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THE POTENTIAL USE OF TELEVISION FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of
Arts, University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg, for the degree of Master of Arts.

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VOLUME 1

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Sally Ann Benn

25 February 1986

To

N I C H O L A S

With thanks to

my parents for their unfailing love and support

Professor John van Zyl

my supervisor and teacher who originally inspired my interest

in this subject

and to my typist

Gwen MacLachlan

ABSTRACT

The potential successful use of television for education in any situation is dependent upon its context and upon the socio-political history of the society, educational system, and broadcasting system of the country into which it is being introduced. In South Africa this context and history is largely an outgrowth of the apartheid system and the potential of educational television (ETV) in this country is circumscribed by the historical precedents of apartheid and its negative effects on the population and on education and broadcasting.

It is suggested that the true potential of ETV in South Africa rests in its use as a medium for alternative, localized and non-institutionalized education for this country's economically, educationally and politically deprived population. Taking account of the facts that ETV does have the potential as an educational aid, but that its application has not been universally successful due to a lack of consideration for contexts and applicability if imposed systems, this dissertation concentrates upon those factors which must be taken into account when establishing a potentially successful ETV system.

In order to achieve educational success in this country it is suggestion that the following should be taken into account:

- the developmental, political, education and broadcasting context in South Africa.
- past successes and failures of ETV - particularly in the Third World.

- the unique characteristics of television which render it an ideal educational aid to deprived, distant and widely dispersed audiences
- that wide-ranging political and educational policy changes are necessary for ETV to succeed in South Africa as a component of overall political and educational change.
- that, on the practical level, these changes must include: decentralization of broadcasting, education and educational broadcasting; a changed organizational structure in both areas; local participation in the planning and structuring of ETV programmes and organization and the use of ETV as ar alternative aid in education including the use of satellites to reach widely scattered audiences.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The year 1976 signalled the beginning of a new era in South African history. Two major events occurred in that year which irrevocably changed the social, political and educational environment. The first occurrence was the overt and violent expression of dissatisfaction in "black" areas which brought to the fore the discontent of at least seventy percent of the population with their social, political and educational lot. The second major occurrence was the introduction of television which introduced a new form of entertainment to some (mainly white, urban) South Africans and which, it can be argued, consolidated the propagandist role of monopoly broadcasting in South Africa. An indirect result of both of these events was educational television (ETV). On the one hand, the unrest led indirectly to a reconsideration of the entire political system as well as the educational system and ETV (in the light of the *De Lange Commission*) is an integral part of this change. On the other hand, the introduction of entertainment television eventually gave rise to ETV. Although this occurred rather late it was nevertheless also considered part of the reform process. Both occurrences, however, were based upon and reinforced the apartheid system - one by separating blacks "legally" for once and for all out of the so-called South African "democracy", and the other by entrenching the educational and political separation of blacks by establishing a separate "black" television and educational broadcasting service.

Yet in spite of the undeniably rapid changes of the last decade,

at the time of writing the legacy of colonialism and apartheid remain, severely limiting the potential of ETV in South Africa. The result of this persistent adherence to a specific ideology, is the domination of educational broadcasting and political innovation by a particular group retarding progress and the potential of new educational media. It is within this context that the potential of television for education in South Africa is discussed.

The Problem

There is no shortage of general information on education, television and educational television. However, there is a definite lack of local indepth, contextual research on all three issues. While there is a movement abroad to relate periods of educational crisis and demand to the political, economic and social context from which they arise,[1] the dominant local research tradition remains largely ahistorical treating education and ETV as "natural" "unproblematic", "neutral","value-free" and "necessary". According to Kallaway and others most educational research in South Africa when considered as a single body of work represents an example of "academic colonialism"[2] which is almost exclusively descriptive and empiricist in conception.[3] Accordingly:

> "The dominant tradition of educational research seldom, if ever raises fundamental questions about what schools are for, whose interests they serve and what kinds of knowledge or skills they reproduce or what their relationship is to the labour market."[4]

As opposed to this tradition, this author will provide a broad con-

textual analysis of these features which surround ETV.

The major problem to be dealt with in this dissertation is that the potential of ETV in South Africa is and always has been dependent on the apartheid system which, in spite of a new constitution is regarded by educationists and broadcasters as "given" - an ideology not to be disputed. Neither SABC or educationists in general have recognised that the provision of education in whatever form, is complicated by what Harley (1980) refers to as "the larger political realities of the age."[5] He states that "(e)ducation is more than ever before a highly political issue, especially in countries with strongly polarized ideologies, whether political or religious.[6] "Politics" in this sense encompasses many vital issues which must all be dealt with in a discussion of ETV and includes an examination of (both international and local) development theory, educational theory and practise, the local socio-political context, broadcasting, media theory, media in development and communication theory. This author takes as given the fact that ETV and the analysis of its local potential is a political issue which requires an examination of how education itself contributes to and takes its point of departure from, society as a whole.

On a more specific level the problem to be dealt with is that, at the time to writing, South African educationalists and broadcasters take their cue from the values of the "masters" of apartheid. There is little dispute that, on its own, television is an effective educational aid particularly for the underprivileged who are illserved

by the political and educational systems. However, an examination of ETV itself and of its context (both local and international)reveals that unless this context is taken into account, its potential to be effectively integrated into a specific context is considerably diminished. Therefore, this dissertation is aimed at describing, analysing, and correlating what is already factually known about the broad and narrow context of ETV and what is known about ETV itself. Thereafter, the intention is to interpret and make deductions about the potential of ETV in South Africa and to make suggestions as to how it can be used and to whom it should be directed. If ETV's potential is to be realised, the constraints and limitations of its context, the medium itself and the fallacies surrounding it must be explained. This dissertation is not, however, intended as a blueprint for future practice, but rather as a guide to areas of necessary consideration.

Summary of the Major Aim of this Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to examine, very broadly, the potential of television for education in the South African context in terms of that context and in terms of its capacity to educate as well as its limitations which must be recognized if its true educational potential is to be realised. Due to the inherently political nature of television a lengthy explanatory/contextual framework will be provided (Part I). It will be argued that educational development in general, and ETV in particular are not neutral and cannot be based upon a research framework that ignores the unwritten assumptions of what has been described as "past and present educational

endeavours"[7] or a framework "that fails to locate educational issues within the broader framework of economic and political change."[8]

The risk of naivete and irrelevance is avoided by relating ETV to broader issues which indicate that ETV does have potential in South Africa provided it is researched (contextually and historically), used as an aid aimed at those most severely disadvantaged by the present political system. The following framework is used:

Method

The framework of this dissertation is established by an overview of the general "contextual" areas of development, education, socio-politics, media and communication, and broadcasting. It is argued that in order to examine the potential of ETV in South Africa, it is necessary to make a study of relevant areas of concern to the topic. This examination, constituting Part I of the investigation will direct attention in Part II to ETV itself and will include: an examination of the known areas of greatest potential of ETV; a description and analysis of case studies of the Third World ETV in particular; the problems and potentials of ETV and finally an examination of areas of potential both general and specific.

Procedure

The procedure followed appears below:

PART I is an attempt at orientation.

Chapter 1 is an examination of the broad socio-political context in terms of development theory and practise. Since this author suggests that ETV should be used primarily for the most "needy" (in South Africa this means the largely rural educationally and economically under-privileged community), development theories and practices of which ETV is envisaged as an integral part, will be described in order to highlight their problems and potentials. This is done so that, in approaching ETV from a development perspective, the failures of the past will be considered and, hopefully, not repeated. The South African socio-political context and history and their relationship to development is also examined.

Chapter 2 is an overview of the general and specifically local educational context. As in Chapter 1 this is done in an historical framework and South African educational is described in detail in order to explain the connection between ETV and official education policy, and to point to changes which have occurred and how ETV "fits" into them. An attempt is also made to demonstrate the link between education and the larger political context and the implication of this connection with ETV.

Chapter 3 is an analysis and synthesis of the relevant areas of media, development, communication and education. It is an analysis of the four areas which research indicates are the most vital features of a planned implementation of ETV. Of necessity, since these areas are entirely inter-related, there will be reinforcement and limited repetition of the preceding chapters.

Chapter 4 is an exposition of communication theory. In line with the contextual approach, it is an historical overview of communication theory and it is intended, as in the rest of Part I, to be utilized as part of the necessary basis for the practical implementation of ETV, in order to pre-emp faults and mistakes. It is suggested that, in the early stages of an ETV project, a consideration of communication theory should occur as part of the basis of original planning.

Chapter 5 is a contextual and historical approach to broadcasting in South Africa with particular emphasis on television, educational broadcasting and ETV and their connection to the larger political process. Existing ETV policies and practices will also be discussed.

PART II is an examination of ETV specifically.

Chapter 6 is a brief summary of the major contextual features of ETV and is mainly derived from the most pertinent features of Part I which apply specifically to ETV.

Chapter 7 is a brief and general description of the promise and performance of ETV.

Chapter 8 is an analysis and exposition of what is factually known about the capacity of television as an aid in education. The chapter deals with the characteristics and capacities of ETV as an aid in education and each area of potential application is explained with

special attention given to those features which have specific relevance in South Africa. These are identified as the priority areas for ETV and include ETV for pre-schoolers, adult and teachers from disadvantaged groups.

Chapter 8 includes a description of the use of ETV for development communication. The specific uses and potential effects of ETV for development are discussed. ETV for development communication is treated separately since it is regarded as a major priority in the South African context.

Chapter 9 constitutes an examination of case studies with an emphasis on the role of ETV in the Third World, but including an important North American case study. Each case is briefly described and its results discussed. The objective here is to provide a specific ETV-orientated context for the ensuing discussion and to provide a critical point of departure for the potential implementator of ETV so that such a person or body can avoid past mistakes while benefitting from previous successes.

Chapter 10 takes its point of departure from the previous chapter and is, mainly, an analysis of problems that might be encountered by potential users and innovators of ETV. Major concerns of past failures are discussed in order to put the use of ETV into perspective.

Chapter 11 discusses alternatives to a present use of ETV in South

Africa. It consists of two parts - the first deals with general "contextual" alternatives covering broad areas of change necessary for realising the potential of ETV. The implication of this discussion is that an overall change in what can be termed "political attitudes and actions" is necessary. (e.g. if deinstitutionalization of traditional education if the circumstances call for it; the recognition of the importance of self-help and the necessity to encourage criticism rather than stifle it). Secondly, specific practical alternatives are suggested and the priority areas indicated: renewed and changed attitudes and approaches to evaluation and research, feedback, the forms of governance and degrees of autonomy of ETV organisations and lastly, what the author considers to be the most practical solution to the need for alternative education in South Africa - satellites for ETV.

Chapter 12 is a conclusion which draws together the most pertinent features of the potential of ETV in the South Africancontext.

ETV will be discussed within a broad context since it will be shown that, in the past, the issues surrounding its implementation have been over-simplified and those most in need of education have often been overlooked.

INTRODUCTION - REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. For example - the British *Open University* uses this method.
2. KALLAWAY (1984), p.3.
3. An examination of the list of academic research on ETV and TV available from the Human Sciences Research Council indicates that this is also true of educational broadcasting research.
4. KALLAWAY (1984), p.4
5. HARLEY (1980), p.10.
6. IBID.
7. KALLAWAY (1984), pp.1-2.
8. IBID.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT OF ETV

It has been said that all educational broadcasting is the product of "local, regional and national circumstances, particularly the last."[1] For this reason the general context of ETV will be discussed in some detail and will include, mainly, a general discussion of development education and the media under the broad heading of the socio-political context. Although each area will be discussed separately, certain aspects of the topics will overlap and will thus be repeated. The aim of this chapter is to provide a general national and international context for ETV in South Africa.

1. The Socio-political Context

Since the end of World War II education, development and the broadcast media have been regarded as interlocking disciplines, particularly in the development context. Education in particular has long been regarded as "the key that unlocks the door to modernization."[2] Schooling in the broadcast sense (including both formal and non-formal education) is still regarded by many as the most readily manipulable institution through which government and other development agencies can overcome the poor living conditions of so-called "underdevelopment."[3]

National and international ideologies of development have a powerful influence on education in general and upon educational broadcasting in particular (particularly when the latter is used in development).

