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Old And New Paradigms Of Development:
Concepts And Issues

By

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"OLD" AND "NEW" PARADIGMS OF DEVELOPMENT:
CONCEPTS AND ISSUES

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INTRODUCTION

The end of World War II and the 1940s brought with it a dramatic awareness of the planet earth and a series of events forced the philosophy and concepts of development to the forefront of world thinking. The war itself, the distribution of the nations involved, the battlefields, and the development and increased use of modern communications increased awareness of many political and geographic entities in the world. One part of the stark reality of awareness was the abject poverty--food, clothing, shelter, health--and lack of social and economic opportunities and other amenities of life measured by Western modernized standards. This all was being compounded by the population explosion. The end of the war accelerated the emergence of many free, independent nations--over 100 in the past 30 years. These new countries as well as many "underdeveloped" (an acceptable term in those days), represented a vast competitive field for the two main "winners" of the war: the planned Soviet Union and the capitalistic, mixed economies of the USA and "Western" allies. Each set out to show developing countries that their plan was best for development. The Marshall plan and its basic philosophy appeared to be performing beyond
expectations in revitalizing war-torn Western Europe. Optimism reigned supreme!

Out of this environment emerged a relatively coherent, well-developed and generally agreed upon (even by East and West) theory of development which was applied to most development activities in the period of the '40s and '50s—the first decade of development.

Thirty years later it has been observed:

The "conventional wisdom" of the 1960s has by and large been discredited, as theories which were expected to guide dramatic improvements in the lot of the world's poor have proved ineffective or even counter-productive (Henriot, 1978).

Though some growth has occurred, the richer nations appear to be getting richer and the same distribution appears to be true within most countries. Poverty by almost any criteria has increased not only in the aggregate, but in proportion. The meeting of human needs and improving of quality of life appears to be deteriorating for many people and nations.

Out of this historical perspective and the reality of the lack of development, there has emerged over the past two decades a serious questioning of the philosophy, goals, means and theories associated with development conceptualization and activities of the '40s. This has been labeled by some as the "passing of the dominant paradigm" (Rogers, 1975), or the old and new paradigm debate.

**OBJECTIVE**

The objective of this paper is to delineate and very briefly discuss what are believed to be the main conceptual and issue areas around which the current discussion of development revolves; including philosophy, goals, means and results.
This is a companion paper to another written by the authors dealing with the same subject but which deals with the issues in a much more historical, theoretical and detailed manner.*

The present paper attempts to lay out the major concepts and issues, discuss them in just enough detail to clarify the issue or meaning, and thus provide a basis for further discussion, elaboration, revision or debate. In this sense, it is seen as "open-ended," that is, providing a loose organizing framework to stimulate further development.

It is open-ended in another sense, in that the authors desire to interact with people using it as a base and add to, elaborate and change it as they further discuss, read and observe.

FRAMEWORK AND PROCEDURE

Our presentation will be organized around two labels—"old" and "new" paradigms. We recognize many of the limitations in using this organizing framework. The following are among some of the major limitations. It greatly oversimplifies. It tends to polarize. As stated, the "old" paradigm was relatively complete, coherent and well-accepted. There is no such "new" paradigm. Rather, one might more accurately think of many reactions, criticisms and new creations resulting from analysis of the old paradigm and its assumptions. In some cases, there are only criticisms; nothing is proposed in place of that criticized. Some say the "new" paradigm is in the process of "becoming." More accurately, it might be said a number of new paradigms, some in conflict with each other, are emerging. In many instances it is inaccurate to dichotomize the "old" and "new" as ideal

types—many issues are on a continuum, a matter of degree. In other cases, there is no continuum—old or new ideas have no counterpart in each other; they are "isolated" ideas or on an additional dimension. Few would accept completely the complete profile of the "old;" most not the complete profile of the "new." Certain issues are seen as much more important than others, but there is not agreement on importance. In some cases, the positions on the "old" and "new" paradigms are attributed by the opposites and would not necessarily be accepted by those to whom the attribution is made. In many cases, different people operationalize general level concepts differently at lower empirical levels. The subtleties of ideological, cultural, discipline differences and interpretations are difficult to discern.

The debate is not over—it is in process. The old has not been rejected; the new(s) have not been accepted.

With a recognition of these qualifications and limitations, the authors still believe the use of the "old" and "new" paradigm approach provides a meaningful, high utility framework for our purpose—to lay out issues and concepts around which discussion and debate is occurring and to provide an open-ended framework for further discussion.

The authors will attempt to present key issues and concepts in a very brief form and in many cases, present illustrative arguments or quotes from those in the "debate." No attempt is made to be complete in scope or depth.

The authors of this paper have had a long-standing interest and experience in development at the theoretical and empirical levels. They have tried to keep abreast of the literature in the field. Based on reading, discussions, conferences, their writings and consulting and field experiences, they set up the general framework for this paper. As they moved toward a
more systematic review of the literature, they found (or re-read) several publications that made major, direct contributions to the choice of the concept-issues and the elaboration of those issues. While the authors respectfully give thanks and hopefully citations to all whose works they have directly used, they are especially indebted to the works of (full citation in the Bibliography):
Hettne, 1978; Streeten, 1979a;
ISSUES AND CONCEPTS

At a very general level there appears to be several main issues.

1. Who does the conceptualization?

Old
In general, those who are most responsible for the conceptualization of the old paradigm are seen as being mainly from the Western, developed modernized world.

New
Scholars and professionals from the Western, developed, modernized world, including some identified with the old paradigm, are seen as contributing to the new paradigm. But major contribution to the new paradigm have also been made by those from Latin America, Asia and Europe, especially Scandanavian countries--many from the developing Third World.

Frank contends that "though science and truth know no national boundaries, it is probably a new generation of scientists from underdeveloped countries--who most need to and can--clarify the processes of underdevelopment and development" (Frank, 1966).
Old
It is stated, "The state and market have autonomous power legitimately theirs" (IFDA, 1980).
The old paradigm is seen as being conceptualized by scholars and professionals who identify with or represent (knowingly or unknowingly) these entities (Hoogvelt, 1978).

Largely conceptualized and planned by economists and bankers (Rogers, 1976).

New
A "third system" (not necessarily analogous with the 'Third World') is seen as contributing to the conceptualization of the new paradigm. In addition to the state and market,

"... people have an autonomous power, legitimately theirs. The 'third system' is that part of the people which is reaching a critical consciousness of their role. (They) ... perceive the essence of history is the endless struggle by which people try to master their own destiny—the process of humanization of man. The third system includes groupings actively serving people's aim and interests, as well as political and cultural militants who, whilst not belonging directly to the grassroots, endeavor to express people's views and to joining their struggle" (IFDA 27).

It is contended that theories and models so far advanced by economists apply only in highly specific situations. These situations, moreover, are not defined by economic factors alone but by crucial political, sociological, administrative, organizational and cultural factors.

It is contended that the only
Old

operational strategies for
development have to be the
products of a cross-disciplinary
social science perspective
(Ilchman and Bhargava, 1966).
2. Orientations

Old

Two major orientations of the old paradigm are seen to be toward capitalism and participating democracy (Hoogvelt, 1978).

New

Much of the new paradigm continues this emphasis but discussion of socialistic and Marxist economic and political alternatives are present. Also, increasing militarism of societies, especially in the Third World represents yet another orientation.

It is pointed out that the parallel views of development by the Right (Western World) and Left (Soviet) have much in common, including similar high capital technology industrialization, division of labor, urbanization (Amin, 1978). Of course different roles were seen for the state. The West believed in an open economy exports of raw material for imports of consumer goods, massive imports of capital, technology and
"... one idea shared widely, particularly in Latin America, was the assumption that development would lead to democracy" (Amin, 1977).

