants any practical alternatives, like more efficient wood-burning stoves, asbestos for roofing or other rural

technologies that could replace, or reduce the use of, wood. These technologies may well have been developed and be available through some enterprising institutions like the NGO's. But government did not invest enough money to mass produce and make them available to the villagers at an affordable cost, or through some arrangements such as getting the villagers to participate in public works programs such as road construction, school or bridge building (preferably in their own areas) in exchange for the rural stove or other technological innovations.

From a development communication perspective the problem was obviously poor communication between government and the villagers - a typical problem of development in the Third World. The use of the radio, television, newspapers and even a public rally addressed by the Head of State may represent an efficient but not necessarily effective way of communicating a message.[232] The full dimensions of the problem are undoubtedly multi-disciplinary. There are political, cultural, economic, philosophical, sociological and ideological elements that influence the potential effectiveness of the message to the extent that a political message from the Head of State was not enough to resolve the problem substantially. The structure and pattern of communication between the Head of State/government officials and the villagers was too top down, with little participatory and interactive input from the villagers or their traditional representatives in the conceptualization and definition of the problem and the strategies adopted to deal with it. By reducing the peasant to a passive recipient of government messages and directives the peasant felt he had had his traditional and rural ways of doing things intruded upon and desecrated His natural reaction would of course be to resist rather than cooperate with the intruder and his ideas.

Under the RDCA/NDCA institutional structure the strategy for dealing with the problem

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[232]   "Efficient" here refers to the fact that people may have heard "loud and clear" the President's message. Maybe he was standing on a raised platform and using a megaphone or other voice enhancing devices and speaking through an interpreter "Effective" is used to refer to whether people acted according to the message

would have required an integrated communication approach - both participatory and interactive in its operational framework - and the following methodological format.

The problem is referred to the RDCA/NDCA

1. A meeting of members of the NDCA as constituted under the RASCOM NCC structure.

2. By analyzing information and data on the socio-economic profile of the area in question the meeting can plan a strategy for dealing with the problem using resources and skills from the various agencies and institutions or ministries represented on the NDCA. If a particular area has local villagers who possess unique leadership or other qualities that can be used in designing a strategy to deal with the problem these could be coopted on an ad hoc basis. This would ensure that the NCDA, which is a national organization, uses as resource persons local villagers from the problem area. Technical and scientific knowledge as well as government policies can be brought into a dialogue with indigenous knowledge and local culture as part of the strategy to define the problem and evolve a viable solution. The synthesis of technical/scientific knowledge, government policy and indigenous knowledge - without one dominating the other since both forms of knowledge have their unique strengths and legitimation - can lead to a program of action to be presented to a meeting of the villagers.

3. A public meeting using an agenda developed as program of action in an earlier meeting of the NDCA is held in the problem village. The procedure of the meeting must conform to local rules of organization consistent with local culture and philosophy of communication. This simply means using the local language and allowing for the full expression of one's views. The proceedings can be video taped and kept as a permanent record for future reference. A mobile satellite dish facility can be installed to link up the villagers with their counterparts in other parts of the country or region, and who may have experienced a similar problem but have tackled it with relative success. If for example the other villagers had adopted the fuel efficient rural stove this can be demonstrated live by satellite with the villagers at both ends interactively communicating the capabilities of the stove. The advantage of a satellite hook up over a video is that the interactive element that is deeply embedded in rural communication will be maintained. Undoubtedly the existence of highly sophisticated communication technologies can impact adversely on the villagers who may fear participating in such a high-tech environment. Here again is where the multi disciplinary composition of the NDCA brings in rural psychologists and other specialists skilled in the notion of user friendly technologies. Specialists can also refer to local people with the previous exposure to such technologies. These would be expected to make practical suggestions aimed at making the technologies user friendly and assuring the villagers. Efforts could be made to make some of the equipment as unobtrusive as possible, like initially stationing the satellite dish out of conspicuous view of the villagers, camouflaging the video camera or using telescopic lens and thus video record from a distance, avoid use of bright and shiny camera lights by holding the meetings during daytime and, where possible, in open air.