The ideological/political bias of educational broadcasting can often be traced back to grassroots. The decision to extend entertainment to educational broadcasting is in itself often politically motivated, since the immediacy and pervasiveness of this form of mass communication is ideal for those wishing to educate and control. Since the process is invariably associated with a development strategy, the concept of development will be discussed in detail before ETV is dealt with. The major reasons for this analysis are:

(1) To provide a coherent and detailed contextual analysis for those wishing to implement ETV for the disadvantaged.

(2) Taking as "given" that ETV in South Africa should be aimed at the latter audience, to provide an analysis of what is meant by "development" so that ETV can be measured against it. Any major educational reform that would significantly upgrade educational opportunity must take into account the development strategies into which such reforms might 'fit'.

1.1 Development: A Historical Perspective.

Arnove (1976) in his review of the worldwide use of television in "undeveloped" countries, found that much of its programme content is inappropriate to its audience. The reasons for this are explained in the analysis of the concept of development which appears below.

Development is a highly subjective concept. Not only is there lack of consensus about the term, but even when it is clearly defined according to a particular ideology, its aims and processes are value

bound. However, a review of theories of development reveals a number of value judgements with which few would disagree:

(1) "the desirability of overcoming malnutrition, poverty and disease which are the most immediate and widespread aspects of human suffering....."[4]

(2) the desirability of achieving something better in the future. All development theories are strongly utopian in their outlook.

This is where concensus ends. No single, undisputed body of theory has emerged or is likely to emerge. There are too many disputes about who or what should be developed, by whom and with what methods. A brief overview of old and emerging paradigms will serve as a reference for alternatives to the present uses of educational broadcasting in general and ETV in particular.

1.1.1 The 1960s and early 1970s

The modernization/westernization theories so prevalent in the decade of the 1960s are important because many aspects of the current "official" view of development in South Africa, appear to be based largely upon them. At the most basic (and perhaps superficial) level this encompasses the following:

"In most Western minds, and in those of the majority of the Third World elites, development equals modernization, and modernization equals the triumph of Western materialism."[5]

The major characteristics of the modernization theories arise from their history. Hoogvelt (1978)[6] contends that the West had begun

to transfrom the Third World as far back as the 16th century when it was penetrated by European "traders" of slaves, spices and precious metals. The process was accelerated by colonialism because, when the industrialized world eventually did turn its attention to the Third World, Western social scientists simply assumed that the "new nations would follow the same path taken by the Western countries when they first embarked on industrialization in the 16th century."[7] When industrialization originally occurred, the West had become preoccupied with the material comforts of a middleclass lifestyle. This attitude was then equated with development of the Third World and it was imposed on its inhabitants. It further became equated with modernization, where modernization equalled the "triumph of Western Materialism."[8]. So although development agencies had many disagreements about the specific methods for achieving development, they exhibited a high degree of unifomity in the sense that most of them were located in the West and they all regarded themselves (ie. the developed West) as the ideal towards which the developing regions should aspire.

In terms of media and education and out of the unquestioned belief that Western values are best, arose the firm belief that if the media were used to "inject" suitable educational messages into "underdeveloped" areas in vast quantities, the population would eventually absorb something and development would be facilitated.

1.1.2 The Major Assumptions of the Westernization/Modernisation Theories Relevant to the Implementation of ETV

1.1 2.1 Modernisation and Economic Development

In the 1960s social, political and educational development were regarded as having a directly economic goal. The aims of development were typically expressed in terms of manpower and economic needs as can be seen from the quote below:

> Since rural development is intended to reduce poverty, it must be clearly designed to raise productivity....it is concerned with the modernization and materialization of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy."[9]

Using this as an (arguably sound) argument, it was further assumed that increasing productivity and production for the market would "(a) improve the welfare of the rural poor and (b) at the same time increase their contribution to the national economy.".[10] The latter expectation is what detracted from the credibility of the modernization theorists since it became their main aim more often than not. The reason for this preoccupation is often attributed to the process of industrialisation.

It has been said that industrial society has moulded the solutions to basic human needs into demands for the products that they have invented. The more an individual is trained in the consumption of these goods (and services), and the more he is motivated toward economic development, the less effective he becomes in shaping his environment. Rather than orienting himself towards the raising

of political and social consciousness, his energies and finances are consumed in procuring ever new models of his staples and his environment becomes a by-product of his own consumption habits. This aspect of so-called "development" is applicable to South Africa when applied to the views that there is a growing number of urb zed, middle-class individuals (mostly white but increasingly black). This group constitutes the country's elite and includes, for example, members of community councils, some teachers, relatively wealthy urban businessmen, chiefs, parliamentarians and bureaucrats in the "independent" homelands - all of whom owe their positions to the policies and/or financing of the present government. It will be shown that TV and ETV serve to perpetuate this group.

Southall (1980) maintains that it is the South African government's aim to create a moneyed, dependent class whose very existence denies their "potential radical leadership to the masses."[11] This is relevant in terms of ETV since, according to the Tomasellis (1980), the broadcast media in particular "function(s) to articulate the ideology of apartheid in order to foster the conditions for the most effective reproduction of capital in South Africa."[12] In addition to this, the mass media are controlled by those with power (in this case a moneyed minority) who are not representative of the community and whose aim it is (according to Southall and the Tomasellis) to raise the capital necessary to market their products. In retrospect the fear that the so-called "black" television service would be aimed exclusively at the urban audience was well founded.[13] Aimed at a numerically limited group, the content of this service,

originating from almost exclusively white, Afrikaner management, appears to be geared towards socializing this group into "an urban based, middle-class, though geographically separate lifestyle.[14]

Whatever progress has occurred in the field of ETV in South Africa must be measured against this and the fact that no matter how legitimately "educational" the programmes are, they are based upon the assumption that blacks and whites have to be treated as mutually exclusive in every respect.

Thus, education, particularly via the broadcasting media, is seen as a central element in development (in the modernization/westernization sense) and even though it is recognised as a basic human need, the attitude of the educator remains elitist. This is because the concern for growth is derived from the assumption that education is a means not only of raising living standards or political and social consciousness, but also of increasing the number of skilled workers and raising the level of manpower in order to further boost economic growth and productivity.

While the economic aspects of development cannot be entirely disregarded, when the creation of "human capital"[15] and increased wealth, becomes the overriding feature and aim of institutionalized development, it must be regarded with a certain measure of scepticism. Often developers who endorse the Westernization model, give overwhelming support to the goal of economic growth rather than human development because they have failed to recognise the distinction

between the two. Economic growth implies a quantitative process involving principally "the extension of an already established structure of production"[16] whereas human development is more suggestive of qualitative changes - creating new structures, both economic and non-economic. It is in terms of this criticism that this dissertation will be used to demonstrate the thesis that ETV should be aimed first and foremost at the disadvantaged sector of our society.

1.1.2.2. The Emphasis on "Backwardness"

A basic assumption of the "pure" modernization approach is that certain societies suffer from lack of development because of an inherent inability to become "civilized". It is assumed (particularly in the 60s) that this state of underdevelopment is due to outdated social structures with the traditional connotations of backwardness, stasis and resistance to change. The belief that the (mainly) rural population is lazy, apathetic, inflexible and technologically backward, spread from the developers to the developing who began to believe that life would be better if they adopted the material comforts of a Western, middle-class lifestyle. They believed that if they shared the values of their developers, they would no longer be discriminated against, or regarded as inferior. Non-development, it was simply assumed, came about as a result of internal characteristics. The Tomasellis' (1980) analysis shows this attitude to be present among broadcasting policy makers in South Africa.

1.1.2.3 The Ahistorical Approach to Development

A pure modernization approach ignores the specific nature of

historical processes in the relationship between "modern" and "traditional" societies. In terms of this colonialism is considered as having exclusively constructive value. However, one of the major sources of the Third World's obsession with Western values, lay in the colonial experience. The "new state" and the growth it its western modern economy undermined the status and values of what was locally traditional. Because of this, colonial rulers exercised racial humiliation. To overcome this, the most assertive of the indigenous populations simply took the white man as his referent by adopting his values, and the Westernized elite became the reference group for those lower down the social ladder. So the advice coming from the external agencies was reinforced by "internal inclination in fostering Westernization."[17]

By the end of the 1960s doubts about the modernization model became apparent. The anticipated progress had failed to manifest itself in spite of the massive transfer of financial aid, technology and Western values. A Foster-Carter states:

> "the major anomoly of development theory was the continuing lack of development."[18]

The "developing pathology"[19] spoken of by Kotze (1983) became evident in terms of modernizations' negative effects on social, political and educational structures. Inherited curricula were inappropriate to local needs, and rapid migration from rural to urban areas resulted in the formation of slums and squatting ensued. The serious economic effects included the failure to close the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" (often simply raising everyone a notch on the

ladder of wealth) and hardening the perception of real needs into demands for the mass-maufactured goods and luxuries of the "haves"[20], and inflation.

According to this analysis, the major faults of the old paradigm,[21] that is, the Westernization/modernization approach, were:

(1) *many development projects benefited people other than* those they were supposed to serve;

(2) it is essentially "Western" and its imposed values patronising, authoritarian and centralized.

(3) it lacks basic facts about those it is supposed to develop;

(4) the developer's interests conflicted with the interests of those they were supposed to serve;

(5) an internal colonial situation is often formed and the local elite constituting this new ruling class continue the exploitation which originated with the colonizers;

(6) heterogeneous communities were not well served by a "universal" development effort;

(7) in the old paradigm, research relied upon what was quantifiable, and the main index for development became per capita income. Moreover, as Switzer has pointed out, indices of media development were correlated with other indices of development, including the percentage literates and the gross national product, for which minimum standards were also established.

1.1.3 1970 to 1980

The decade of the 70s was characterized by greatly expanded communications networks due to the expansion of education and technology. Many radical and often irreversible changes had occurred due to decolonisation and the race to "catch up" with the West.

The almost mindless "injection" of development and education (particularly via radio which enjoyed widespread use, even in the poorest areas) led to a deep educational crisis in the Third World. It failed to fulfil the urges inspired by Westernization. According to Harley there was a definite lack of educational results since the majority of education remained elitist.

The increased availability of communication media resulted in an increased awareness in the developing countries that they could observe one another experiences. These observations led directly to the questioning of the worthiness of Western influence and thence to criticism. Western-style development came to be regarded with suspicion and, in particular, the global control exercised (especially by the USA) over development theory, information flow and media technology was criticised. Third World critics in particular took exception to the functionalists, ahistorical view of developing areas. The theory which began to emerge from the Third World itself rejected "top-down"[22] development and the theorists became wary of government information via the media, because they feared exploitation from the elite.[23]

The newly found ability to observe one another's experiences created an awareness of the need for transfer of information between developing countries and the need to lessen or eliminate the typical hierarchical relationship that was the result of Westernization.

As the role of development changed the media and most communication theories followed suite. Whereas the media had been regarded as the primary externally imposed elements in development, their role was now regarded as more contributory, originating in the developing country itself. Pointing to the required changes in communications research and development theory, Rogers said:

> "Development communication should be viewed as a total process that includes understanding the audience and its needs, communication planning around selected strategies, message production, discrimination, reception...and feedback, rather than just a one-way, direct communication - to passive receiver activity."[24]

Roger's "Elements of the New Development" include:

(1) The equality of distribution of information and socio-economic benefits.

(2) Popular participation in self-development planning and execution, usually accompanied by the decentralization of certain of these activities at village level.

(3) Self-reliance and independence in development, with an emphasis on local resources.

(4) Integration of traditional with modern systems so that modernization is a syncretization of old and new ideas, with the exact mixture somewhat different in each local.

The new definition of development articulated by Roger became the referent for the "Second Development Decade."[25] *The new definition regarded development as:*

> "A widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment."[26]

Rogers was mainly concerned with the role that mass communications media played in development and he summarized their function in terms of his new "self-development" paradigm:

> (1) Providing technical information about development problems and possibilities, and about appropriate innovations, *in answer to local requests*, and
>
> (2) Circulating information about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so that such groups may profit from other experience and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance.[27]

A more realistically practical (but nevertheless similar) approach is taken by Harley[28]

> "....Sometimes an individual country lacks the expertise necessary to interpret and adopt the information available. The information itself may be appropriate, but lack of indigenous expertise might lead to reliance on foreign advisors for interpretation, adaptation and implementation.
>
> Successful reforms in educational development, therefore, require a base of appropriate information plus a systematic procedure for interpreting, adapting and applying that information."