"An implied assumption in most general thinking and writing on development theory is the civilian nature of societies... civilian control and decisions, resources used to civilian needs, etc." (Hettne and Woolensteen, 1977).

"... development cannot be achieved by the import of foreign capital but by state intervention (including capital formation), development of the public sector and heavy industry" (Amin, 1977).

"Instead of democracy social contradictions have lead to the opposite... industrialization, formation of new classes, the creation of dynamic societies, social mobility, but nothing in terms of popular participation or any kind of democracy, even formal democracy" (Amin, 1977).

"To allow development theory to operate in an abstract world where militarization does not exist would render it political significance marginal" (Hettne and Woolensteen, 1977), especially if the number of societies controlled and influenced by the military is presently recognized.
3. Motives

Old

Those developing the old paradigm tend to express their motives in terms of helping underdeveloped countries to develop toward their full potential to become viable economic partners in the modern world.

New

However, some of those involved in formulating the new paradigm impute motives to the old paradigm which include exploitation of less developed countries (Hoogvelt, 1978), (Galtung, 1971), modern colonialism and cultural imperialism (Galtung, 1971).
Now for a number of issues and concepts at a slightly less general level.

4. Development "defined"

Old

A. General

Development was defined mainly in terms of economic growth, Western modernization and industrialization through the "big" capital-intensive technology.

"Everyone (Western Right and Soviet Left) perceived the problem of development as simple and known. It was not easy to do, but very easy to define; to industrialize, to modernize, to introduce changes in techniques of production, that is, the backward should repeat the process of the advanced" (Amin, 1977).

New

Development seen in general terms of varying goals and criteria --each nation determining their own goals and means.

There can be no (final) definition of development, only suggestions of what development should imply . . . . Like the concept of "peace," that of development should be an open-ended concept which will continue to be redefined as our knowledge of the process increases and new problems to be solved by "development" emerge (Hettne, 1978).

Development theories appear to have the following characteristics: normative, interdisciplinary, deal with change, deal with development process and strategy (Hettne, 1978).
Several trends in conceptualization are evident: reorientation from purely economic to more interdisciplinary, humanistic approach; centrality of concept of power; more emphasis on structural and international environment; moving from "positivist" position toward "classical"... in which a concern with what is going on accompanies the analysis of what is going on" (Hettne, 1978).
B. Economic concepts and the theory development

Economic theory and conceptualization based on Western capitalist, Keynesian economics.

The essence of Keynesian economics as applied to development included first priority on massive capital investment by the public sector (rather than waiting for savings) to increase output-capital ratios, create employment and individual income, create increased growth rate in GNP and this increased GNP will ultimately benefit the nation and the workers. The capital to invest was to be derived from international funding, multinational corporations and deficit financing.

The 1960s were proudly labeled the "First Development Decade." "The Keynesian 'revolution' in

The emergence of other economic perspectives, including the theory of underdevelopment.

This same time period is now described as "Truly the Innocent Years" (Hettne, 1978).
Old economics had taught the Western economists that the State sometimes had to give a helping hand, but few doubted that the future of underdeveloped countries on the whole was reflected in the experiences of the industrial countries. The simple formula was: just find out the Incremental Capital Output Ratio and desired rate of growth, then you can arrive at the appropriate level of investment. More sociologically-minded authors also stressed the importance of the leading sector and of an entrepreneurial elite... growth through "stages" ultimately would benefit the whole nation" (Hettne, 1978).
Economic theory was seen by some to be going through

**Old**

"...a reorientation from a descriptive approach, drawing conclusions from simple comparison between economic structures and institutions in rich and poor countries ..." (Hettne, 1978).

**New**

"...towards a more structural approach, stressing the interdependence between the two historical processes of development and underdevelopment" (Hettne, 1978).

Underdevelopment is "...a consequence and a part of the process of the world expansion of capitalism—a part that is necessary to it and integrally linked with it" (Santos, 1970).

"Attempts to analyze backwardness is a failure to assimilate more advanced models of production or to modernize are nothing more than ideology disguised as science ... . Rather, it (underdevelopment) is a product of a "...system of dependent reproduction and socioeconomic institutions created by ... a part of a system of world economic relations based
Old

on monopolistic control of large scale capital, on control of certain economic and financial centers over others, and monopoly of a complex technology that leads to unequal . . . development at a national and international level" (Santos, 1970). This results in underdevelopment for many countries--in fact . . . for two-thirds of humanity. Underdevelopment exists when the exploitation of fundamental factors of production, i.e., human and natural resources, come up against political, social and economic constraints which are very difficult and others impossible to overcome" (Henry, 1977).

This is further complicated by the condition in periphery (underdeveloped) countries where the economic well-being of a well-off minority in periphery countries is enhanced by raw material exports and they diversify their consumption
Old

patterns "...geared to the cultural values of the center countries" (Furtado, 19).

Western capitalism

New

While somewhat extended by multinational corporations may now be confronted by the New International Economic Order.

For further discussion of the concepts related to the above ideas, see the discussion on Dependency below.
C. Goals

(1) Economic

a. Aggregate GNP

Development was to be measured by growth quantified in economic terms. The usual measures were stated in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) or Average Per Capita Income.

Among those involved in the new paradigm, there is not agreement on the relevance and importance of economic goals in development.

To the extent that economic goals are a part of development goals, most would agree that attainment should be measured more in disaggregated terms taking into account the equity of distribution of wealth.

"... economic development is a means to an end of greater well-being for members of society" (Teheranian, Hakimzadehand, Vidale, 1977).

Under the new paradigm, an economic oriented "... development goal could be stated as reduction of economic disparities by improving the well-being of less privileged people through
full employment, equitable access of services and equitable access of resources necessary for economic advancement" (Teheranian, Hankimzadehand, Vidale, 1977).

Put more directly, "... even before this crisis (oil crisis of 1973), many intelligent people (unfortunately, including very few economists) were questioning the wisdom of the Western cult of growth, measured by the Gross National Product Index, as the essential key to the progress of humanity" (Henry, 1977).

Stewart and Streeten (1979) state GNP has been "dethroned" as an adequate measure of development. They point out many developing countries that have experienced rapid rates of growth of GNP have at the same time increased underemployment and unemployment; employment in the modern sector has been slower than GNP growth,
certainly slower than the number who desire jobs there. Rapid GNP growth has been accompanied by uneven income distribution and increasing relative and in some cases absolute impoverishment.

Despite unprecedented growth rates in the past quarter of the century the poorest groups have largely been left outside of the sphere of economic expansion and material improvements (Ahluwalia and Carter, 1979).

Cheney (1974) points out per capita income of the Third World increased 50 percent since 1960, but "... this growth has been very unequally distributed among countries, regions within countries and socio-economic groups".

The middle of the road position of growth with equity is taken by many. This position
Old

is reflected in World Bank
president McNamara's
statement.

"The most fundamental of all
(problems) is the persistence
of widespread absolute poverty.

Development itself comprises
a two-fold task: to accelerate
economic growth, and eradicate
absolute poverty (McNamara
1980).

These two goals are intrin-
sically related, though
governments are often tempted
to pursue one without adequate
attention to the other. . .
growth without reasonable
concern for equity is ultimately
socially destabilizing, and
often violently so. And the
pursuit of equity without a
reasonable concern for growth
merely tends to redistribute
economic stagnation (McNamara,
1980).

The move away from the
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resource developments—redistribution of production assets and human capital developments;
agriculture first development;
integrated rural development;
New International Economic Order;
social revolution using non-parliamentary means.
b. Trickle-down concept

The concept "trickle-down" is probably not as important or at the same level as others being discussed at this point in our presentation. However, it is so closely related to and a crucial assumption of many who write about aggregate GNP as the goal of development it will be briefly discussed here.