    One way of introducing the communication technologies to the villagers could be by giving, over a period of time, the villagers a chance to use the video camera. Let them select their own subjects and shoot. Give them a chance to push the buttons on the video or television sets. Make them take turns to switch the gadgets on and off. Demystify the communication technologies and make them ordinary tools for use by all

human beings The villagers who have had such an opportunity can be important specialists or consultants not only in assuring other villagers but giving both feedback and feedforward in future plans for utilizing such technologies in rural information and communication.[20] There is often a tendency by technicians and camera people to treat the video and camera equipment as some very special objects not to be touched by ordinary hands The villagers who stray near the place where the VCR or television is located often get rebuked and reprimanded as if they were children. The location of the equipment often becomes a kind of a venerated ground where no one should, on pain of damnation, dare tread

When showing video pictures of familiar places get one of the villagers who may have some good knowledge about the subject being shown to come forward and explain the pictures as they flick on the television screen or slides. For example if the video pictures are on the subject of how to make a hoe handle invite someone from the audience with specialist knowledge to explain from his experience. Pictures of "our home; our village; our people at work" can generate a great deal of discussion on a variety of issues. This shows the potential impact of the Mobile Cinema Units if the films they show are of local relevance and interest instead of featuring politicians and urban bureaucrats touring some distant countries

On the subject of reforestation video pictures or satellite feed from other villages could be interspersed with comments from the audience on their own experiences and their conceptualization of the problem This way they are creatively involved in a critical dialogue aimed at devising a viable solution to the problem of deforestation. In searching for alternative resources representatives of the government and other development agencies could be on hand to offer material support in form of a "work-for-stove" program, or government loans, to be repaid maybe from sales of the next harvest This way the development communication strategy could yield viable results. It will not only be a peddling in information but an exchange of ideas on the practical application of strategies to conserve the forest and suitable compensatory measures for the loss of the tree resources An important element here is that the *strategic equation*, namely, information plus resource availability or access, will make development communication an applied reality in the people's lives

4 Let the people agree on a program of action in which they will share responsibilities and for which they will be compensated through some government/NGO support program. When the head of state visits the village later he can listen to the people discussing their perceptions of the problem and measures taken with government agencies to tackle the problem Here the President's appeal to conserve the forest would be more than a welcome message Such a meeting with the President can give the villagers an opportunity to bring to the President's attention any problems that may have arisen in the implementation of the program of action, like delays in getting the badly needed materials from some ministries which might have promised to deliver them. The President can then use his political power to bring pressure to bear on those dilly-dallying ministers There are a number of cases where Presidents have intervened to influence a speedier delivery of government goods and services to the needy villages Granted that this is not frequent since the presidency represents and articulates the interests of the bureaucratic establishment it is nevertheless an opportunity that, on those rare

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[20] Such rural experts have unique persuasive strengths in getting others to accept the new technologies of communication In Shona language expressions like *zvakapusa izvi, nhai iwe mungabve matya kudaro*, meaning, it's so easy, don't tell me you are scared, can have an effective impact on the hesitant peasants

occasions, can be exploited by the villagers.

Looking at the utilization by the NDCA of the integrated communication strategy a hybrid of media channels will have been used individually or severally at various times;

1. *Interpersonal Communication and the telephone* - for initial contacts with the villagers and representatives of various government and development agencies This does not strictly preclude the radio, newspapers or television since these could also have been used to announce the meetings but they will not necessarily have been the primary means of communication at this stage;

2. *Interpersonal, newspapers, radio, television , telephone* - to advertise the public meeting after initial strategy and planning meeting.

3. *Interpersonal, satellite, video, radio, telephone*, (newspapers, television) - to record the public rally. The radio's O/B facilities which are normally used for sports coverage can be used for a live broadcast of the meeting - depending on how serious the issues being discussed are. The satellite can be used to network with people in other areas and the telephone can complement the efforts of the live broadcast on the radio for interactive discussion with representatives of institutions who could not come but whose contributions are crucial. Newspapers, television and video can, apart from their other functions, help keep a record of the proceedings for future use.