Rogers was not altogether successful since he failed to suggest a practical manner in which the alternative model could be implemented and he did not respond to the major criticisms of the then rising Third World critics who believed that, despite the changes which had occurred, development theory and the "functional media and its researchers were embodied in a social structure that was essentially the antithesis of development."[29]

Paul Harrison (1979) and (1980) has demonstrated how indigenous Third World critics of the West's cultural imperialism, have suggested more practical ways of meeting the issues of development. These critics see development as a PROCESS, aided, and perhaps guided by outside agencies, which have Third World interests at heart and who intend instituting "multiple Third World perspectives"[30] into the new information flow and redefining Western constructs.

1.1.3.1 The Dependency Theories of the 1970s

In the same way as modernization/westernization theory dominated development in the 1960s, just so the dependency theory became characteristic of the 1970s and early 1980s. Dependency theory came about as a result of the reaction against modernization theory and was also known as underdevelopment theory. It is important to consider it in the context of this dissertation since its principles helped give rise, locally to Black Consciousness and Black Communalism. Moreover, new or alternative development strategies to which ETV may be attached, cannot be discounted.

The dependency or underdevelopment theory emerged in the late 1960s as a result of the diminishing credibility of the various modernization approaches. The term "dependency" originated from the argument that so-called "underdeveloped" societies were dependent on and often subservient to, the industrialised core. The new theory gave a different meaning to the term "underdevelopment" - it was now regarded as an active process of change whereby "the industrialised societies became richer at the expense of the unindustrialised societies."[31]

Dependency or underdevelopment was seen as:

> "a situation in which a certain number of countries have their economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another....placing the dependent countries in a backward position exploited by the dominant countries."[32]

The major characteristic of dependency theory is the belief that

capitalism and capitalist development created imbalances between the core and periphery and further, inequalities and divisions within the developing countries themselves. (In South Africa taking the form of "internal colonialism"). Unlike the theorists of the 1960s dependency theorists regarded as overridingly important the historical framework of development.

As a major proponent of dependency theory, A G Frank criticises the failure of the modernization theorists to recognise that a prerequisite of Western countries industrialisation has been the surplus they could extract from their colonies, "where such industrialization as occurs in more urban areas draws in turn on surplus extracted from the rural areas, especially in the form of cheap migrant labour. In other words, Western development initially generated and now sustains colonial dependency."[33] Carnoy (1974) further describes the way in which the (imported) educational system and indispensible development component, functions accordingly:

> "in terms of the correspondence principle"[34] the pattern of organisation, the curricula, and the latent objectives of schooling serve to reproduce these exploitative social relations, by training youngsters to various levels of skill in line with the existing pattern of inequalities, and by simultaneously encouraging entreprenurial independence in the children of the elite and obedient industriousness in the children of their subordinates."[35]

In South Africa "dependency" applies in the form of "internal colo-

nialism". Separate development whether seen as a development strategy or simply as a means whereby the Whites are protecting their interests, has systematically exploited its homelands as a cheap labour resource, while monitoring their economic dependence upon South Africa It will be argued that educatinal broadcasting endorses this - thus the importance of this analysis of development theory.

The importance of historically systematic underdevelopment of the Third World by the West is exemplified by Emmett who stresses the asymmetrical relationship between the two.

Accordingly:

> "The rich and powerful core societies directly or indirectly affected the direction of growth of peripheral societies, forcing them to become suppliers of cheap labour, raw materials, and agricultural products for the core societies."[36]

In this sense, underdevelopment was seen as a systematic process whereby Third World societies were changed from some original state to a state of underdevelopment. This was seen as a retrogression to an inferior state than the original state of "non-development". Chirot sums this up by maintaining that by the twentieth century

> "The characteristics of the poorer societies were no longer due to traditionalism but to the direction in which they had been developed. These societies were poor not merely because of internal conditions but because of their relationship with the rich societies."[37]

On an international scale the important implication is that the

world system as a whole is dominated by an extremely powerful class.

An important off-shoot of dependency theory is the so-called Culture of Poverty. Essentially socialistic (like most other dependency theories) it emerged as a reaction against modernization. It does not reject the increase of consumer goods as a development objective but emphasises the development of human potential and man's understanding of his environment and cultural context. Basically it concentrates on achieving what one can do with what you have, rather than setting goals by what you have not got.

1.1.3.2 Weaknesses in Dependency Theory

The major shortcoming of dependency theory is its apparent failure to formulate definite development strategies. The theorists have, rather, concentrated upon "analysing the causes of underdevelopment and criticising existing theories of development."[38] Many of these theorists also openly advocate revolution as a solution to the structural changes necessary to bring about a new socio-political order. Also, as with all other developmentalists the concept of development is spoken of ambiguously. For example Frank regards development as necessarily exploitative whereas Roxborough[39] argues that certain forms of economic development are possible without revolution.

It must be pointed out that this analysis of theory is only indirectly relevant to ETV. Its importance lies in its rejection of modernization as development and in its interpretation of why "underdevelopment" occurs.

1.2 The South African Socio-Political Context - An Overview

"..virtually all the social problems of the world are to be found in South African society...."[40]

As it exists at present many aspects of the South African socio-political system reflect the modernization approach and are the result of it. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the socio-political context in order to provide a general context for a discussion of the potential of ETV in this country.

The overriding feature of South African society is the emphasis on race, since it is the race of an individual that significantly effects every aspect of his or her social life in this country. According to many sociologists, race, more than anything else, is the most important social differentiating factor in South Africa. The government policy of separation and the apparent legalization of this policy is the dominant institution.

The hierarchical status system[41] which has emerged over the years is clearly based upon race with the Whites (and some urban Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) at the apex. However, to consider South African society in terms of a simple division into the homogenous White and "non-White" groups is erroneous.

To begin with the White group, although commonly regarded as an undifferentiated mass, is divided by language and ethnicity. The most significant division within this group is between the Afrikaans and English speakers. The strong differences which exist between

these two groups are often overlooked due to the overwhelming attention given to the Black/White "problem". However, E G Malherbe's phrase "the corrugated iron curtain" used to describe the compartmental activities which characterise our society is significant. To illustrate this point Lever (1978) mentions the existence of "duplicate" institutions which exist due to lack of consensus between the two groups. For example there is the Noordhulplige and the Red Cross, the National Union of South African students (NUSAS) and the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Afrikaans Sakekamer, the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Suid Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse Aangeleenthede (SABRA)[42] Division and separation is exaggerated in this country to the point that ETV for blacks and whites is entirely separate - reflecting apartheid.

The dominance of the Afrikaans speaking white is particularly visible since all government and many quasi-government organisations are administered mainly by those belonging to this language group. Party political divisions correspond more or less with language divisions and even though the National Party does have significant "English speaking" support, the overwhelming majority of Afrikaners support the National Party. Differences between whites tend to appear unimportant in the face of what appears to be a 'solid front" of Blacks but:

> "The polarity within the White group, with its varying degrees of intensity, makes a conceptualization of South African society in terms of Whites versus non-Whites quite

> inadequate. The differences in beliefs, attitudes, traditions, group interests and the historical background of "cruel circumstances" introduces a further divisive factor into an already divided society. South Africa can be described, with good reason, as 'a house divided amongst itself'. Referring to differences in ethnic preferences of the English and the Afrikaans, the eminent American sociologist Emery Bogardus points out that: 'The two sets of language speaking media imply that there are also two different sets of traditions involved as well as two different lines of conflict for social control and dominance, rather than a comprehensive movement for one combined effort for unification on a mutual and just basis'."[43]

Just as there is heterogeneity within the white community so there are different groups comprising the so-called non-White community. The major groups are the Blacks, Coloured and Asians, while the Black community is divided according to language groups. The most important language groups are Nguni (including Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi), Sotho (including North and South Sotho and Tswana), Venda and Tsonga. The census does not list the main tribal groups in South Africa, but does enumerate the following 'Bantu national units": Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Sepedi, North Ndebele, South Ndebele, Tswana, Seshoeshoe, Shangaan, Venda and a residual category 'other'.[44]

Another and probably the most vital division within the Black groups

is that which distinguishes the urban group from the rural group. There exists an extremely significant gulf between these two groups since the urban group is able to experience the privileges of a moneyed, middle-class lifestyle, including institutionalised education and a variety of information media. This division has caused a black class system where the basis of the stratification appears to be wealth or education or both. As a criterion of status, education is often regarded as a means whereby wealth can be obtained. Whereas economic advancement is of greater importance to the "ordinary working people"[45], the better educated are generally more concerned with education as an indicator of status.[46]

Significant too, is the irreversible process of aculturation which has occurred, whereby "non-Whites" have had imposed and have absorbed selected Western norms and values of the dominant White group. As Lever has pointed out there now appear to exist comparatively few "completely tribalised Africans and few completely de-tribalised Africans, with the bulk of the African population at various intermediate states between the two extremes."[47]

The stratification of South African society is maintained by law. The new consititution (September 1984) has excluded Blacks from the political process by relegating them to the homelands, while maintaining strong economic ties with these areas and utilizing their relatively cheap labour force, in both instances ensuring their dependence upon the centre. A further contradiction exists in the fact that many Whites regard themselves as South Africa's

"developers" in the sense that they are providing Western civilization to the "uncivilized". Ironically, the parliamentary democracy which is regarded as an essential aspect of Westernization, is interpreted by those in power according to their own interests, and excludes more that 70% of the population from government.

1.2.1 Colonialism and Separate Development - An Overview

The basis for the South African political context as it exists at present in the colonial experience. Colonisation in Africa lasted approximately seventy years.[48] It was during this extremely short period that the international rate of progression in terms of technology, education, economics and politics was greater than ever before. Rodney (1972) contends that Africa was 'held back' during this period due to colonisation and that its slow forward progress (with respect to its traditional structure) in comparison to the West was virtually equivalent to going backwards.

The basic premises of most colonisers were similar and sometimes identical to those of the modernization theory. As with modernization theorists, one of the assumptions of the colonisers was that colonisation was of unquestionably constructive value for the Third World. (The justification for this always related to the apparent increase in production plus social services, including factories, mines, farms, transport systems, health facilities, etc). Along with the assumption that the imposition of Western values would always benefit the local population went the imposition of institutions that controlled finance, education, technology and government.

Brett points out that

> "under colonialism increased farming production provided resources required to sustain an educational system. It also created a small but critically important group with primary, secondary and even tertiary education by the forties and fifties. Employment in the administration, the educational system itself, and private business, justified investments in the educational system and also produced some of the skills required for political organisation....."[49]

The imposition of colonial rule tended to make large sectors of the community dependent upon Western norms and values, thus breaking down traditional structures and inhibiting the emergence of alternative forces and institutions which could challenge the new order. Economically the Western bias appeared to serve the interests of the colonial powers, while the benefits for the Third World (like more sophisiticated health services and transport systems, for example) were purely coincidental. In terms of education[50], the inherited curricula exemplified the characteristics of modernization. They were externally imposed systems carrying (what the colonisers believed to be) learning necessary to "civilize" the local population. For example, the earliest institutionalised education for Blacks in South Africa was offered by missionaries who "saw their role as being the spread of Christianity, civilisation and commerce."[51] Dr Philip, for example, speaking of the Khoi ..n said that, with education,

> "...they will be more productive, there will be an increase in consumption of British manufacture, taxes will be paid and farmers will have no cause to complain of a lack of labour."[52]

Also, as late as 1953 Dr Verwoerd said quite explicitly that Bantu education would teach Blacks "from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them".[53] Since then, cosmetic changes have occurred. However the new consititution reinforces the separation of educational departments and facilities for blacks and whites and the government subsidy for the education of blacks remains disproportionately lower than that for whites.

The introduction of new technologies during the colonial period was justified on the grounds that, indirectly their use increased the quantity and quality of goods produced. Communications technologies particularly radio and television, whose newness and novelty earned them credibility amongst the meagerly educated, were justified on the grounds that they were the means whereby "large doses of information and education were 'injected' into the supposedly underdeveloped communities."[54] In the light of this, Rodney's argument that colonialism presented underdevelopment appears to be valid.

1.2.2 Internal Colonialism and Separate Development

The situation in South Africa is, roughly speaking, internal colonialism.[55] When the local whites took over from Britain they became powerful and wealthy enough to perpetuate the forms and institutions of the British colonialists, and a form of colonialism referred

to as "internal colonialism" came about. The dominant White group continued to impose their interpretation of modernization upon the indigenous population and, according to Orkin

> "With the assistance of suitably inducted black groups - comprising township community councils, as well as administration board officials, police, etc under white supervisors in urban areas, and their rural counterparts in the homeland governments - it exploits and controls the indigenous proletariate and peasantry. In other words, South Africa is seen as exemplifying a colonial system within the borders of one country."[56]

In addition to this the nationalist government's current "official" view of development appears to be based upon certain modernization principles. These will become apparent in the ensuing discussion of separate development particularly with respect to economic development.