**Old**

The old paradigm is argued to have explicity or implicitly within it what is labeled a "trickle-down" premise.

Stewart and Streeten (1976) provide one framework for the discussion of "trickle-down".

The strategy of high economic growth plus trickle-down

... is not based on the premises that the only thing that matters is growth of GNP, but rather on the assumption that either (a) the elimination of poverty can be left to government via redistributions of the fruits of growth; or (b) without any active intervention of the government, high growth of GNP would automatically

**New**

Those identified with the new paradigm attack these premises. Specifically they use data on distribution of income and availability and use of services as evidence. The trickle-down method leads to greater inequality--those that already have-got; the rich get richer, the poor get poorer; the gap between the rich and the poor increases; in some nations those classified as poor are increasing in number and actually (not relatively) are less well-off than they were a decade ago.

At a general level it is pointed out that the rewards of development go to a very small
Old
raise the levels of living of
the poor through a trickle-down
mechanism.

There are a number of
dimensions to this discussion.
One can be stated in terms of
the assumption that if
development and economic growth
occurs in the center level it
not only creates wealth for the
owners but opportunities, jobs,
incomes and services that are
shared by a wide spectrum of
citizens. Second, this
increased income creates demands
for additional products and
services and to fulfill these
demands, opportunities are
created for an increasing number
of citizens--the multiplier
effect. Third, as this increase
in income and wealth and govern-
ment income (through ownership or
taxes) provide capital to provide
opportunities, goods and services
to those less fortunate.

New
portion (5-20%) of a nation--
the elites. They rapidly
increase in wealth. The
remainder of the population is
much worse off, relatively and
actually.

What is proposed is that
investment in capital (as needed),
knowledge, infrastructure be
made more directly with those
who are relatively worse off--
the poor, the rural, the "majority
or late majority" (in adoption-
diffusion terms). In those cases
where center wealth creation takes
place, policies be established
and implemented to guarantee
massive redistribution of wealth,
services and opportunities.

In the communication, adoption-
diffusion, innovator example it
is argued the innovator is in a
better capital, scale of operation
and market access position than
the poorer farmer. Further, that
if the new technology is cost
Yet another dimension of "trickle-down" is that capital, knowledge, technology is invested in or provided to those (sectors, industries, firms or individuals) who represent the highest probability of marginal returns.

In a specific communication example, if findings from adoption-diffusion are used as a basis for rapid, least cost, least resistance route to obtain and acceptance of new technology to lead to increased food production, a major target for education and incentives would be farmer innovators. Research indicates innovators would not only adopt effective we will lower production costs before the market price has time to adjust and he will receive the "windfall" profits from the innovation. It will make those relatively well-off better off. The late adopters may not have resources and attitudes to use the innovation. If they adopt later, the major economic advantage may have been lost--prices have adjusted. He becomes even worse off, absolutely and relatively.
(2) Quality of life

Old

Rather than only economic goals and measures of development, the...

New

Goals, strategies and measures should be more in terms of developing institutional structures that would enhance the "quality of life of all citizens." Thus, goals and actions would be directed toward, providing structural change, infrastructures and resources, services and access to improve the availability and quality of things such as food, water, housing, clothing, health (physical and mental), education, security, information, decision-making, participation. With equity in provision, access and motivation these opportunities should make possible improvements in the "Quality of Life" for all.

The "social indicator" movement may be seen as having a close relationship with the "quality of life" movement. Further, the social indicator concept may be seen as an attempt to expand development
Old New

goals and measures far beyond purely the economic, and 2) to develop reliable, valid measures that could be used along side of, or in place of, the commonly accepted economic measures (e.g. GNP or per capita income) for making decisions regarding development problems, goals and strategies.

Many international and national organizations, private and public, are engaged in developing measures (indicators) of the various facets of social life. Both objective and subjective measures are being developed.

In many cases these social indicators are being used to show base line conditions, distributions among and within countries, to measure trends (development) and as a basis for decision making in allocating resources to priority problems.
Old

(3) Human needs, basic needs, human development

Rather than economic goals and measures of development . . .

New

More recently emphasis has seemed to go beyond (though certainly not inconsistent with) "quality of life" to increase emphasis on the development of the human being as the ultimate development--each human being should have the opportunity to develop to his/her fullest potential. Development goals and strategies should be formulated in terms of human needs and the development process should have as the highest priority and probably start with meeting "basic human needs."

As expressed by Hettne (1978), this emphasis is representative of the "in the classical liberal anxiety about individual needs, rights and values. . . . development not of things but of human beings. This approach should, . . . be distinguished from investment in "human capital" which preoccupied the development
theorists in the mid-sixties.

There is a world of difference between the Gandian approach of man as the "supreme consideration" and the idea of man as a "factor of production" in Western economics."

For some, while recognizing man must have enough resources and services to meet basic needs if he/she is to be human, true development, is expressed in terms of ethical values, a means to human ascent for all men, all humanity is viewed as receiving a summons to assume its own destiny (Goulet, 1971).

"For the benefit of those who have not yet been weaned from the sweet milk of palliative incrementalism, "development" needs to be redefined, demystified and thrust into the arena of moral debate (Goulet, 1971)."
Attention is focused on a:

"... Basic Needs Model

which emphasizes a direct
attack on world poverty by
meeting the basic needs in
the field of food, nutrition,
health, education and housing,
as well as through employ­
ment and income generating
activities among the lowest 40%
income groups . . . focuses on
rural development and poorest
sections of rural population"
(Ploman, 1980a).
5. **Modernization**

**Old**

Modernization was used as both an end and a means. Modernization was used as synonymous with Western modernization. It was assumed that modernization was an inevitable universalistic phenomena. It was assumed all underdeveloped countries had accepted and aspired to Western modernization as their goal. Some stated there was no other alternative role model. (Sometimes using the argument that socialism and communism had the same modernization goal as capitalism.) Others argued that the environment and forces were so great, no country could really stop from being modernized in the Western mode.

**New**

Most countries want to develop, but Western modernization is only one role model of development.

The assumptions of modernization were found to not hold: the destruction of traditional forms did not necessarily assure a new, viable, modern society; some countries modernized under the aegis of traditional symbols; "unilinear" demographic, social, economic or political processes leading to some plateau everywhere the same (Einstadt, 1976).
Old authors included: empathy, literacy, education, commercialism, division of labor, new roles and role changes (e.g., entrepreneurs), cosmopolitan-urban exposure and orientation, achievement orientation, increased aspirations, innovativeness, political awareness, deferred gratification, mass media exposure, increased level of living, technology, complex society, ability to cope, efficiency, rationality, liberty, scientism and control (not fatalism)—disintegration of traditional values (for example, see Rogers, 1969 and Einstadt, 1976).

Lerner's (1967) statement is indicative of this position.

"The Western model is an analytical exposition of the historical experience gained by the Western nations during these centuries of their modernization. It seeks to convey this
Old experience in ways that will be useful in helping Eastern nations to reduce costly errors and avoid painful pitfalls in the course of their own development.

This explains why it implies no ethnocentricism for Western specialists to formulate their development studies and activities in terms of the "Western model."

The Western model exhibits certain components and sequences whose relevance is global. Everywhere, for example, increasing industrialization has raised urbanization; rising urbanization has tended to raise literacy; rising literacy has tended to increase media exposure; increasing media exposure has tended to increase popular participation in economic and political life (e.g., per capita income and voting).... The significance of the Western model is, therefore, its generality as a
Old development model, not its particularity for the geopolitical region called "the West."