The above scenario represents to a large extent an ideal. It is an attempt to bring to the village an integrated package of the region's communications infrastructure in order to create or strengthen contacts both at local, national and regional levels among the rural productive sectors. While farming communities are the most easily identifiable productive sectors there are thousands of cottage industries that characterize the informal sector both in the rural and peri-urban areas which could benefit from such a configuration of the development communication infrastructure However under the envisaged strategic equation approach there may not be sufficient resources to supply all those who need them Or simply there may not be enough political will to ensure that goods and services are distributed more equitably and widely There may not be adequate communication equipment for a multi media support structure for a communication approach to problem solving The satellite hook up might be too expensive to justify its utilization in this manner What is important is that whatever communication technologies are available can, through the institution of the NDCA, ensure their utilization within the institutional framework of rural or human communication These technologies become embedded organically in rural structures of communication and, in the

process, enhance traditional communication patterns. Since these patterns deal with the generation of knowledge and mobilization of resources the strategic equation approach can form the basis of orientating the communication technologies to meet specific needs of rural people as well creating a multi-directional - *not just two-way* - network structure involving rural people in various communities; government agencies; NGOs; and their counterparts in the SADCC region. One example of this organic relationship between modern and traditional means of communication is the logo of a magazine published by the African Council for Communication Education showing a drummer beatin', his drum and the sound being transmitted by satellite communication technology.

Another vital role of the NDCA would be to create - as an institution-building measure - rural information referral centers. This could be done through the existing post offices, school libraries, administrative offices, community halls where books, newspapers and literature not only from one given country but the region as well as the continent could be kept. Videos, television and radio sets could be kept at the administration offices for security and be moved to community halls or other appropriate places for use. It is important to stress that information centers must not become "shrines" where people go for information but must as much as possible be mobile in order to take information to the people. Here the NDCA can play a critical role in facilitating the movement of information and knowledge by coordinating the mobilization of skills and resources from various ministries and agencies. Information and knowledge can be moved to places where people gather for specific purposes, like dip tanks, baby clinics, cattle sales, home craft clubs and farmers and women's organizations or clubs. This can help to ensure that target-specific information (without of course sacrificing other useful information) is sent to a particular gathering.

It may be argued that at some of the occasions where people are gathered they may not have time to attend an information session on a given subject. Here is where research can play an important role in determining the best and most efficient ways of designing information

packages that could meet the practical realities and demands of given situations.

Finally, it must be stressed that the RDCA/NDCA concept represents an evolving idea of collaborative efforts at development along the lines of collective self-reliance. The concept does not offer a panacea to all the development problems but offers new insights in the application of development communication on an integrated basis. This arises from the empirical knowledge from case studies and research out of which an attempt at a new theoretical and methodological approach is being made on a non ideological and non dogmatic basis. Unless the SADCC telecommunication infrastructure is organically integrated with indigenous communication and information structures then its potential for dynamizing the region along the lines of collective self-reliance is severely handicapped.

POSTSCRIPT

Development communication research is a virgin field in the southern African geo-political and socio-cultural context. Communication policy research, in particular, is virtually non-existent. Policy posturing from the region's leadership amounts to a regurgitation of the now worn-out assumptions about the role of the media in development. At the regional level development communication policy is like a ghost town. Yet the region is systematically being siphoned into the world of informatics. The information and communication technological revolution is undoubtedly exacerbating class differentiation. For only those with or access to resources can make profitable use of the informatics services.

What has yet to be recognized is the fact that development communication is a social process, not some army drill that takes place under technical specifications. As such its role can only be defined in the context of the social processes that characterize a given situation. This means any communication research would have to take a holistic theoretical and methodological approach if it is to yield results that are of practical value. The politics of the state system are but one element in this multi-disciplinary approach to development communication research. While SADCC leadership is not necessarily bankrupt of innovative ideas or policy inputs in promoting for example, development communication research there is evidence that political will is, in many respects, clearly lacking. One can only conclude that the nature of the post-colonial state in Africa, in terms of its functions and its corporate orientation, circumscribes the extent to which the state can exercise any political will on any of the major social issues.

The latest report of SADCC attests to the restricted role of the post-colonial state - now

reduced to a stipendiary of the international financial institutions like the IMF. What started as an ambitious and innovative program for regional cooperation along the lines of self-reliance, increased and equitable regional trade as well as reduced dependence on, but not only, South Africa has merely exacerbated regional inequalities, increased dependence and consolidated the corporatist character of the regional enterprise. The telecommunications project has become the flagship, dynamically and faithfully steering the regional economic ship along the traditional world capitalist system. The socio-political events that characterized the last quarter of 1989 as well as the first four months of this year point to a rapidly evolving geo-political situation both at the regional and international levels and SADCC finds itself having to review its mandate and relevance in the whirlwind of events. SADCC's report says that the past year had seen the deepening economic crisis in the region due to

1.   the balance of payments problems;

2.   a sharp drop in both public and private investments;

3.   a deterioration in terms of trade, leading to a severe foreign exchange shortages and the debt burden;

4.   inappropriate national economic policies; and;

5.   political strife, including South Africa's program of regional destabilization.