1.2.3 Separate Development

This discussion of separate development takes cognisance of the fact that separate development was originally a means whereby whites "legally" protected their interests. It was not originally intended as a development strategy, but became one when the emphasis changed from segregation through apartheid to a more comprehensive development oriented policy.[57]

Kane-Berman explains separate development with respect to internal

colonialism

> "...The application, if not the explicit policy, of separate development began in earnest with the discovery of diamonds and gold. The labour needs of the mines were met by imposing poll and hut taxes on blacks, forcing them out of their self-subsistent rural economies. Initially the mechanism could function to keep the reserves partially underdeveloped, thereby ensuring that their population would have to accept whatever wages were offered in the urban cash sector, but not too underdeveloped, so that they could be used as dumping grounds for the unemployed, sick and aged. Roughly since the Second World War, however, deteriorating agricultural conditions there, especially due to the increase of population in the limited amount of space, have meant that rural families have come to rely increasingly on remittances from migrant labour; and the notion of homeland independence has increasingly involved political control and, most recently, administering the rural end of the pass law system.[58] On this view, racial discrimination "baaskaap" in the earliest nomenclature, "apartheid", "separate development"and multinationalism since then - is neither primordial nor irrational, but the shape that is assumed by the legitimating ideology of capitalist exploitation in the economically advantageous internal colonial situation..."[59]

Orkin further explains this by pointing out the Third World nature

certain aspects of South African society which exist precisely because "blacks are still under the internal colonial political domination of whites; homelands poverty and educational equality are simultaneously ends and means of the process, with ethnic differentiation being the guise, and ethnic conflict the outcome of the racist ideology which rationalises economic exploitation."[50]

The contradiction in separate development policy exists in the fact that whilst the government's "modernization" tendencies stress the material advantages of an upgraded economy, it stresses the goodness and advantages of being black, through community development projects, separate schooling facilities and broadcast media which inculcate black norms, values and languages. However, this approach clearly divides the society as a whole, into the CENTRE (mostly white and relatively wealthy "non-whites") and the PERIPHERY (mostly rural blacks) with the latter exploiting the cheap labour of the farmer. A dual economy is the result. (ie. Where the mechanism of change involves modernization, a dual economy results whereby many of the population continue as they have done before due to the long-term effects of colonialisation). Separate developmentalists will claim that this view is biased, since modernization causes large doses of capital and education to be 'injected' into the community and assuming that this helps to create and maintain a stable economy, they believe that everyone will benefit in the long run. The belief that this type of development will eventually bring the so-called backward areas on a par with the industrialised (mostly white) areas, justifies the existence of a dual economy for proponents of separate

development. However, as Kotze points out

> "...That the gap between them might be widening is not acknowledged, and there is no suggestion of how to integrate the traditional and modern economics."[61]

Unfortunately, a dual economy frequently necessitates the supply of "human capital" necessary to staff and govern the process of economic growth, and usually the existing elite are the first to benefit from such "progress". Separate developmentalists, in this case, will claim the advantages of the "trickle down"[62] effect, where everyone will eventually benefit. However in the light of this it must not be forgotten that a "tiered" school system exists in South Africa and that there is a tendency here to conveniently "siphon off students"[63] at various skills levels when convenient.

As has been mentioned, the policy of separate development has changed its emphasis. The brief history of apartheid provided by Lever[64] is an indication of this. Apartheid, he demonstrates, has historical antecedents of considerable duration. What is considered to be the first important declaration of the policy of separation is a resolution of the Volksraad of the first Boer republic of Natal which demarcated a separate territory for the African tribes.[65]

Immediately after the formation of Union, Hertzog emerged as a major motivator of separate areas for Blacks. Upon assuming the portfolio of Native Affairs in 1912 he actively advocated separation to the extent that he was the prime mover behind the Land Act of 1913.

"In terms of that statute all existing native land was

> scheduled as Reserves and there was a prohibition of Whites buying property in the Reserves and Africans buying property in areas belonging to Whites."[66]

After the 1948 elections Dr Malan appointed a commission to formulate the National Party's policy on racial matters. The policy that was formulated was considered rather vague,[67] but gave rise to the term "apartheid". Rhoodie and Venter maintain that it took until 1950 for the policy to become "crystalised" into a clearly defined formula.[68] Tiryakian believes that apartheid was a political means whereby Dr Malan attempted to achieve and maintain Afrikaner unity. (He supports this contention by pointing out that Dr Malan's memoirs are filled with a preoccupation with Afrikaner unity, and not apartheid as such).

Since 1948 greater clarity has been achieved, since apartheid, in the form of "legalised", "independent" areas for whites and blacks has come to the fore in the shape of the "independent national states" and the new consititution which formally excludes blacks from Central Government. However, a contradiction still exists in that certain concessions have had to be made by the Nationalist Government to maintain the black labour necessary to maintain its economy. As far back as 1954 Williamson pointed out the inconsistencies:

> "(i) partial apartheid, in which contacts between Whites and Africans are limited to the minimum desirable for the economic welfare of the Whites but in which a basically mixed society or country is maintained and

(ii) an idealistic conception in which the two societies must, for the common good be kept separate."[69]

The basic tenets of separate development which emerged are as follows:

"The policy of apartheid (or separate development) claims to take cogniscance of the different cultures of various groups and to 'protect' those cultures. Separation is supposed to be based on cultural and not on racial differences. The supporters of the policy claim that they are not motivated by a dislike of the non-White. They also claim that the goal of apartheid is the elimination of prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination is seen as a temporary, but necessary, measure until such time as the final stage in separation is attained. It is also claimed that the ideology of apartheid is in the best traditions of 'Western' culture and Christianity. The policy of apartheid is offered as a 'final solution' to the 'race problem' and more especially the 'Bantu problem'."[70]

The fundamental premise of separate development which contributes most dramatically to the present political context is that blacks in white areas have virtually no political rights whatsoever.[71] The second major premise is the fact that although separate developmentalists envisage the ultimate 'independence' of the homelands, they also adhere to the continuation of the historical pattern of economic interdependence between black and white.

There are numerous paradoxes in the theory and practice of separate development, but one of the most crucial ones is identifed in the previously mentioned SPROCAS report:

> "...theoretically the logic of separate development requires a pluralistic devolution of power and government. In practice it embodies a supreme central integration of power and government...."[72]

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert[73] further explains this contradiction arising from the attempt to combine both separation and development:

> "...The former goal includes, in this context, the preserving of traditional cultural diversities, the latter goal ..., however, in effect furthers the breakdown of traditional structures in accordance with the process of modernization. The two goals are basically in a contradictory relation to each other, and on the basis of an analysis of developments in the Transkei Dr Slabbert conludes: 'On every level that modernization has occurred, political, agricultural, economic and educational, the traditional cultural patterns of the Xhosa are undergoing significant changes. In politics, patriachial authority is slowly being undermined by party political representation in a parliament, in agriculture, a subsistence type of farming is being prepared for case crop farming and participation in a market economy; in education, a differential educational system is high on the list of priorities and in the economy, group centred production is being re-

placed, on the one hand, by financial investment and development institutions to promote capital formation, thrift and entreprenurial talent, and on the other by a growing labour force that is increasingly being drawn into a highly industrialised complex of activities'.[74] In short, what is actually taking place is largely a negation of what the theory of separation would have required. In terms of its own theoretical objectives, continued implementation of the policy is accordingly liable to produce, as Dr Slabbert emphasises, a number of important unintended consequences."[75]

In 1986 apartheid still exists together with all of its contradictions. The new political order is simply a modern version of apartheid which still excludes blacks by relegating most of them to the "national states", but which includes coloureds and indians in a tricameral parliamentary system.

In conclusion it must be noted that the major reason for providing such an analysis of the basis of the South African socio-political context is to place in perspective South African broadcasting which, in spite of certain minor changes, remains based on apartheid.

CHAPTER 1 - REFERENCES AND NOTES

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CHAPTER 2

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

2.1 General Overview

"....Major movements in education have usually followed behind social movements...."[1]

The importance of providing both a general and a local overview of the educational context into which ETV would "fit" cannot be underestimated for two reasons. Firstly, government policies concerning education more often than not have great impact on educational broadcasting, particularly in countries where the population is ideologically polarized. Education is inherently political since it is limited by the specific political framework within which it operates, which in turn is determined by its biases, alliances, the sort of information available to it, and the way in which it chooses to interpret that information. Secondly, a brief survey of trends in education during the past two decades will be shown to be inextricably linked to trends in development theory and practice and, like development strategies, will significantly effect the potential use of television for education now and in the future.

During the 1960's the overwhelming preoccupation of development practitioners was to "modernize" the so-called "backward" Third World, and this preoccupation was reflected in every respect by educationists. The preceeding decade was characterised by dramatic changes in education. The inevitable rise in levels of aspiration

and expectation of newly independent states (and even those that were still under colonial rule) led to the belief that education was the feature of development that would speed up the modernization process. In order to achieve the quick dynamic results sought after, expansion of educational systems in the "old image" using inherited structures of colonialism occurred. Thus, the desire of Third Worlders to share the lifestyle and commodoties of the "civilized" West, and the rapidity with which they wished to achieve this, gave the latter an ideal opportunity to exploit educational institutions to its own ends by using them as major social-political instruments. The introduction of new and greatly increased amounts of educational material was not automatically beneficial to the recipients thereof for several reasons. For instance, when demands for the "transfer of technology"[2] were met, the results were often adverse. The potential benefits of new educational technology were undermined by the fact that science and technological progress were located mainly in the industrialised countries, and along with imported technology came imported values and norms. The already existing technology "gap" was mirrored by education.

While the West offered an "already packaged" educational system as the panacea for the ills of "underdevelopment", it linked education to its development efforts on the strength of the direct economic relationship between the two. Herein lies the origin of the loss of the human and cultural element in education in the sixties. Harbison and Meyers (1964)[3], for example, write in terms of "a country's stock of human capital and people as a commodity

resource whose value can be measured according to levels of education."[4] Harley summarizes this adequately by pointing out, firstly, that education, usually seen in its traditional institutional sense, became the "handmaiden" of development in order to serve the immediate, short-term goals of the (mainly Western or Western-influenced) economic planners:

> "The goals of development are typically expressed in terms of manpower and economic needs. Social services such as education and health, are always included of course but the underlying theme of development plans is predominantly economic. One immediate danger of this is that educational goals are related to short term material goals. This in turn can create a situation where the measure of success in educational development is its contribution toward achievement of these material gains. In this there is potential for deep conflicts in societies where the long-established traditional ground motives are not oriented towards rapid change. Where change also involves absorption of foreign ideas, such as the acquisition of western technology, education can become the source of those very social conflicts it should help to resolve."[5]

In addition to this, since the transfer of technology and information was often part of a "foreign aid package", donors exercising aid (particularly financial aid) were able to use it as an extension of foreign policy and influence.

2.2 Cultural Imperialism and Literacy Colonialism

The effects of the "cultural imperialism" which came about as a result of the wholesale importation of educational information and technology, cannot be exempt from a discussion of the educational context of ETV.

America was the major information source in the sixties and the information which was derived from it flowed downwards - America was at the pinnacle of the technology hierarchy. The dominance of the United States in world communication markets had two major long-term results - American research came to be regarded as superior and its pattern of centralization was emulated.

The reasons for this state of affairs were quite straightforward since most of the major technical innovations in the nineteenth century (like the Hoe rotary press and linotype machines) were American, and were then exported to Europe. This was also true of other media. Americans developed records, FM radios and sound and colour film.[6] Once innovated, the technology was exported and thus, because American innovations were novel and spread so quickly, they came to be regarded as superior. The dictum "America Innovates. The World Follows"[7] became disturbingly valid. This technical sovereignty of the American media led to a worldwide belief that American media theory, criticism, programming, education theory and statistics were also superior. Technology and marketing techniques were standardized early in the history of the mass media - this was later reflected in the standardization of content, and

these American formats were, naturally, exported worldwide.