"Indeed, the Western model is virtually an inevitable baseline for Asian development planning because there is no other model which can serve the purpose . . . . Western societies still provide the most developed model of society attributes (power, wealth, skill, mobility, rationality) which Eastern leaders advocate, in one vocabulary or other, as the goal of their own societies . . . . Candor enjoins us to recognize that what the West is, in this sense, the East seeks to become" (Lerner, 1967). A secular and irreversible trend. Predetermined, irreversible perspective was described in yet another way. An
"... evolutionary perspective, in which the unity of man was upheld, was the "convergence" theory--the theory that ultimately all modern, industrial systems will develop similar major institutional features. Behind this theory loomed a conviction of the inevitability of progress toward modernity whether political or industrial development" (Einstein, 1975).

Some agree that at most, some aspects of Western modernization may be desirable and appropriate for a given countries' development goals. A mixture of existing indigenous, newly invented and indigenous Western modernization elements may be most appropriate—the decision to be made by the leaders and people of each nation. Others argue for most emphasis on retaining existing indigenous goals, values, institutions,
and technology. Any changes should be made only after serious consideration of the costs and benefits of such. Changes should be made only in terms of high priority indigenous development goals.

It is also pointed out that some countries have not been swept up in the inevitability of modernization. People's Republic of China and Tanzania are often used as examples.

People's Republic of China is often cited as an example of the use of mixed means to reach their development goals: bare-foot doctors and indigenous medicine alongside of Western doctors and medicine; indigenous and advanced technology side by side; small, primitive low-investment plants and large "modern" industrial complexes; labor-intensive and mechanized technologies in agriculture--
Modernity was seen not only in terms of technology, industrialization, urbanization and macrosociety phenomena but also as a state of mind. "The ethnocentric" predicament is noxious for development because ethnocentrism is a mode of "closing" one's personality—of defending what is by rejecting whatever is not. What development requires, on the contrary, is the "opening" of personality—expanding what one is by incorporating what one has not been, but would like to become" (Lerner, 1967, 16, p. 116).

The human personality is seen as providing a psychological fulcrum for the transformations that produce development.
Processes at work in this transformation include: modernization which increases physical and social mobility . . . by "displacing" persons from their native place and statuses; this increases psychic mobility empathy ("capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation"); creating a "mobile personality" with a "high empathetic capacity" as is the predominant style in modern society which is industrial, urban, literate and participant (Lerner, 1967).
6. **Industrialization**

**Old**

Industrialization was seen as an obvious part of modernization. If developing nations were to have economic growth, be able to participate freely in the world trade economy, improve the lot of their citizens through consumer goods and services, they would have to industrialize. A major untapped resource was seen to be underemployed and unemployed labor—great quantities in the rural areas. Individual productivity and contribution to industrial production was a goal. Agriculture should be productive, take less labor, so rural people could go to urban-industrial centers and be more productive. Essential inputs into rapid industrialization included capital intensive, "big" Western technology.

**New**

Major emphasis on industrialization, especially heavy industrialization was itself questioned. In addition, disproportionate investment in the urban sector in contrast to the rural-agricultural sector (where 60-90% of the people in many developing countries live) is seen as dysfunctional and not human. A basic necessity, food production, lags far behind even subsistence needs. The rural majority falls further behind the urban population (especially the elite) in all measures of human services and well-being. Policies and strategies directed at the rural areas to build on indigenous resources, technology, services and participating decision making is seen by some as a more viable alternative to increased human needs satisfaction, enhancement of desired attributes of the indigenous systems and self-determined development. Others, while recognizing the priority need for
Under the old paradigm, "Priority was given to industrialization and infrastructure (power and transport) which came to be synonymous with development" (Streeten, 1979).

Industrialization in the Western mold has been questioned on a number of grounds. Examples can be noted. "It is now generally admitted that modernization and industrialization have led to a series of biases, particularly the increasingly uneven distribution on income. The dependence on import capital goods from more developed countries resulted in an orientation of the productive sector to production of consumer goods by capital intensive techniques and to satisfaction of consumption demands of mainly the upper and middle classes" (Amin, 1977).

Others would add urbanization, migration, dependence, materialism, and consumerism. Illich (1969) states his case in strong terms. "In less than a hundred years, industrial society has molded patent
Old

solutions to basic human needs
and converted us to the belief
that man's needs were shaped by
the Creator as demands for
products we have invented . . .
the consumer is trained for obso­
lescence, which means continuing
loyalty toward the same producers
who will give him the same basic
packages in different quality or
new wrappings.

Industrial societies can
provide such packages for personal
consumption for most of their
citizens, but this is no proof
that those societies are sane,
economical, or that they promote
life. The contrary is true . . .
the environment becomes a by­
product of his own consumption
habits . . . the design of the
"package deals" . . . is the main
cause of the high cost of satisfying
basic needs" (Illich, 1969).

Priority was placed on
heavy industry, capital inten­
sive, Western-type consumer

New
Old products, high productivity, urban-centered industrialization—after all that is what Western industrialization was. In most cases, agriculture and the rural areas were given lower priority in planning and in almost all cases in planning implementation. The debate on priority on urban industrial or rural agriculture was intense.

New the landless laborer—lived on the land and were bound to continue living there for some time . . . . Even spectacularly high rates of urban, industrial growth could not absorb the growing numbers in the rural sector because the starting base of the industrial sector was so small (Streeten, 1979).

"Since the majority of the poor live (and will continue to live for some time) by agriculture in the countryside, priority must be given to growing food for domestic consumption. Agriculture has been the lagging sector; it has been holding up development . . . . Agriculture also forms an important potential mass market for industrial goods" (Streeten, 1979).

"In order to meet the needs of the rural population—credit, extension service, fertilizer, water, power—seeds must be made available so that they reach the
small farmer . . . the needs, inputs, including information, appropriate institutions and incentives" (Streeten, 1979).

"Agricultural development is a key factor in the plan of any country aspiring to rapid development . . .

A large peasantry or nomatic subculture living not far above the subsistence agricultural level of existence will be a major drag on the economic and social development of any country, making it much harder to reach national goals for higher average quality of life. If rural life is improved only by compensatory programmes without rural productivity gains, the rural sector will drag on the rest of the economy" (Parker and Mohammadi, 1977).

There is, of course, a middle ground. "The dispute about whether to give priority to
industry or agriculture is a sham dispute. The answer is not either/or, but both/and. Industry needs agriculture and agriculture needs industry . . ."

(Streeten, 1973,

Streeten proposes a "self-reliant industrialization"

"... guided by the goal of meeting the needs of the poor . . . (this) . . . leads to a different composition of products and of techniques, but also reduces the demand that rapid urbanization makes or scarce capital, scarce skills, and scarce natural resources"

(Streeten, 1978,

Success of this type of industrialization depends on countries opting for a style of development that gives priority to satisfying simple basic needs of a large number of poor people. Industries producing clothing, food,
Old

furniture, simple household
goods, electronics, buses and
electric fans would thrive
without the need for heavy
protection . . ." (Streeten,
1978).

New
Stages of Growth

Old

The old paradigms was dominated by the "doctrine" of stages of growth. The epitome of this doctrine is usually attributed to Rostow. According to Rostow, all countries developed along a linear path and a series of stages toward growth. The four "stages" were: "the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the drive for maturity, and the age of high mass consumption" (Rostow, 1960).

It appears to be assumed that all underdeveloped countries desire to pursue this path. Growth is seen primarily in economic terms and secondarily in removing constraints including social and institutional changes to move along the path.

At the international relations level, "... this

New

From the beginning, there were strong criticisms of the linear models of economic growth, focused on Rostow, and these have increased. Some alternatives are proposed.