The development of the regional telecommunications and other infrastructures has not been accompanied by an increased activity and profitability in the productive sectors.

On the geo-political front the internal combustion in South Africa seems to be leading towards a resolution of the apartheid-induced conflict. That, added to Namibia's independence and the deteriorating economic conditions in the SADCC states is prompting an evaluation of the stated functions and objectives of SADCC It has been suggested that SADCC would better serve the interests of the region as a development agency, something akin to the European Economic Community twenty years ago.[234] Whatever successes, if any,

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[234]   John Sinclair, "SADCC in the 90's" Speech on the occasion of the International Development Week, McGill University, February 2, 1990

SADCC has achieved these are short-term gratifications because the fundamental structural problems that perpetuate underdevelopment and dual economies in Africa still exist.

> They are yet to address the fundamental structural problems, without which sustained economic growth and development are impossible. Such structural problems are epitomized by heavy dependence on the export of raw materials, the importation of virtually all capital and intermediate goods, the bulk of consumer goods, and low levels of indigenous expertise and skills. The fundamental issues relate to:

1. increased investments

2. the development of personal and institutional capacities, particularly as they relate to both private and public institutions;

3. science and technology;

4. the democratization of the development process, to ensure that people have a meaningful involvement in decisions and actions that affect their lives;

5. population, and,

6. the environment.[235]

An integrated development communication strategy fits with this recommendation in so far as it seeks to relate the communication infrastructure to productivity. What is needed for further research is a more comprehensive analysis of the region's communication and information systems - both traditional and modern in order to determine a more specific and realistic format for an integrated development communication strategy.

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[235] **SADCC: The Second Decade - Enterprise, Skills and Productivity.** SADCC Report SADCC Conference, Lusaka, Zambia, January 31 to February 2, 1990

APPENDIX: RESEARCH DETAILS

Ottawa 1986

> CIDA Library
> High Commission of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Washington D.C 1987

> INTELSAT -
> World Bank -
> Agency for Educational Development

New York

> UNDP

Alberta

> Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for African Studies - University of Alberta
> Paper presentation - *The Epistemology of the New World Information and Communication Order*
> **Workshop participant** - Agriculture: Systems and Research Methodologies

Montreal

> **Conference participant** - International Communication Association (ICA).
> Canadian Communications Association - Montreal.

Zimbabwe June - September: Field Research

> 1.   *JUNE - JULY*
>
> **1.1.**   **Content Analysis,**
> **1.2.**   **Interviews**
>   1.2.1. Ministry of Information , Posts and Telecommunications
>   1.2.2. Ministry of Agriculture
>   1.2.3. Zimbabwe Institute for Mass Communication (ZIMCO)
>   1.2.4. Agritex (Acting Director)
>   1.2.5. Provincial Agricultural Extension Officers (Mashonaland East and West)
>   1.2.6. University of Zimbabwe

1.2.7. Post and Telecommunications (Zimbabwe)

2.   JULY - AUGUST
2.1.   **Interviews:** *MUREHWA AND MUROMBEDZI*

2.1.1.   Peasant farmers
2.1.2   District administration officials
2.1.3.   Administrator
2.1.4.   Information Officer
2.1.5.   Extension Officials
2.1.6.   District Agricultural Extension Officer (DAEO)
2.1.7.   Mobile Cinema Unit Officer
2.1.8.   Executive Officer - Murehwa Kubatana District Council
2.1.9.   Local transport operator(Murehwa)
2.1.10.   Local chiefs

Ontario May 1988

Queens University - Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for African Studies.
Paper presentation - *The Political Economy of Post Colonial Information Systems in Africa.*

Vancouver - Research

Teleconsult
IIN Engineering
Commonwealth of Learning

Peterborough (Ontario)

Trent University - *Discovering Our Future.* Conference on International Development

Winnipeg. August

Research Management Workshop. University of Manitoba

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Project 1-TC-2 Rehabilitation of Troposcatter Link between Malanje and Saurimo

Project 1-TC-3 Expansion of Circuit Capability for Transmission Routes South of Luanda

Project 1-TC-8 Second International Gateway Earth Station in Angola(Study)

Project 2-TC-1 Expansion of the Trunk Network

Project 2-TC-2 Rural Telecommunication Development Study

Project 2-TC-3 Completion of Botswana Trunk Network Ring

Project 4-TC-1. Expansion of Blantyre Digital Exchanges. Phase 1 and 2.