An additional long-term effect of this "cultural imperialism" was the fact that the American marketing orientation did not allow for a sharp distinction to be drawn between entertainment, news and education. This is reinforced by Tunstall, who maintains that "the electronic media have become primarily equated with entertainment."[8]

In the context of the Third World the American superiority with respect to educational and technology theory was taken even further. Switzer (1980) points out that the AngloAmerican media

> "...imbued with the principles of a 'free and responsible press', were regarded as vehicles for transmitting those values and norms of western society which were to be essential for development."[9]

According to the "old paradigm" described by Rogers.[10] Not only were American technical achievements regarded as superior but countries in the process of developing communication networks, but American ideas, attitudes, values and lifestyle were placed far above indigenous values and traditional culture.

Finally, along with the American model, Third World media and educational organisations (and this is obvious in South Africa) were, and often still are, centralized and urbanized. Tunstall takes his point of departure from McLuhan's concept of the global village. A more useful concept, he declares, is the image of a 'global city'.

> "...In much of the world the mass media are still heavily concentrated in the cities and Anglo American media products and influences are most evident there. To think in terms of a common agenda shared via the mass media by urban residents throughout the world may not be too far fetched.[11]

The pervasiveness of this American/Western influence had a levelling effect in the sixties, lessening the possibility of creative diversity in programmes and programming.

Another important repercussion of cultural imperialism is the "literary colonialism" spoken of by Altbach. According to him Western publishing companies monopolize and control knowledge and its dissemination. Educational publications used to reinforce teaching inevitably originate in the country from which the educational model has been transplanted. Thus Arnove states:

> "...The consequences of this concentration of publishing power is manifold. They extend beyond questions of who controls the sources of scholarly information, beyond the orientation of Third World researchers to publish in the prestigious journals of the center, they have implications for literacy and mass education."[12]

This downward flow of information and literature is further exemplified by the direction of news flow:

> "...what the developing countries hear about each other is only incidental to what is of interest to the developed countries....."[13]

Newspapers, and particularly radio and television are media which can be used (as exemplified by the South African situation) as an ideal state apparatus for telling what the ruling power feels is useful.

In terms of this background the history of education the major features of development education in the sixties were: indiscriminate expansion of enrolment within an innerited system and a weighting toward secondary education and the attainment of certificates and diplomas. The major reason for this was the increased need for skilled manpower to sustain the economy.

Thus, like development (in the sense of modernisation) education in the sixties was seen to be of unquestionable benefit to those for whom it was intended. The capacity of education to disrupt or stunt growth was not considered within the ahistorical modernisation approach. Account was not taken of the fact that education was often used as a tool to reinforce elitism of the ruling class.[14] Dube observed that:

> "The deprived and dispossessed in the society are the worst off in the process. In any case, rather than contribute to social mobility and equality, the present system results in the perpetuation of social differences and formation. At best it helps ambition to claim

> privilege. Contrary to the claims that education is a mobility multiplier and social equaliser, perceptive critics have observed that it legitimised inequality. The disadvantaged have become more so."[15]

That inequalities were reinforced by the sixties 'education for development' is indisputable. Coleman, a contemporary writer who believes that the sixties tendency has not been reduced in the 1970s, labels it as "the law of unequal development advantage (or disadvantage)."[16]

> "Children of persons in the upper social stratum everywhere have greater access to higher education; areas more richly endowed by nature or possessing more development potential everywhere tend to attract investment, both public and private, more readily; and demographic groups whose members already have more skills, talents, and education everywhere have a differential advantage in further development. The process of uneven development tends to continue according to its own logic and dynamic unless countervailing influences, such as egalitarian political policies, provide for equal access to education, or deliberately allocate resources not only to ensure regional equality but also to "level up" the less developed areas."[17]

In terms (specifically) of television and its educational application, Arnove's worldwide review of educational television in underdeveloped countries shows that television particularly in the 60's

and even now has not been aimed at reaching the most severely disadvantaged populations since programme content is often inappropriately Western[18] - or it is used to reinforce the values and norms of the ruling power. This is reinforced by Hawkridge and Robinson (1982) who state:

> "...this volume is written at a time when doubts have arisen about the best ways in which to use educational broadcasting, particularly in developing countries. Western models have not been universally successful when transplanted, and the need for exchange of information between developing countries has increased....."[19]

By the 1970s it had become apparent that education in most developing regions, was not achieving its aim as the prime agent of national development. The highly institutionalised and hierarchical educational systems, which were imported along with Western development strategies, were "...failing to shift the great inertial mass of ignorance."[20] Because of the Western bias, moreover, schooling did not give the same opportunities to the rich and the poor. The inherited curriculum was irrevelanet, "academic" and usually by no means practical, and often in a foreign language providing no incentive to learn. Thus in the 1970's the shift was towards indigenous recognition of the need for horizontal information flow, indigenous theory and the need for a greater degree of shared experience between Third World countries.

The whole concept of education had to change, and thus, as the

emerging Third World theorists realized, it would have to involve a total rethinking of the curriculum from first principles, ridding the people of the traditional Western idea of the educational process as school attendance. By investigating alternative channels for education, and by demonstrating that education does not have to be confined to the young or follow the existing set pattern (Primary → Secondary → Tertiary education) it would become less expensive and more accessible to disadvantaged populations. By becoming less institutionalised and more consultative, and by being based upon indigenous research, channels like the broadcasting media could be used to aid in the dissemination of a basic education for old and young alike.

As far back as 1967, Nyrere[21] had expounded the doctine of making formal education relevant to Africa's social and economic conditions. In the seventies the idea was expanded due to the urgency of reassessing the importance of traditional values, in order to attempt to "shake off" what had become the stigma of Westernization.

With the shift away form 'education for the economy' towards a more social interpretation of learning, the emphasis was on primary schooling, and the benefits of "universal" basic education. Even though the World Bank's preoccupation with education for economic development had not lessened, it made certain valid observations about the particular usefulness and importance of primary education. The Report (1980) argues that:

"In the cognitive area, developing a generalised capacity

> for thinking and learning has been found to be more important than the specific subject learned. On-the-job training, informal education and vocational training all build on learning abilities acquired earlier. And although literacy and numeracy deviate if left unused, the educational experience still generally provides an important foundation for subsequent learning."[22]

The World Bank also argues the hypothesis that:

> "...primary education helps people to obtain and evaluate information about improved techniques and new opportunities, to keep records and estimate returns of past activities and the risks of future ones...."[23]

Primary education, Harley reinforces, is of particular importance in overcoming absolute poverty[24] and social disadvantage.

However, in spite of the changed attitudes and good intentions of the 1970s, there has been a distinct LACK of educational results in the areas usually associated with development like literacy and basic and/or primary education. Both Harley (1982) and Jube (1973) agree that even in respect of social change, educational development has rarely lived up to early expectation since it remains elitist in many areas. In spite of everything, the maintenance of the traditional concept or rote/classroom learning which is costly and unobtainable to many, persists. One of the major reasons for this anomoly is the Western influence which now appears to be irrevocable, and whose institutions, technologies and accoutraments are costly to maintain. The blame that was entirely attributable to the

industrialised developers during the sixties, had to be shared by Third World countries in the seventies.

So, although current dissatifaction with educational results reflects dissatisfaction with inherited models, blame must now be shared by the developing regions. The effect, Harley maintains, is cyclical.

> "...as developing countries rush to abandon or renovate this (colonial) model, their need to train people to absorb the transfer of technology they demand creates a new educational dependence.....The effect is cyclical. A developing country typically wants to catch up in material terms. Its innerited education system does not produce the technicians, agriculturalists and so on which are necessary. Thus a new education system must be designed. But the technology to be transferred resides in the developed countries of the industrialised world and is itself a product of the educational systems of those countries. Thus the Third World country in question must again borrow in order to adapt its education system, usually based in tribal social and cultural customs, cannot produce that particular type of capability. Hence a new form of educational colonialism emerges, this time based on sources of information."[25]

Harley firmly believes that whatever the political rhetoric and criticism the sources of information will remain in the industrialised countries for a long time to come. Since "information dependency"

will not be significantly lessened, agencies for interpreting and adopting this information are vital. The purpose of these agencies would be

> "...to determine how that which is general and essential for good education can be realised by each community in its own unique way in accordance with the specific circumstances and needs which prevail there."[26]

In GENERAL these organisations would represent:

(1) multi-national, co-operative attempts to process information on education specifically to meet needs of developing countries.

(2) represent an attempt to free the flow of information on education from the constraints of national and "foreign aid" politics.

(3) Important new source of information on education.

The greatest unsolved problem in contemporary development education is translating principle into practice. As described in the chapter on development, Rogers, whose theoretical reassessment of development was credible, failed to respond in a practical manner to the criticism that much of the indigenous development in the seventies simply created a "new" elite.

Paul Harrison (1977) and (1980) has demonstrated how indigenous Third World critics of the West's cultural imperialism, have suggested more practical ways of meeting the issues of development. These critics see development as a PROCESS, aided, and perhaps guided

by outside agencies, which have Third World interests at heart and who intend instituting "multiple Third World perspectives"[27] into the new information flow and redefining Western constructs.

Like Rogers, Harrison regards the central strategy of the 'new development' as being aid in the establishment of the equality of wealth and power, participation, self-help, mutual help, the reorientation of Western style theory. However, he also sees EDUCATION as one of the keystones of development. He goes further by defining what is meant by education and how it has been successfully applied in and by various Third World communities. This type of education, he says, is "not the kind of education made up of academic irrelevancies and alien concepts."[28] It is a process which people of ALL ages have a right to. Rather than being subject to "academic irrelevances" people should be provided with a basic education in the areas of literacy and numeracy as well as a knowledge of nutrition, health, family planning and useful agricultural practices.

By describing two indigenous Third World models of self and mutual help, Harrison demonstrates in a practical manner, the ways in which traditions could be used in development and shows that tradition is not necessarily static or backward. The two models, which he felt stood out for their comprehensiveness, were those of Gandhi and Mao.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to describe these models in detail but a brief summary will be provided.

Gandhi, who saw the pitfalls of Western-style development believed that local-self-help-sufficiency and drastic decentralization were the essence of any development effort. He was opposed to the idea of the primary aim of development being the creation of material wealth, or the attempt to satisfy the insatiable.

The case of China and Mao's reforms are even more interesting because of certain parallels in South Africa. Pre-revolutionary China was polarized into categories of rich/poor, landed/landless; the urban areas were highly developed and education was by rote. Although, after Mao's death China moved away from his reforms, the fact remains that he virtually abolished hunger in a generation. In an effort to "raise agricultural productivity to provide a surplus that could sustain industrial development"[29] his first step was to harness "the Third World's most plentiful resource: human energy."[30] Education was a cultural feature of Mao's approach since schooling was combined with productive labour with stress upon cooperation rather than the Western values of individual self-advancement. When set against the present South African context this view could be regarded as extreme. However, the implications of this kind of socialism replacing the present system are interesting to consider.

Both Mao's and Gandhi's models gain strength from the idea that by participation, ordinary people can learn to believe that they "have great wisdom and can accomplish miracles when their initiative is given its head."[31]

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Harrison's vision was for more humanistic than any of its predecessors. The new development strategies, he believed

> "were developed primarily as means of eradicating absolute poverty more rapidly, so that men and women could look forward to a life free from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, if not for themselves, then at least for their children or grandchildren.
>
> But the new strategies also contain implicit values and goals, which are in keeping with the ideas of development not only or primarily of things, but the development of humanity and all men and women to their full social, aesthetic and intellectual potential."[32]

Educational television has been used extensively in the developing world as an aid to extend the sort of basic education evisaged by Harrison to those underserved (eg. El Salvador, Ivory Coast, SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) in India, The Children's Television Workshop (Sesame Street) to name but a few.)

In spite of the disagreement and controversy surrounding development education a popular notion that has survived the development decades is that development is a prerequisite for overcoming the most severe disadvantage. Educationists like Philip Coombs have sketched a list of minimum learning needs dictated by the demands for survivial, self-improvement and national development.

> "These would include: functional literacy and numeracy

> - the ability to read newspapers, read and write letters to authorities, keep simple accounts and do craft and farm measurements; skills and knowledge needed for work, on and off the farm;...knowledge about improving family life - nutrition and childcare, family planning methods, health and sanitation, the development of a scientific, pragmatic, problem-solving based on an elementary knowledge of the natural processes of one's area, knowledge enabling people to take part in civic and political life, such as legal rights, what authorities to apply to for what and so on; and the development of a cooperative attitude and willingness to join with ones neighbours in the effort of community development..[53]

The basic developmental concept of participation (advocated in the 70s)is taken to its highest level with this sort of education because it means taking a major proportion of the decision-making process out of the hands of the elite and giving the community power to influence the curriculum (and maybe even teaching methods).