According to Streeten, "This linear or stages-of-growth view ... was criticized on logical, moral, political, historical and economic grounds" (Streeten, 1979).

"Logically, the co-existence of more- and less-developed countries is bound to make a difference to development efforts of the less developed. Morally and politically, the linear view ruled out options of different styles of development. Historically, it can be criticized as excessively deterministic, and not necessarily squaring with facts. Economically, it ignores alternative impulses and actions of ranges of rich and poor
Old

view calls on rich countries to supply the "missing components" ... to break bottlenecks or remove obstacles ..." The "... doctrine provides a rationale for international capital and technical assistance, trade, private foreign investment" (Streeten, 1979).

"... it remains true that, ... the Rostow model had a powerful grip on the imagination of policy makers, planners and aid officials and that it was this view that gave rise to a reaction" [against the model] (Streeten, 1979).

New

nations in a dynamic process;" latecomers face problems essentially different from early starters. It tended to ignore human capital. A number of non-linear theorists existed (taken mainly from Streeten, 1979).

One perspective is that:

"Succeeding the linear development perspective in popularity in the early 1970s was a second view, according to which the international system of rich-poor relationships produce and maintains the underdevelopment of the poor countries (the rich "underdevelop" the poor, in Andre Gunder Frank's phrase)"

Streeten, 1979).

This is perpetrated by the ruling and professional elite in developing countries (Streeten, 1979).

As put by one spokesman for the Third World, President Nyeres, "In one world ... when I am rich because you are poor,
and I am poor because you are rich, the transfer of wealth from rich to poor is a matter of right: it is not an appropriate matter for charity . . . .

As far as we are concerned, the only question at issue is whether the change comes by dialogue or confrontation” (quoted by Streeten, 1979, 12, p. 28).

Thus, according to these views, aid is not temporary, to be ended after "take-off," but a permanent feature like an international income tax; or at a more aggressive level, aid is a form of exploitation and self-reliant, independent developing nations should be rid of it by "delinking," "decoupling" by insulating or by isolating themselves from the international system--especially developed countries.

Streeten also sees the following concerns as a movement
away from economic growth as a goal and "trickle-down" to distribution and equity; balanced growth; redistribution with growth; and "meeting basic human needs" as a goal (Streeten, 1979).

There is much evidence that countries do not follow the Rostow stages of growth--one stage does not necessarily lead to another, stages are skipped, other stages seem to be added. For example, historically, emphasis was on "grow now" and redistribute and educate later. Irma Adelman presents evidence that a number of countries, (e.g., Israel, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan) followed a common pattern that differs from the "grow now" philosophy and this has resulted in improvements in the income of the poor and rapid economic growth. This path was radical
Old
asset redistribution (sometimes accompanied by negative growth rates); secondly, massive accumulation of human capital and skill creation far in access of current demand; and thirdly, economic policies directed at rapid labor-intensive economic growth, with development of appropriate technologies for large countries and foreign trade for small countries—redistribution and education now and growth later (Cited in Stewart and Streeten, 1976).

New
3. Capital

Old

A. Capital is seen as one of the most essential variables in development. It is seen as a very scarce resource in most developing nations. The short-run potential for within developing country capital accumulation for rapid modernization is seen as low. International, multinational, and multination corporation financing are seen as essential for development.

"In the early literature, capital was regarded as the key to development and lack of it as an essential—or the main, or even the only--constraint" (Streeten, 1979, 12, p. 37).

This view of capital as the "missing component" fitted well into the linear stages-of-growth doctrine: "In technical discussion and writings,

New

The overriding essential role of capital in development is questioned. As both theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence showed that capital does not play the crucial role that had been allotted to it, the debate about "missing components" broadened. The importance of physical capital was downgraded and other missing components were added, such as foreign exchange, entrepreneurship, skills, investment in "human capital," innovation, know-how, technology, institutional and even birth control" (Streeten, 1979).
Old

in analytical models as well as in policy papers, the relation between capital formation and economic development is stressed to the exclusion of all other causal factors and relations" (Quoted by Streeten, 1979).

New

"From then on (use of oil as a weapon in 1973), it was debatable whether the West could continue to give "aid" to the poor countries, while massive transfers of purchasing power were being made towards the newly-rich oil producing countries. What is more, there was fundamental uncertainty as to whether the Western economies would be capable of development, i.e., continuing expansion" (Henry, 1977, 35, p. 1-2).
9. Technology

**Old**

A. "Big," complex, Western

Consistent with the logic of modernization and industrialization was the corollary of introduction of technology to increase efficiency and productivity—the route to growth was increased productivity and a main ingredient was Western technology, mainly capital-intensive technology.

"For many economists, the solution to the problem of the "Third World" was simply to turn to the same policies applied successfully to Europe with a massive transfer of capital and technology to spur economic growth" (Sunkel, 1979).

"Some concluded "... that because industrial country technologies are efficient and are used by rich countries, they would also be efficient when applied to LDCs and would also make the LDCs rich."

**New**

"Intermediate" technology, "small is beautiful"

It is argued that "big," complex technology is not necessarily the answer to Third World problems on a number of grounds, including arguments against capital-intensive vs. labor-intensive, capacity to integrate high technology into the value systems, work patterns, labor skill, management matrix of developing countries, ability to repair and maintain equipment, creating dependency, etc.
"With 98 percent of all R and D expenditures located in the industrial countries, it is not surprising that our technology should be sophisticated and efficient..." (Singer, 1977).

Some believed that production and productivity was the only input needed for development. "... virtually all the experts, the captains of industry, the economic managers in the governments of the world, the academic and not-so-academic economists, not to mention the economic journalists... all agree the problem of production has been solved; that mankind has at least come of age" (Schumacher, 1973).

Many associated with the new paradigm saw more fundamental questions connected with the introduction of technology in the Third World, in fact, regarding technology in general. "In industry, we can interest ourselves in the evolution of small-scale technology, relatively non-violent technology, "technology with a human face," so people have a chance to enjoy themselves while they are working..." (Schumacher, 1973).

"In the subtle system of nature, technology, and in particular, the super-technology of the modern world, acts like a foreign body, and there are now numerous signs of rejection... three crises simultaneously."
First, human nature revolts against inhuman technological, organizational, and political patterns, which it experiences as suffocating and debilitating; second, the living environment which supports human life aches and groans and gives signs of partial breakdown; and, third, it is clear ... that the inroads being made into the world's non-renewable resources ... are such that ... virtual exhaustion looms ahead . . ." (Schumaker, 1973).

Schumaker (1973) sees at least a partial solution in the creation and use of intermediate technology. He would create millions of new work places in rural areas and small towns--where the people live now; work places cheap enough so they can be created in large numbers; production methods relatively simple so skills, organization, financing and
marketing can be simple; and, production mainly from local materials and mainly for local use. He defines level of technology in terms of "equipment costs per work place." Intermediate technology would be toward the low-cost end, "... immensely more productive than indigenous technology ... but ... also ... immensely cheaper than sophisticated, high capital-intensive technology of modern industry" ("Small is Beautiful," Economics as if People Mattered).

B. Technology transfer

In development and communication literature dealing with technology, the term "transfer" was often used. This implied that hard and soft technology could be "picked-up" out of the Western industrialized, modernized world, Under the new paradigm, much discussion is given to the idea that technology must be chosen or developed that is appropriate to the needs, criteria, and goals and resources of the development country. In most cases, the technology would have to be
Old
transferred, and "dropped" into a Third World context and effectively perform its role there.

The following statement appears to put responsibility for adaptation and developing "functional equivalents on the receiving country."