Project 4-TC-2. Expansion of Multi-Country Training Centre in Blantyre

Project 4-TC-3. Chitipa District Rural Telecommunications

Project 4-TC-4. Nkhata Bay Rural Telecommunications

Project 4-TC-5. Lilongwe Exchange Digital Overlay. Phase 1 and 2

Project 4-TC-6. Zomba Area Digital Overlay

Project 4-TC-7. Rural Automatic Exchanges

Project 6-TC-1. National Switching Centre and Associated Network

Project 6-TC-2. Conversion of Earth Station for IDR Operations.

Project 7-TC-1. New International Transit Exchange for Dar Es Salaam

Project 7-TC-2. Dar Es Salaam to Dodoma Digital Microwave

Project 7-TC-3. New Transit Switch for Dodoma

Project 7-TC-4. Study of Multiplex Expansion on PANAFTEL Routes Through Dodoma

Project 7-TC-5. Rehabilitation of the Telephone System in Dar Es Salaam

Project 7-TC-6. Mtwara to Songea Microwave with Exchange at Songea.

Project 7-TC-7. Study of Dar Es Salaam - Songea Microwave.

Project 7-TC-9. Solar Panels for Microwave Sites at DodomaTunduma Microwave

Project 7-TC-10. Masasi - Tunduma UHF System

Project 7-TC-11. New Exchanges for Regional Centres

Project 7-TC- 12. NPIM

Project 7-MT-1. HF Radio Equipment for Data Collection

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Project 8-TC-3. Message Switching System, Lusaka

Project 8-TC-4. Livingstone-Kasane Microwave Link

Project 8-TC-5. Master Plan Study for the Fundamental Planning Unit for Zambia

Project 8-TC-6. Zambia - Zaire Microwave Link

Project 8-TC-7. Supply of PABX's for Major PTC Customers

Project 8-TC-8. Lukulu - Mumbezi UHF Radio System

Project 8-TC-9. Expansion of the Earth Station at Mwembeshi Phase 2

Project 8-TC-10. Expansion of Exchanges in the Kitwe Area

Project 8-TC-11. Zambia-Angola Radio Link

Project 8-TC-12. Mobile Radio System

Project 8-TC-13. Extension of the ITSC

Project 8-TC-14. Extension of Rural Exchanges

Project 8-TC-15 Lusaka-Livingstone Microwave

Project 8-TC-16 Telex Exchange for Lusaka

Project 8-TC-17 NPIM

Project 9-TC-1. Supply of Radio Terminal Multiplex for Microwave Link to Zambia.

Project 9-TC-2. Maintenance Control Centres for Harare and Bulawayo

Project 9-TC-3. Harare and Mashonaland Digital Switching Network

Project 9-TC-4. Reorienting of Mazowe Earth Station Antennae

Project 9-TC-5. New Antenna for Mazowe Earth Station

Project 9-TC-6. UHF System to Serve Rural Communities in Mozambique

Project 9-TC-8. Telex Concentrators

Project 9-TC-9. Supply of PABX Equipment

Project 9-TC-10. Data Packet Switching

Project 9-TC-11. Supply of Facsimile Transmission Equipment

Project 9-TC-12. Message Accounting System

Project 9-TC-13. High Capacity Digital Microwave Ssytems

Project 9-TC-14. Surge Protection Devices.

Project 9-TC-15. Tools and Test Equipment

Project 9-TC-16. Underground Cable for Urban Network

Project 9-TC-17. Overhead Line Plant

Project 9-TC-19 Frequency Management Services

Project 9-TC-20. Public Radio Paging System

Project 9-TC-21. Subscriber Radio System

Project 9-TC-22. Modems for Data Network

Project 9-.'C-24. Supply of Materials and Components for Manufacture of Party Line Equipment

Project 9-TC-25. Design Aids and Tools for Local Manufacturing Plants

Project 9-TC-26. Supply of Vehicles and Associated Logistical Support

Project 9-TC-27. Electronic Repair Centres

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Project 9-TC-29. Relief Switching Equipment

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