The radical proposals of a Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire, are interesting to consider as an alternative. Shaull summarizes the basis of Freire's philosophy as follows:

> "His early sharing to the life of the poor also led him to the discovery of what he describes as the 'culture of silence' of the dispossessed. He came to realise that their ignorance and lethargy were the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social and political

> domination - and of paternalism - of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept 'submerged' in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible. And it became clear to him that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this 'culture of silence'."[34]

The major task of education, Freire believes is to remove the deprived and dispossessed from this 'culture of silence' by teaching the peasant to analyse his own economic and social situation and to make him realise that it is possible to change it by organised action - by taking the initiative HIMSELF in acting to transform his society. He believes that the "banking concept"[35] of education should be shunned, and replaced, for example, by literacy training. Literacy, he believes, can be taught in such a way as to awaken the critical consciousness (a process Freire calls 'conscientization'), the starting point of which is the present, existential, concrete situation reflective of immediate aspirations.

Kallaway (1977) stresses the fact that Third World educational strategies are, even now often hierarchical and that

> "There is an unwritten assumption in much writing on Third World education that more education for the masses will automatically lead to an improvement of their economic position."[36]

In addition to this, education of this sort does not reward critical thinking but rather encourages the acceptance of the status quo.

Thus, Kallaway reiterates

> "...schooling does not have the effect of equalizing and redistributing wealth and abolishing poverty, but leads to an increase rather than a decrease in class stratification."[37]

His suggestion as to how to overcome this apparent stagnation is similar to Freire's but rather less radical. Like Freire, Kallaway advocates the theory that it is not the number of people schooled or the expenditure on education that is overridingly significant. Rather, it is the nature of the education that "provides the index of its potential for development".[38] Thus the need is then

> "...to carefully examine political policies if educational strategies are to be fully understood, for the root of the failure of education as a spur to development is not to be sought in a detailed study of school curricula and methodology (although this can be important)- but rather in the politics of those who formulate the educational policy."[39]

2.3 The South African Educational System - A Brief Overview

An overview of the local educational context of which ETV has become an integral part, consists of two major points of departure - the pre-1976 system and the reformist post-1976 system.

2.3.1 Pre-1976 - The Ground Rules are Established

The development of educational policy in South Africa can only be fully understood within the framework of its history. According

to Kallaway (1984) the basis of this is located within the context of "European imperialist expansion and the drawing up of most of the world into international capitalist development and underdevelopment during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[40] This theory implies that colonisation not only deprived certain South Africans of their political, economic and social independence but that its major feature was the establishment of a cultural and ideological[41] system of which the schools were to become major perpetuators. In this instance the ideology was that of the dominant but minority group of whites and was called Christian Nationalism (which in turn was a direct result of the white Afrikaner's history).

Based on a struggle for survival, against the environment, indigenous people, the British and now most of the West and on strict Calvanism, a highly nationalist authoritarian ideology arose which comprises[42] the following related beliefs which had vital implications for education:

> "(1) The Afrikaners are a chosen people, destined by God to work his will in Southern Africa; this divinely determined task is, in the first instance, to Christianize the heathen; (2) Western civilization is an attribute inextricably linked to white skin colour; it cannot be transmitted to other races except in distorted form; (3) the culture of the blacks, although it has some intrinisc merit, is inferior; this inferiority derives from the innate inferiority of the blacks themselves; (4) racial purity is a moral imperative, to be maintained at any

cost; (5) fundamental Calvanism, as revealed by the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa is the only true religion; (6) as in the past, there are evil forces abroad in the world dedicated to the destruction of Afrikanerdom, and (7) the preservation of the traditional norms of the volk is essential if the challenges are to be withstood in the future."[43]

In terms of school and education this unofficial policy was translated into the tenets of what became Christian National Education (CNE) and the link between the ideology of Christian Nationalism and education is to be found in the CNE policy document[44] of 1948. This manifesto purported to be a policy statement about the education of white (mainly Afrikaans-speaking) children, but it had far-reaching consequences for all South African children. This policy will be discussed briefly since it reveals how the dominant ideology found its expression in education in general and "Bantu" education in particular.

"According to CNE policy, education for blacks should have the following features:

- it should be in the mother tongue
- it should not be funded at the expense of white education
- it should by implication, not prepare blacks for equal participation in economic and social life;
- it should preserve the 'cultural identity' of the black community (although it will nonetheless consist in leading the native to acceptance of Christian and National principles);

- it must of necessity be organised and administered by whites."[45]

Thus the origin of the present education system, based strictly on the larger apartheid ideology and in a narrower sense on CNE was significantly paternalistic and can be interpreted as an essentially "modernization" approach. In addition to this, it is important to point out an inherent contradiction in CNE which was later reflected by the SABC in prescribing to its black audiences. This contradiction exists in the fact that while it was believed each group should maintain its own language, beliefs and culture, the "Afrikaners have a special responsibility as trustees of black education."[46], the whites are, accordingly seen as superior to blacks. This belief in radical superiority is the central feature of apartheid and CNE ideology and it is the central feature of the history of education and broadcasting in South Africa.

> "The notion of racial superiority is essential to the function of an ideology like CNE. The Bantu Education apparatus functions to reproduce the relations of production necessary for the continued exploitation of blacks in South Africa. That blacks, in their state of 'cultural infancy', need the guidance of the superior white culture, is to be learned in schools. Black children are thus to learn submission to the rules of the established order. Furthermore the reproduction of the relations of production takes place alongside the learning of what Althusser calls 'know how' or techniques and knowledges. Here Bantu Education contributes to the reproduction of the forces of

production by aiming to reproduce suitably unskilled or semi-skilled black labour power appropriate to the division of labour in South Africa and the accompanying exploitations of black workers.

The CNE policy as an expression of some aspects of the dominant ideology can be seen to serve the purpose of justifying a separate and inferior schooling system for blacks."[47]

Thus the ground rules for South African education were established and separate facilities for blacks and whites which were centrally controlled and managed by whites whose mother tongue was Afrikaans, were established.

2.3.1.1 White Education

From the beginning white schools focussed on the separation of English and Afrikaans-speaking children[48] while maintaining a uniform syllabus for both language groups. White education presents apartheid in an uncritical manner and it is official policy that teachers may not, encourage children to examine the issue critically[49] and alternatives to "separate development" are not suggested in any part of the syllabus. Few dual medium schools exist and although English and Afrikaans are both official languages there is minimal opportunity for social interaction at school level (except perhaps in sport) and little hope of developing mutual understanding at an early age. A remarkable aspect of this adherence to CNE is that it could possibly

be quite superfluous: Robertson (1978) states that:

> "White children arrive at school thoroughly socialized into the norms governing race relations in South Africa, and the education system has at most a reinforcement rather than a conversion function: it provides for the continuing legitimation of the existing order and the blanket annihilation of potential alternatives."[50]

The SABC serves, it appears, a similar reinforcement function both in content and structure.

2.3.1.2 Black Education

The previously mentioned CNE "manifesto" stipulated three basic principles specifically for black education:

> "that it should be of a special kind, adapted for the supposed distinctive characteristics of the blacks; that it should be in the venacular; and that it should not be paid for at the expense of the whites."[51]

Subsequently the Eiselen Commission on Native Education of 1951 reinforced and extended these principles. According to Christie and Collins (1984) the commission's major consideration was that "black education should be an integral part of a carefully planned policy of segregated socio-economic development for black people. Above all, it emphasised the functional value of the school as an institution for the transmission and development of black cultural heritage."[52] In practice (and within its specific time and context) what this actually meant was outlined by Dr H F Verwoerd the then Minister of Native Affairs in parliament:

"Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live...Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the native himself. Native education should be controlled in such a way that it is in accordance with the policy of the state....Racial relations cannot improve if the result is the creation of a frustrated people."[53]

A few months later he elaborated on this position making the comments for which he became notorious:

"The general aims....are to transform education for natives into Bantu Education...A bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to the community.. ..The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him.

There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour....For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption into the European community.... .until now he has been subject to a school system which withdrew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.....What is the use of teaching a bantu child mathematics when he cannot use

> it in practice?.... That is absurd. ducation is after all not something that hangs in the air."[54]

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act "transferred control of black elementary and high schools from the provinces to the central government and made it illegal for anyone to establish or conduct schools for blacks without government permission."[55] Syllabuses, which were uniform, were drawn up by the new Bantu Education Department and by 1959 "virtually all black schools except 700 Catholic schools had been brought under the central control of the Native Affairs Department. One of the major consequences of the 1953 Act was the introduction of the vernacular as the medium of instruction - English has previously been used. It has been submitted that the deeper intention behind this move was twofold:

> "to imprison blacks within the tribal culture by denying them the window on the world that easy acquaintance with the English language might provide, and to emphasize ethnic divisions among the various black tribes by reinforcing their cultural differences and depriving them of a common lingua franca."[56]

It should also be noted that the introduction of the venacular took place in a climate of strong opposition from black teachers and parents.

Unfair funding policy was a consistent characteristic of Black Education until fairly recently. The practical application of the statement that blacks should not be educated at the expense of whites

took the form of a block grant of R14-million per year - an amount that was not increased for twenty years in spite of the adverse effects of inflation.[57] In addition to this black teachers, who had access to a limited number of training institutions, earned on average less than a third of the salaries of white teachers.

Education for blacks also remained voluntary until compulsory primary education was introduced in 1978. Above all, the original complete lack of contact between white and black school children was maintained and still persists negating the possibility of fostering normal "colour blind" relationships between the races.

Until 1976 the following held true of South African education without qualification:

> "Shaped by an ideology that is grounded in an anachronistic system of racial privilege, South African education contributes in countless ways to the inexpressible cruelty of apartheid. For the blacks, education offers little more than a training for menial roles in a white dominated economy, and as such it is little more than a preparation for servitude. The black high school children recognize this fact, at the time of writing they have been taking part for several months in a nationwide boycott of their classes, in the conviction that Black Education is worse than no education at all. It was the black high school pupils too, who played the leading part in the protests and rioting that shook urban centres throughout 1976...For

> the whites the educational system offers every material advantage but at the cost of distorting their intellects and emotions through the organized encouragement of prejudice and bigotry....
>
> ...the educational system prevents communication and understanding among the various population groups; instead it fosters resentment and hatred. The system recognizes no common nationhood, no shared human needs; it aims rather at the maintenance of white and particularly Afrikaner supremacy through the deliberate reinforcement of cleavages in the population."[58]

2.3.2 Post-1976 - The Original Policy Revised

After the 1976 riots in the black "townships", which occurred due to a dissatisfaction with education specifically and the social and political systems in general, the Nationalist government began "revising"apartheid, a move culminating in the adoption of a new constitution for the country.

This new constitution operates on the following basis: In contrast to the original unicameral Westminster system, the new tri-cameral system purportedly provided equal political rights for whites, coloureds and indians. The three population groups are, accordingly given jurisdiction over their "own" affairs but not over "general" affairs which are considered as matters of the entire state. This lack of control over general affairs means, for instance, that if

the coloured Ministry of Education opened its schools to whites the matter would have to be agreed upon by all three houses and because of the proportional system of representation such a decision would effectively be taken by the white house (mainly Nationalist) and would never be passed. All that the new constitution "boiled down" to is a revised apartheid system which excludes blacks by relegating them to the "homelands" while granting the urban blacks limited political rights. All of this took place in the face of strong international opposition.

In the educational sphere the so-called "reform" took the form of a very public drive to increase "social justice" through "equal opportunity in education". In practice this involved a twofold exercise: first there was an increase of available finance for black education and second an attempt to justify these educational reforms took the form of a government-appointed commission of enquiry into the Provision of Education in the RSA[59] - what became known as the De Lange Commission. One critic spoke of these moves in the following terms:

> "...any society which feels itself threatened from without or enfeebled from within is likely to assert the value of useful knowledge and to stress the importance of the extrinsic purposes of education."[60]

The Commission of Inquiry was set up, ostensibly, to suggest practical solutions to the educational "crisis". In the larger context it can be seen as part of the overall government reformist strategy.