"An Asian society seeking to modernize its economic institutions according to Western model would be obliged to select, adapt and transform American (or other Western behavioral modes) according to their indigenous "capacity to absorb" the routines required by those modes . . . inventing 'functional equivalents'" (Lerner, 1967).

C. Origin of technology

Under the old paradigm, the assumption was that the contribution of the developed world

New
adapted to fit the needs of Third World countries.

Under the new paradigm, there is not only much emphasis on intermediate technology and
Old was not only capital but technology and "know-how" expertise.

New adapting technology, but the need to develop the capacity for Research and Development within the Third World countries.

One conceptualization of this is indicated in the following statement:

Importing the ideas rather than the technology . . . designing technology to meet local or national goals within the local or national environmental conditions . . . the opportunity to design entire new systems (rather than add increments as in the industrial world) . . . design for skill level are among the suggestions that argue against transfer of technology (Parker and Mohammad, 1977).

In addition, some (e.g., Farming Systems) emphasize delineating successful indigenous practices and technology and diffusing them or using them as a basis for R and D upgrading.
Old

so they would be more appropriate (than Western technology) for in-country use.

Developing countries are also setting up mechanisms for the exchange of appropriate technology among developing nations rather than receiving it (perhaps inappropriate) from developing nations.

New
Resources Infinite to Resources Finite

Old

Under the old paradigm, there appeared to be an implicit assumption, or at least very little concern expressed, that resources for world development were infinite. The problem was for each nation to find, develop and share those resources in a world market economy. An example of a statement often made is, "There should be no worry about a food scarcity; application of technology and distribution are the problems." In all fields, continuing development and use of technology was seen as a solution to most resource problems.

New

Under the new paradigm, there is a growing belief that resources are finite. If the world continues to pursue Western-style modernization, with its production and consumption patterns and there is continued population growth, there is the stark reality of scarce resources. The world energy crisis is a current dramatic example.

In addition, there is increasing concern about the physical and cultural environment in which development is taking place.

The ecological aspects of development is of major concern. Ecological balance is brought into sharp focus in the semi-arid Sahara regions, in slash burning agriculture in many portions of the world, in exploitive fishing practices, and in the unprecedented use of basic mineral resources. This line of concern
Old

is also focused on the
consideration of culture as
a part of environment. Thus,
the impact of the use of
modern technology and develop-
ment strategies on culture has
been revitalized in the eco-
logical context. Industriali-
zeation, migration, the use of
television as components of
development are easily seen
examples which have influence
on culture.

"It is strange that there
had to be a widespread fear of
a global ecological crisis
before social scientists spe-
cializing in development began
to analyze development as a pro-
cess involving both society and
environment . . . a dynamic
man-environment paradigm" (Hettne, 1978).

"So far, development stra-
tegies have been ecologically
blind, but, . . . ecology will
probably have to be incorporated
in any future development paradigm so as to permit a systematic analysis of environmental aspects of social and economic change. . . man living in two systems, the economic and social, held together by a high degree of interdependence" (Hettne and Wallensteen, 1977).

In a specific Asian example, George Axin (1977) speaks of "... over-developed social system, the society over-uses the resources of its ecosystem." With particular reference to Nepal he indicates "... excessive consumption of shrinking supplies of Himalayan firewood is a cause for growing alarm in South Asia."
Constraints to Development

**Old**

Strategies for development under the old paradigm included heavy reliance or removing the constraints so development could occur. Major constraints were not only seen in terms of capital, technology and planning but in terms of "individual blame" (see Rogers, 1976)...

Individual traditional values and attitudes (conservatism, traditionalism, ritualism, risk aversion) often described as "traditional" values. Administrative and organizational management and personnel were seen as weak, inefficient and status quo oriented. Basic services and infrastructure were seen as ineffective and would have to be improved or replaced.

It may be noted that these constraints are seen as individual, organizational and national.

**New**

The new paradigm sees major constraints of development at the international level in terms of present aid, trade, monetary, technology transfer and communication systems and policies--political, power, economic, world and multinational organizational structural systems.

Within country, it is not so much making existing social organizations-institutions more effective, but making major structural changes in the institutions, class structure, power structural and elites, decision making processes and communication patterns. The fault of development is not so much with the "traditional" culture, individuals and community as it is with environmental structures and norms--national and international--within which they exist.
Emphasis on structural changes is illustrated in the following statements.

"The emerging new development economics began with Simon Kuznet's *Modern Economic Growth*, which showed that economic growth of nations can take place only with incessant changes in economic and social structure, and that therefore it is the intricate interplay of technological and institutional changes that provides the key to the understanding of growth" (Oshima, 1976).

"The major purpose of development planning, in fact, is to undertake the required structural transformation of a country in a conscious, explicit, orderly, rational manner. . . . The essence of development is institutional reform" (Griffin, 1978).

We must conclude,... that underdevelopment is not due to
the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself (Frank, 1966, 48, p. 107).
12. Planning

Under the old paradigm, planning could be characterized as follows: Central planning, top-down; dominated by economists, bankers and politicians; heavy use of economic models, scenarios and simulations; industrialization; national targets aimed at economic and political self-sufficiency; import substitution; internal capital formulation; resulting in "Five-Year Plans" (some ideas from Streeten, 1979).

"Generally, the capacity of the state in underdeveloped countries to plan was overestimated . . . (there is a) rather dismal post-war record of development plans" (Hettne, 1978).

"The general conclusion that we may draw from these pessimistic discussions (of planning) are that whatever growth has taken place in the Third World countries has little to do with efforts at planning, and furthermore, growth has been of little help in solving the major problems of development" (Hettne, 1978).

Many reasons for this apparent failure in planning are given; for example: too few trained planners; planners too isolated from administrators and the real world of application; planning offices had limited or no authority over...
administrative programs; appropriate, accurate statistics and information not available; future too unpredictable; capacity of institutions, agencies and personnel overestimated; in many cases, tried to adapt law-order-tax and administration systems to development systems; social, cultural variables not sufficiently taken into account; relation between plans, policy and administration (implementation) not understood or articulated; reality of the political situation and politicians not taken into account; strategies for education, persuasion and motivation not developed; little attention to communication systems and strategies; all usually leading to idealized, unrealistic plans (partially based on Hettne, 1978 and Streeten, 1979).
What are the alternatives proposed?

National guidelines developed through citizen participation; decentralization of goal and priority systems and action programs; human and local needs oriented; with local participation; mobilization and self-reliance.
13. Center and Periphery

The concept center and periphery cannot be clearly separated from many of the concepts discussed above. However, because of the importance attached to these concepts as organizing concepts by some, they will be briefly discussed here.

"This theory takes as its point of departure two of the most glaring facts about the world: the tremendous inequality, within and between nations, in almost all aspects of human living conditions, including the power to decide over those living conditions; and the resistance of inequality to change. The world consists of Center and Periphery; and each nation in turn has its Centers and Periphery (Galtung, 1971).

**Old**

The old paradigm may be seen as Center nations establishing relations with the center elites of less developed nations (Periphery nations) and imperialistically exploiting those nations.

**New**

If the analysis of the assumptions, structure and outcomes of the old paradigm are correct, then what can be proposed under the new paradigm?

"...point of departure is once more that the world is divided into have's and have-not's in have and have-not nations. To decrease the 'gap', "... redistribution by taking from the have's and giving to the
Old

Periphery nations results in dependency of the Periphery on Center. A feudal interaction structure emerged (Galtung, 1971).

Imperialism is seen as having several dimensions: economic, political, military, communication and cultural (Galtung, 1971).

New

have-not's is not enough; the structure has to be changed" (Galtung, 1971).