Kallaway (1984) suggests what the aim of the reformists is and was:

> ...to defuse the political situation through granting economic concessions to blacks, allowing them to 'participate' more freely in the free enterprise system through educational advancement. Such a settlement would secure South Africa for capitalism by integrating important groups of blacks (the 'black middle-class) more comprehensively into the society. The obvious role of education in creating appropriate social strata and manpower, and in legitimating these policies, has therefore become a key political and economic issue for those with influence and power in industry and government."[61]

He further illustrates the ideological nature of the De Lange discourse by pointing out its use of such terms as "needs" and "harmony". He states that:

> "...In the language of the current South African educational debate, 'crisis' takes on a particular meaning as the outcome of a lack of 'harmony' in society's educational arrangements. A central tenet of the de Lange Report was that:
>
> > What influence the system for the provision of education has on the country's future, and the strength of that influence, is determined either by how well that system of provision meets real needs of the society or by the extent to which it is in disharmony with these needs."[62]

This implies that societal harmony and coherence, which is a natural state, needs to be restored and the most important feature of the belief is reinforced by Kallaway (1984) when he states:

> "The implication is that there are purely technical problems, to be sorted out by the 'experts', and not political issues at all."[63]

This view, typical of the 1960s modernization also implies that:

> "...The 'harmony' that is being sought is not some ideal state of society but a match or correspondence between the products and output of the schooling system and the needs of industry, or more specifically, the needs of monopoly capital. The satisfaction of those needs via a reformist settlement will, it is argued, bring about a more or less enduring set of solutions to the education crisis, and by extension help to reduce, the more or less enduring set of solutions to the more general crisis in the society, by putting an end to 'destructive conflict' about these issues."[64]

Kallaway's opinion that De Lange's (and subsequently the government's White Paper on De Lange) "redefinition" of education simply perpetuates the previous functions of education is shared by Gardiner[65] and others. Christie and Collins (1984) argue that:

> ...the central continuing feature remains, namely that schooling for the indigenous people of South Africa is in the main for the purpose of reproducing a certain kind of labour, as required by the particular form taken by the accumulation process at a particular time."[66]

Hartwig and Sharp state that:

> "Through a policy of limited economic and political concessions to the African proletariat, and a strategy designed to separate the African petit bourgeosie ideologically from the masses, the state is attempting to create in a restructured form the economic, political and ideological conditions for a renewed phase of expanded reproduction."[67]

Davies comments:

> "The object of the exercise has been to reduce the racial component of education's contributions to the reproduction of the social division of labour, but on a selective basis only this task has been couched in the demand for a more rigorous implementation of mental-manual differentiation, to be effected (and legitimised) by such practices as increased specialisation and vocationalism, and the development of an achievement ethos."[68]

2.3.2 The De Lange Commission Report

In a general context the De Lange Report was a key aspect of the government's 1976 "total strategy" and it should be considered in conjunction with the earlier Wiehahn and Riekert Reports[69] whose essential function it was to "update" or "modernize" apartheid rendering it more acceptable to at least some people - mainly the black middle class. As Patrick Lawrence put it:

> "(the)....total strategy...has two recommendations (for the state); it creates a buffer between the white elite and the relatively impoversihed black masses, and thereby (translates)the racial struggle between the white and black into an ideological one between capitalism and Marxism...."[70]

In the narrower context (as previously mentioned) the De Lange Commission was a governmental response to the political and educational crisis and, even more important, the first official document on black education since the 1936 Eiselen Commission Report.[71] It was clearly written from the point of view of "reform" rather than as a challenge to apartheid education. There is no indication in the Report itself or in the subsequent White Paper that the basic tenets of apartheid were to be breached or overridden. The major concern of the Report lies, according to Chrisholm (1982) "with the so-called mismatch or incompatability of the economy and society, as compared with the skills made available through the (then) current education system."[72]

While recognizing the "crisis", the Report does not explain or attempt to define reasons for it. Typical of a modernization development view, no attempt is made to explain the historical basis of the problem. A major reason for neglecting this aspect of research was that the writers of the Report agreed to maintain a politically "neutral" stance. According to an idealistic and technicist solution to the educational problem they shared the following notions about education:

"- that it is concerned with the development of the 'humanity of individuals

- that it is an essential ingredient of 'civilized' life (i.e. life in a capitalistic society)

- that it helps the individual to establish his/her own cultural identity

- that it is a necessary aspect of the individual's preparation for adult life and work."[73]

There is little doubt that the approach of the writers was a sincere attempt to improve South African education by suggesting equality of educational opportunity (not simply equality in the qualitative sense) for all people. On this basis and in the belief that the ablest of all races should be used in industry for economic growth, the writers agreed on the following apolitical issues which constitute a summary of the Report.

"- there is a crisis in the provision of education in South Africa;

- there is a manpower crisis in South Africa

- there is a need for a more comprehensive policy of mass schooling, and better quality education if these problems are to be solved;

- there is in consequence a need to promote mass literacy and numeracy;

- there is a need for greater diversification of the schooling system, i.e a move away from the traditional patterns of formal schooling towards a schooling system that is more versatile and sensitive to the 'needs' of students, employers and the labour market;

- this education and training should not only be provided for the young, but the idea of continuous education (adult education and non-formal education) is contained in the recommendations;

- there is therefore an urgent need for curriculum reform to fit in with the above requirements;

- there is an obliquely articulated assumption that education policies should be directly linked to economic development, and that such policies should be accountable in terms of 'relevance';

- there is a need to ensure an adequately trained and motivated teaching profession;

- there is a need for the efficient financing and administration of education."[74]

This summary constitutes the Report's strengths but must be measured against its weaknesses. The major weakness is the failure of the writers to discuss the fundamental socio-political and economic context of the "reforms". The apparent usefulness of the neutral approach is negated by the essentially ideological nature of schooling in South Africa. In addition to this, the Report's recommendations which are supposedly framed in the overall "National Interest" are essentially sectional as the earlier analysis of the Reports support for 'education for manpower' indicates. Thus, according to Kallaway (1984).

"...The manpower 'needs' of industry are seen to be quite unproblematically congruent with the education needs or demands of parents, students, communities, or urban or rural populations. Since there is no consideration of any conflict between the 'needs' of various groups and the 'needs' for social control on economic efficiency, the degree of consensus within the Commission is not surprising."[75]

Further weaknesses of the Report, its recommendations and its part

in the "total strategy" can be seen by examining a few aspects of the subsequent White Paper. The White Paper, it will be shown, is even more politically conservative than the Report. Gardiner (1984), who subscribes to the notion that the government sees education as serving Nationalist ideology in conjunction with the demands of capital and industry, states the following:

> "Whereas the government requested the HSRC to enquire into 'a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups; the HSRC Report proposed in Principle 1 'that the goal which should be achieved by the state is 'Equal opportunities for education including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant....'
>
> Furthermore, the EWP (Education Working Party) recommended a single ministry for education, but the government has decided to create five. In the same vein, the EWP proposed 'only one advisory council' (SACE) whereas the government has decided upon 'separate advisory councils for education at school levels, including teacher training, as well as SACE with separate, racial advisory councils and a Universities and Technicons Advisory Council (UTAC).
>
> It would seem evident from the differences that whereas the EWP is attempting to renegotiate the racial component of state ideology in education; the state insists, in terms of its constitutional commitment to reform and because

> 'the interests of education can best be served' by ethnic divisions, that racial distinction should be retained, as is clear from the governments' refusal to review or reconsider the Group Areas Act in specific instances."[76]

While the EWP unreservedly recommends that curriculum users "have a say"[77] in curriculum design the government responds by saying:

> "The view of the Government is that it is a sound principle that employers (as users of the products of education) should have a say, but that their opinions can never be final or decisive in respect of the curriculum. Provision should naturally also be made for the organised teaching profession to have a say in this aspect of education planning, as is dealt with at greater length in paragraph 4.6.2(a)"[78]

Clearly, the government sees potential employers as more significant in curriculum design than those receiving and paying for education.[79] In addition to this, the EWP states that:

> "There should be a move towards a balance between general formative preparatory academic education and general formative preparatory career education that is better related to the manpower needs of the country. (Of course all forms of education lead to careers)."[80]

In accepting this recommendation the government adds and amends as follows:

> "However, the government wishes to emphasise the fact that basic knowledge and certain skills should be inculcated

> and consolidated in all pupils in the course of their general formative education, before they are allowed to choose either academic or a career-oriented course...Education should contribute to the moulding of people into civilized citizens and can never be one-sidedly directed at the needs of the working world."[81]

In terms of this Gardiner (1984) comments:

> "The Governments (sic) makes the point that 'Academic education is cheaper to provide than career-oriented education, lists developments in this area for black (note) students, and then concludes:
>
> > As career-oriented education increases in popularity owing to its value to the user and as the country becomes increasingly able to afford this kind of education, further opportunities for career-oriented education will be provided.
>
> If the tone and the terms of the government's response are at all significant, one must conclude that there is a resisitance to the EWP's strong drive for order, regimentation and development in non-formal education."[82]

The Report itself stresses the vital importance of what it terms "educational technology":

> "Educational technology should be accepted from a policy point of view as a fundamental factor in the planning, development and implementation of the provision of education at all levels and in both the formal and non-formal sectors."[83]

After going into a detailed explanation of the crucial function of educational technology's function in the redefined educational structure, the government's response was, as Gardiner (1984) puts it "benignly avuncular"[84]. The White Paper states:

> "The Government accepts the importance of educational technology as one of the modern and potentially extremely valuable aids in education and therefore a factor capable of bringing about an improvement in the quality of education...."[85]

Further, it is the government's opinion that "the use of modern technology should be pursued in a sensible and systematic manner and that hasty action should be avoided."[86] Of the five subsequent reports from the HSRC three are on language whereas there is only one on computer-aided teaching and one on television and other technological aids.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis is summed up by one of Kallaway's (1984) statements:

> "The Report is concerned with the midwifery of a reformist educational strategy aimed at preserving the status quo in South Africa during the 'eighties'. It accepts the whole design of 'Grand Apartheid' without comment and its recommendations refer only to 'white' South Africa, ignoring the vital questions about education in the homelands and rural areas."[87]

Where does this leave South African education in 1985-86? It remains firmly based on apartheid and "black" education is at a virtual

standstill with few black children attending school. Even television, which is becoming a source of educational material lacks credibility due to its adherence to official education policy and apartheid in general. The potential of ETV remains dubious in its present context and this author intends to discuss certain contextual features and conditions which might render it educationally viable in the futur[illegible].

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41. Note: " An Ideology is a belief system that derives from social structure and functions to legitmate the material interests of the group that creates and disseminates it." ROBERTSON, I. "South African Education" in ROBERTSON, I. and WHITTEN, P. (eds) (1978) *Race and Politics in South Africa*, New Brunswick, New Jersey : Transaction Inc. p.103.

42. Note: The "new" 1983 Constitution and subsequent results of its adoption has unquestionably led to a softening of government attitude which qualifies this somewhat, however, these tenets formed the basis of CNE.

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48. Note: The SABC reflects this policy in a general sense that it divisions reflect those in education, and in the narrower sense that ETV maintains and endorses this division.

49. Note: Information obtained from a TED teacher who wishes to remain anonymous.
See also ROBERTSON (1978) for an an analysis of official school tests which present apartheid as a good, necessary non-controversial feature of the social order (pp. 109-113).

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CHAPTER 3

MEDIA, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION AS COMMUNICATION

3.1 Introduction

Before discussing the specific application of the potential of Educational Television (ETV) in the South African context, it is necessary to review the changes in the use of media and communications theory which have occurred since the late 1950s.

In terms of the media, education and development, the last 20 years have been characterised by a debate in which the development policies of the 1950s and 1960s (and the practical application and outcome of these policies) have been compared with the new framework of the 1970s, which came about as the result of a radical reappraisal of the nature and essence of the social development process. The use of any mass medium in development has involved education and communication since both disciplines are widely accepted as means of bringing about change.[1] In addition to this, such attempts are undoubtedly based upon a theoretical foundation since no matter how haphazard or rigorous this basis may be anything even vaguely educational which is intended for a certain group, is based upon assumptions about the target audience. These assumptions include the sender's presumptions about "how people acquire and accept or reject information, ideas and beliefs and how they use their knowledge and act on the basis of convictions."[2] So, coming full circle, all such efforts presuppose a concept of development.