Structural changes seen as needed in the international dominance system include the following: reduction of vertical interaction and feudal structure; exchange on more equal terms; self-reliance and self-sufficiency in Periphery nations; development of viable organizations among the Periphery countries for self-interest and confrontation with the Center; establish multinational symmetric organizations to serve horizontal (not vertical or dominance) dependence relations among present Center and Periphery and between Periphery and Periphery; destruction of multinational asymmetric organizations, if they do not change, by withdrawal of Periphery participation; self-reliance
14. Dependence "vs." Self-Reliance, Self-Determination and New World Economic Order

There are four issue concepts that are currently receiving much attention—dependence, self-reliance, self-determination and New World Economic Order. It is not clear where each of them most logically fits in our discussion of issues and concepts of the "old" and "new" paradigms. Their importance to the present debate cannot be minimized. We have decided to place and discuss dependence (dependency) under the old paradigm based on the observation that the large number of scholars, led by those from Latin America, attribute the old paradigm theory and articulation as causing dependency—an understandable and predictable creation of the "old" paradigm. Many of those who write on dependency direct all their attention to understanding the causes and detailing the results of dependency—giving little or no attention to alternatives. Others do explore alternatives to dependency. Among those alternatives are: self-reliance; self-determination, including social revolution; and New World Orders. It should be noted that these three important concepts are often presented to stand on their own merits, not as a counterpoint to dependency.

Each of these four concepts will be briefly discussed and illustrated below.

Old

A. Dependence

This old phenomena is attributed to the theory and application of the "old" paradigm.

Dependence has been defined as "... a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development

New

The dependence paradigm has a strong set of proponents and followers. However, it also has its critics. Criticisms include: ceremonial unquestioned acceptance; offering no solution to the problem it poses; stagnation and
Old

and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected (Santos, 1979). Or, put in a slightly different way, the ability of certain countries to control the technical progress and to impose consumption patterns (favorable to the modernized minority) became the decisive factor in the structuring of the production apparatus of other countries, which in consequence became dependents (Furtado, 19).

Or, stated yet another way, "All applied knowledge and technical capacity crystallizes into technological networks and organizational structures which constitute capitalization systems used by the very people who have superior knowledge and resources with which to exploit them. Industrial societies are thus founded on structural inequalities which enable the have's

New

repetition--no new ideas or applications; an alibi for lack of self-development; lack of recognition of in-country exploitation and dependency; a probable viable concept, but not a paradigm or theory; and failure to generate viable alternatives for "dependency" countries' development.

As stated above, many writers in the area of dependency do not directly propose alternative. However, a number of alternatives are proposed under concepts such as: "delinking," self-determination, self-reliance, new world orders, legitimised sharing and liberation.
Old

always to have more (whether they are groups or states), and the have-not's always to be dependent on and dominated by the former (Schlegel, 1977).

New

The mental set of dependency may be further seen in the growing use of the term 'liberation' rather than 'development' by some leaders in Latin America. Liberation implies the suppression of elitism by a populace which assumes control over its own change processes. Development . . . although frequently used to describe various change processes, stresses the benefits said to result from them: material prosperity, higher production and expanded consumption, better housing or medical services . . . their recourse to the vocabulary of liberation is a vigorous measure of self-defense, aimed at overcoming the structural vulnerability which denies them
control over economic, political, and cultural forces which impinge upon their societies (Goulet, 1971).

One analysis of the situation leads to the following assessment of the situation and alternatives for Latin America and similar countries.

"Everything now indicates that what can be expected is a long process of sharp political and military confrontations and of profound social radicalization which will lead these countries to a dilemma: governments of force which open the way to facism, or popular revolutionary governments which open the way to socialism. Intermediate solutions have proved to be, as such, a contradictory reality, empty and Utopian" (Santos, 1970).
Old

of dependence to which developing nations have been subjected, include imperialism, colonialism, and financial-industrial dependence.

In the post-war period, another type of dependence is seen as having consolidated based on multinational corporations and industries geared at the internal market of underdeveloped countries--technological industrialized dependence (Santos, 1970).

This new form of dependency has three main dimensions:
1) industrial development is based on the export sector for foreign currency to buy inputs for industrialization and the export sector is usually controlled by foreign-capital or local elites, 2) industrial development is strongly conditioned by fluctuations in balance

New
of payments based on low price for raw materials and high price for industrial goods, excess of capital leaving vs. entering country, the need for foreign financing to fill the gaps they themselves created, and 3) technological monopoly demanding royalties for use of machines and the use of investment capital for their purchase (Santos, 1970).

"The productive structure created by dependent industrialization limits the growth of the internal market . . . it subjects the labor force to highly exploitive relations which limits its purchasing power. Second in adopting a technology of intensive capital use, it creates very few jobs . . ." (Santos, 1970).

There are three major concepts that are often discussed as
Old alternatives to dependency. However, each is also often discussed as a concept in its own right—not necessarily connected or flowing from dependency. These three concepts are Self-Reliance, Self-Determination and the New International Economic order. They will be briefly discussed below.

B. Self-Reliance

"Self-reliance means primarily the autonomous capacity to develop and take decision. Self-reliance contributes to rendering a country less vulnerable to external pressures—political, economic and cultural. . . . Self-reliance cannot be dispensed or dictated; it must be learned, and the learning process starts with the individual. It is a slow cumulative process, stretching through generations and susceptible to reverses (International Foundation for Development Alternatives, 1980).
Self-reliance may be seen as the antithesis of dependence. There is frustration with conventional development approaches which embody such central concepts as "techno-economic," "capital fetishism" and "redistribution justice." The self-reliance framework emphasizes the creativity and potential of people as an end as well as a means, mass local mobilization, intensive use of local resources including labor, and surpluses exchanged primarily between neighboring areas. The policy of self-reliance must start at the local village. However, the basic logic is seen as very much the same at the national and international level.

It is recognized that local villages are not homogenous economic, social and power entities, "... but are characterized by dominance/dependence relations
among the poor themselves. Thus, any development project aiming to help the poor "... must first try to unite the target group, give it a self-reliant base and initiate a process which permits it to "delink" from economic and psychological dependence" (Hettne and Wallensteen, 1977).

Some proponents stress self-reliance as both an end and an important means contributing to growth. "Many argue ... equity and justice should take precedence over economic growth. Clearly, they should be given at least equal emphasis ... Many policy makers and economists still assume that direct participation in development by overwhelming numbers of small producers and poor people in the developing countries will slow down the development process. We do not agree: recent experience
demonstrates that policies to accelerate the meeting of basic needs through increasing the ability of the poor majority to participate in development can benefit the growth process as well" (Hesburgh and Grant, 1979).

The theoretical rationale for self-reliance has been hypothesized by Galtung to include the following: priorities will change toward production for basic needs for those most in need; mass participation is ensured; local factors are utilized much better; creativity is stimulated; there will be more compatibility with local conditions; there will be more diversity of development; there will be less alienation; ecological balance will be more easily attained; important externalities are internalized or given to neighbors at the same level; solidarity with others at the same
Old

level gets a solid basis; ability to withstand manipulation due to trade dependency increases; military defense capability of the country increases; and as a basic approach today's Center and Periphery are brought on a more equal footing (Galtung paper quoted in Hettne, 1978).

New

C. Self-Determination

The concept of self-determination does not permeate the debate to the degree its close corollary self-reliance does.

Self-determination appears to be most directly related to control over decisions, regarding the future. Though it can (and some argue it should) be applied at all levels it is most often applied at the national level. The concept may be seen as emerging as a reaction to emperialism, colonialism in the
Old
historically context where
development societies had
little control over their own
destiny. In contemporary times
it is argued that in trying to
develop in the Western mode
developing countries lost their
ability to determine their own
destiny because of the inter­
national market and political
structure, external financing,
importation of technology,
cultural emperialism, elite
power structures, etc.

Self-determination may be
seen in the answer to the
question, "... will "under-
developed" societies become mere
consumers of technological
civilization or agents of their
own transformation ... popular
autonomy in a non-elitest mode,
social creativity instead of
imitation, control over forces of
change instead of mere adjustment
to them (Goulet, 1971).
The People's Republic of China's development strategy illustrates self-determined, self-reliance development by emphasizing rural development, promoting labor-intensive technology, relying on decentralized patterns of local control, taking seriously the input of ordinary citizens into decision-making processes, mass produced consumer goods for domestic consumption and very limited use of the international economic structure—self-determination based on Mao philosophy directives and motivations (Henriot, 1978, 70 p. 17).

Another alternative often cited is Tanzania, as described by one author. "And Tanzania is admired because it rejects mass-consumption as a model for society, practices self-reliance in its educational system (choosing to grant prestige to agricultural skills rather than to purely science ones geared to
large-scale engineering projects), accepts foreign aid only when the overall impact of projects financed will not create a new elite class within the nation itself, and in general subordinates economic gains to the creation of new African values founded on ancient communication practices" (Goulet, 1971, 45 p. 382). Also often noted is their self-reliant and self-determined village development programs.

D. New International Economic Order

Some see the depending paradigm as playing major role in creating the demand for the NIEO.

"The current demands for a New Internation Economic Order (NIEO) are clearly related to the breakthrough of the dependence paradigm and could possibly be seen as the outcome of a marriage between a crude interpretation of dependencia, on the one hand, and the political influence suddenly achieved by the oil-producing countries, on the
In brief summary form, "The principles involved in NIEO include control by the developing countries over their own economics and natural resources, greater participation in the decision-making processes, international co-operation and active assistance, transfer of technology on favorable terms and the facilitation of industrialization in Third World countries" (Hettne, 1978).

According to some, the demands implied in NIEO and far from being a blueprint for development—in many cases the demands relate closely to a very conventional view of development. "The NIEO is silent on questions like ecological balance, internal social reforms and basic human needs "Hettne, 1978).

Whether the NIEO is a viable alternative to economic dependency
Old New

is questioned by some. For example, see the following:

"The concept of NIEO does not tell us very much except that there is a certain dissatisfaction with the "old" or contemporary international economic system. This vagueness certainly facilitates the emergence of a grand alliance in international politics but makes the NIEO as a programme very elusive. It is possibly best conceived of as a political rather than economic concept" (Hettne, 1978).

However, Jussawalla (1981) sees the reason for the emergence of NIEO more in economic terms.

"Specific demands for a new economic order stem from the unfavorable terms of trade that primary products and processed commodities are subjected to in their quest for international markets. . . . The long-term objective of the struggle for the NIEO is to improve the trade
and investment flows in favor of the LDCs."

Jussawalla (1981) sees the emergence of the New International Order in the following terms.

For the NIEO, the Third World claims delinking with the North in order to achieve greater self-sufficiency, but the proposals for NIEO attach crucial importance to both sovereignty and interdependence. Sovereignty over national resources refers not only to economic resources, but to information ones (as well). That is why these very same principles of sovereignty and interdependence lie at the root of the claims for New World Information Order. While self-sustaining development forms the core of Third World objectives, there is simultaneous recognition of interdependence, not of the colonial type, but one in which all countries have rights and obligations as equal partners.
15. Communication

Though perhaps not as distinct, there is a complimentary "debate" on the role of communications under the old paradigms of development. Certainly for those who accept many of the aspects of the "new paradigm" there must be many communication implications. We at the Communication Institute are trying to trace out some of these implications. But that is another major paper. However, the presentation of a few ideas may help start discussion in this area. We fully recognize its limitations in scope and depth.

Old

The importance of communication in development was recognized at an early stage. For instance:

"Of all the technical changes which have been sweeping through traditional societies of the underdeveloped world in the last decade (50's) the most fundamental and pervasive in their effect on human society has been changes in communication (Milliken, 1967).

But those planning development seemed to ignore this situation.

The original development concept was perceived almost exclusively and narrowly defined economic terms... such notions as

New

There is also criticism of those who are proposing the "new paradigms,");... new models pay scant attention to this (communication and information)
Old

functional literacy and human resources seem to prove that economic growth theories still dominated. In this approach both rural development and communication seemed no more than marginal phenomena (Ploman, 1980a).

New

dimension despite the emphasis on the need for transformation of attitudes, structures, and ways of life. Communication and information still seem largely to be taken for granted, mainly added as a support function but not seen as an integral component of the development process itself (Ploman, 1980b).

In his *Passing of the Traditional Society*, Lerner (1958) early focused attention on the change from oral to media communication systems as universalistic correlates of modernization. Using empirical data and correlations he developed a four-variable matrix to explain modernization. In sequence or phases a degree of urbanization came first, then literacy, then media participation. Media participation was measured by proportion of population buying newspapers, owning radios and attending cinemas.

A number of additional studies showed relatively high correlations
between mass media participation measured in terms of newsprint and newspapers, cinema seats and radios per capita, and urbanization, industrialization, literacy and per capita income.

Again, mass media is emphasized, "... the required amount of information and learning is so vast (for development) that only by making effective use of the great information multipliers, the mass media, can developing countries hope to provide information at the rates their timetables for development demand" (Schramm, 1964).

Thus, mass media systems began to be seen as an agent of change (a causal variable) "clearly the primary resource for developing societies-in-a-hurry" (Lerner, 1967). The need was seen to make major investments in mass media as a Rostovian "leading sector" to put it "on the national development team" (Lerner, 1967).
Rogers (1967a) states, "the newer conceptions of development imply a different and generally, a wider role for communications. The mobilization of a mass audience through its social organizations at the local level depends heavily on communication and in a quite different way than the industrialization approach to development. But little attention has been given to how the mass media can foster mass mobilization for development purposes, to how the audience can control the media institutions through feedback, or to the role of the media in narrowing . . . the gap between the socioeconomic advantaged and disadvantaged segments of the total audience . . . and distribution of information within an audience."

The focus on mass media is apparent. It is obvious that most development programs use combinations of media and channels. "Communication" journals and publications often do not treat these other channels.
Some would argue, that various mass media probably have an important role to play under the new paradigm. Within this group many would say we are too enamored with the new esoteric, glamorous technology--they would encourage reevaluating the potential of channels such as radio, telephone, local print media, etc. Questions are being raised to the structure, control, motives, and content of the media and media systems (for example see Rogers, 1976b).

What appears to some to be highly relevant to the new paradigms (and missing from much of the discussion) are considerations of other media and channels, e.g., organizational communication, interpersonal communication, indigenous communication networks, folk media, paraprofessionals, local entrepreneurs, demonstrations, trials, test-try, exhibits, meetings, informal education and low technology education aids, etc. In most cases many of these are "mixed" together to enhance communication potential.
Some seem to be focusing on a broader concept and need for communication. "It is obvious that a development from below, based on participation in decision making and action, has its own communication requirements. These requirements are double. On the one hand, there has to be an increase in the amount, range and kind of information which has to be brought within reach of the rural population, including the now socially ineffective or disfavored. On the other hand, there will have to be a vast increase in locally produced relevant information. In both respects, the information flows can no longer be uni-directional, one-way; they should at least be two-way, and preferably multi-way, not only vertical but also horizontal . . . what is essentially called for is the transformation of the village from a traditional society into an "information community" of a new kind (Ploman 1980a).
Old

New

Some are challenging for a re-evaluation of the premises, value assumptions, cultural differences, theories, concepts and variables and research methods used that create most of the body of knowledge about communication (Western).
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