Thus a review of media and communication theory specifically is necessary for the following reasons:

(i) Education, communication and development are entirely interrelated. Their combined importance to the application of a mass media in change cannot be separated from the particular social context in which such change is being attempted, nor from the historical context from which it is derived. Extending this principle - when further change via the broadcast media is contemplated theories upon which previous changes were based are vital to consider so as to prevent repetition of previous errors. Additional, external theories cannot be ignored either since, they are potentially beneficial. In sum - the theoretical premises upon which developments of any kind are based, are indispensible to the formulation of new policies.

(ii) Change, according to Whiting,[3] requires a point of reference and a perspective before it can be conceived. It has to be sought in the context of some continuity and as such, an inquiry phase cannot be dispensed with. In this dissertation, the "inquiry phase" is constituted by an investigation of the parallel debates concerning changes in communication, media and development theory and practice and their relationship to each other. Since South Africa media policy-makers and "development practioners" are only now making the acknowledged and widely recognized errors of the developers and media specialists of the 1950s and 1960s,[4] a review of the media in development debate will

draw attention to the early failures and benefits of communication in development. The various well-known theories of communication in particular will provide a point of reference for future South African television educationists from which they can formulate new, practical theories and a review of the way in which existing theories have been formulated, accepted and rejected. By taking account of previous models media educationists will be able to assess the wider advantages of communications which (particularly in unitary states) set and maintain many societal norms on a broad scale and help to establish a society's rules of "political casuality".[5]

(iii) Finally a review is necessary because, although most theories of communication, media and development are stated in absolute terms, there is no one right model, nor has there been one ultimately successful one.

3.2 Media in Development - The 1960s

Until the late 1960s the so-called "American functionalist"[6] tradition of education and media in development, was the most prevalent basis for development communication. All the major theories relating to the use of mass communications media in the Third World were different versions of the same basic framework. The pivotal assumptions and characteristics of this framework (which constituted the "old paradigm" of development) were applied and practiced by professional communicators, media specialists, educationists and "developers" alike. The influence of these basic notions

gained in credibility since they were reinforced by the Third World elites who adopted them unquestioningly.

There are certain characteristics of the "old paradigm"of the 50s and 60s, upon which the most significant and viable practical applications of education and development media were based. The old paradigm had its roots in history. The colonial experience established the unquestioning belief that the west was superior, while the influence of the (much earlier)industrial revolution gave rise to the capitalist philosophy which stressed economic growth through industrialisation as the key to development. The essential nature of development in the 1960s resided in the belief that it was a linear process, imposed from a superior external agent. The implication was that the "underdeveloped"countries would "advance" in the direction that the industrialised countries had gone. Thus, according to Rostow's theory of successive stages, history is characterised by a series of stages through which all countries must pass in the course of their development. His opinion, which exemplifies the 1960s attitude, was that the highest stage of development had been accomplished by the United States (and several other capitalist countries). The Third World, according to this analysis, occupied the lower stage and its successful development would entail catching up with the First World.

Development was accepted as being a unidirectional process, more often than not from Europe and North America, which were the major suppliers of technology, culture and ideology. Modernization

was regarded as the necessary transfer of these commodities in order to create new political, educational and bureaucratic institutions that would foster Western-style development. Conditions for change, as Switzer has analysed, were rooted in the West.[7]

The Anglo American media, in particular, were regarded as the ideal agents for transferring the desired Western norms and values to the Third World. Imbued with the principles of "a free and responsible" press"[8], the media's responsibility was to preserve the "free flow" of messages to carry the Western European aims of broadcasting - to educate, entertain, and inform - to the "underdeveloped" regions.

This application of media in development was acceptable in the 1960s since it "slotted" very neatly into the generally acceptable framework of "top-down" development. Since this sort of hierarchical imposition was acceptable to the developers and the developing alike, the industrialised nations' fixation with economic advancement became the overriding aspect of all development efforts. All aspects of development were reduced to their economic uses and potentials. As Alechina (1982) has pointed out:

> "...From the point of view of Western economic thought, there was no doubt whatsoever that the state should intervene in the development of the economy....In the Third World countries, the idea generally adopted was that deliberate intervention by the state, and the planning of development were indispensible to close the

gap between them and the developed countries and stimulate economic growth."[9]

One of the major aims of 1960s educators, for example, was to produce the human capital necessary to fuel the economy. Even the index for successful development was economically based - the United Nations used as its yardstick for underdevelopment the index of an annual percapita income of less than $300. Since success was rated by quantity rather than quality, the indices for the successful application of media in development were formulated in a similar manner. UNESCO's action of "codifying" these indices, exemplified the assumptions concerning quality and quantity.[10] These were also correlated with other generalised development indices of the time - the percentage literates, urban/rural and primary/non-primary production rates, transportation/telecommunication networks, per-capita income and gross national product (GNP) - for which minimum standards were also established.[11] Other indices were directly related to education. For example - rapid, quantitative expansion of Western education was desired and the rapid acquisition of sophisiticated technologies to channel and carry educational communication was regarded as especially desirable.

It is within this framework that the media of mass communications were regarded as independent variables. The educational expectations of the 1960s acted as the "hinge" for associating communication, development and media in development. Developers in the Third and First World believed unswervingly that development

would be facilitated if "functional literacy, formal education, socio-economic status....and suitable media were imported with effectively packaged messages."[12]

The 1960s have been described as "the decade of great expectations about the development potential of education."[13] In the general sense, Western-style education was regarded as a force capable of freeing "backward" Third Worlders from poverty and ignorance. Educationally, developing societies were not given any credit for their own worth. The largely rural population was regarded as static and educationally, technologicaly (and even mentally) backward. The masses were, further, perceived to be "lazy, inflexible but apathetic, spiritless, fatalistic and devoid of imagination."[14]

Since so-called "underdevelopment" was taken to be caused by internal societal maladies, the policy of importing and utilizing unadapted Western educational and communications models was regarded as justifiable. Education itself was regarded as an "engine for development and social transformation"[15] and it was, therefore, not surprising that the concepts of modernization and communication came to be so closely associated since the mass media were seen as being among the symbols of modernity.[16] Just as the education and political leaders had "great expectations" for education in development, so did academics and developers regard broadcasting as a panacea for the ills of development. All had in common the optimistic view that the more information that was placed in the

communication networks, the more rapid and extensive the change would be. The major reasons for the media being considered so vital and attractive was that they appeared to be instruments which would alleviate the pressures of economic development, cater to the size, dispersion and mentality of target audiences in developing areas and according to a more sinister interpretation, provide a large market for expensive communications technology and software.

In a more general sense broadcasting was regarded as an ideal motivator of Western behaviour. The credibility with which modern, novel technologies like televisi re attributed, was exploited by developers in order to promote a positive image of Western ideology and a negative image of the periphery. Initially it was used as a motivator of higher standards of living (which in reality meant a motivation of consumerism) and upward mobility to urban centres which were seen as the epitomy of the desired middle-class life-style. Having thus established their aims, the "developers" could use the broadcasting media to help maintain the status quo.

Superimposed upon this entire matrix are the more generalised assumptions about what Switzer calls "the nature of social changes, and the role of mass communication in promoting development."[17]

The popular American notion of democracy was logically and inexorably linked to the freedom and public responsibility of the press

and the mass media since this type of democracy was seen to be characterised by the maximum expression of personal freedom. Ironically, though, the use of the media to impose Westernization and the desirability of creating political consensus[18] (using the media to help maintain it) was hardly democratic.

The broad, theoretical foundation upon which most 1960s functionalist assumptions rested, was supported by the research done at the time. It concentrated mainly upon the effectiveness of channels and individually mediated messages and the mechanisms of audience response to those messages. What was ignored was the social context, as well as the source and receiver of individual messages in the traditional paradigm. The analyses of media content concentrated on what was quantifiable and evaluative units of analysis were avoided or ignored since they were regarded as too complex and subjective. Therefore empirical methods of the time proved shallow in their failure to penetrate the inner realities of the communications network being studied.[19] This is one of the many possible explanations of why the media were relatively ineffective in promoting development in the 1960s.

An accurate and useful summary of the generalised reasons for the failure of education and indirectly mass-communications to promote "effective" development is provided by Kallaway

> "Much more satisfactory explanations for the 'failure' of formal schooling to promote development are to be found if educational policy is seen in the context of

interests of the particular social groups in power. Educational policies are frequently determined by group interests rather than by best current scientific insights into the education-economy nexus. In the post-colonial era, the group that has come to power and that occupies top professional government and administrative positions often 'legitimizes (the position of) leadership on the basis of the achievement criteria obtained in an educational system identical to that of the metropole' and its interests are bound up with the preservation of the 'standards' which give very few newcomers access to the ruling group. 'Adaptation' of the education system would be a threat to the interests of the Elite group."[20]

3.3 Media in Development - The 1970s

The late 1960s and 1970s were characterised by a radical reappraisal of the theory and practice of social development and mass communication. A variety of Third and First World critics rejected the old themes which had reduced the concept of development to its economic aspects. Media critics, in challenging this tradition, recognised the essential unity of all the aspects of development, communication and education - particularly with respect to the complex web of political, educational, cultural, environmental, technical, economic and social factors - at the centre of which is man as the central agent of message reception and transmission. The most significant reason for the reappraisal of development, education

and media policies of the 1960s was that the development that the metropole had predicted, promised and anticipated had, quite simply, not occurred. This lack of results also applied to the broadcasting media and as the Katz and Wedell analysis proves:

> "Even where the promise of broadcasting (had) been articulated in the Third World, that articulation itself was imported with the technology of broadcasting."[21]

The "new paradigm" itself came about as a direct result of the critisms of 1960s theories and practices. Criticisms were varied for two major reasons: firstly, the obvious failure of development efforts to show satisfactory results and secondly, the fact that First World theory and criticism was automatically assumed to be superior to Third World theory - all the major practical applications were therefore foreign and proved inappropirate.

There were several general reasons for the reappraisal of the functionalist model, which applied equally to education, development and communication. Amongst the reasons for the realization that unlimited economic growth and capital intensive technological advancement were not the most desirable qualities for development, was the recognition that certain anti-Western development models were successful. For example, after the set-price war the economic balance shifted to the "Third World" oil-producing countries for a while and, according to van Zyl "the freebooting commercialism of American media could be seen in perspective."[22] The apparent rise of countries like China, Cuba and Tanzania, as a result of their own initiative added fuel to this.

Many Third World economies, upon investigation, were discovered to be lackies of the West. In essence, the major criticism in this respect stemmed from the recognition of the periphery's obligation to internalise many Western economic values and imperatives. Just as internal development was evaluated qualitatively, so was a country's performance (as a whole) judged by the degree to which this Western ideal was approximated. Indigenous Third World critics objected to the periphery's development strategies which were nothing more than an "embryonic extension of western-style capitalism"[23], and to the fact that the metropole in most instances was pursuing its own economic interests in the periphery. It followed that the embryonic versions of the media in the periphery had the same motives attached to them. The functionalist's common error was this failure to recognise or acknowledge that Third World structures, attitudes and institutions were entirely subject to the economic requirements of the industrialised West.

Another reason contributing to the transition from functionalism was the failure of the so-called "Green Revolution". It was shown that:

> "wherever there were increases in grain production, for instance, as in India and Pakistan, there were inevitable gaps between the peasantry and the larger farmers. Aid in the form of tractors displaced small farmers who had to move to the cities, thereby increasing the urban poor."[24]

Further doubt about the desirability of First World models arose

because of the realization that the West, towards which Third Worlders aspired, possessed its own negative features which were actually caused by "progress" and development - ecological and pollution problems are two of the most obvious.

3.4 Main Arguments of the Critics of 1960 Broadcasting/Media in Development

Media critics gained consensus with other development critics in their condemnation of the mechanical imitation of the (mostly) capitalist First World. It had become obvious that "catching up" would not be the solution to so-called underdevelopment - nor would massive doses of education (particularly via the media) reduce the gap caused by poverty.

The main argument of media critics was one which condemned the "media imposition" exercised by the West - in particular the United States - which was, in many cases, regarded as a threat to national sovereignty. The global information control exercised by America applied equally to news, entertainment, education and the supply of the technology used to broadcast them. The technology of information, as well as the information itself was criticised for its connections with the United States and the bias inherent in the monopoly of advertising, finance, capital and news flow was upheld as the major cause for alarm. Imported news and entertainment carried messages that were not relevant in the developmental context and Switzer's analysis reveals that news about the developing world emanating from the West was essentially crisis or disaster news,

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