THE EFFICACY OF A MASS MEDIA POPULATION CONTROL
CAMPAIGN IN JAMAICA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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by

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ABSTRACT

In 1983 the Jamaican Parliament officially endorsed a National Population Policy which made the island the first in the Caribbean region to formulate such a policy. The Population Policy defined Jamaica's accelerating population as a negative constraint on the country's national development. One of the aims therefore, of the Policy was the introduction of replacement fertility i.e. a two child family. This was stipulated as a prerequisite to limit Jamaica's population growth. In an effort to disseminate the message of the two child family three mass media campaigns were conducted in the nineteen eighties. This thesis examines the efficacy of this replacement fertility campaign strategy in Jamaica's national development. The campaign's efficacy will be examined on the basis of its conceptualisation and implementation.

This thesis constructs the argument that firstly, the conceptualisation of the media campaign was based on academically discredited views and assumptions on the role of the media in development. This position is substantiated in two ways. Firstly, through a semiotic analysis of the advertising campaign which revealed the implicit level of expectations concerning the campaign as well as the media's role in development. Secondly, through interviews with campaign planners and policy makers which disclosed the explicit expectations regarding the media and the campaign's function in development. It is argued that the ideological nature of the campaign's mythic structure, deciphered through the semiotic analysis, implies a role for the media in development which is consistent with the views of communication scholars who were advocates of the currently discredited Modernisation based model of communication in national development. An analysis of interviews with the campaign planners and policymakers demonstrates that their expressed views on the role of the media in development are identifiable with assumptions on this role inherent in the Modernisation paradigm.

The thesis argues secondly, that the misinformed criteria and expectations directing the campaign are further reinforced by several features of the campaign design and implementation. It is shown that certain principles and practices of campaign design such as audience research, pretesting and interpersonal communication, which are academically proven ingredients of successful campaigns, were neglected in the campaign's construction. This calls into question the integrity of the campaign as a mechanism of social intervention. Further challenges to the campaign's efficacy are raised by findings from a social survey among the target group. This survey sought to assess the audience's view on the two child family; patterns of mass media use; sources of information on family planning; the credibility of these sources compared with the credibility of the media; contraceptive use and information needs on contraception.
This Thesis is dedicated to my Parents
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1

INTRODUCTION

For the last three decades the issue of the interrelationship between population growth and economic advancement in developing societies has remained a prominent item on the agenda of Third World concerns. At both national and international levels the attention directed to population growth in the context of development has initiated a debate on the interrelationship between these two areas. Preliminary viewpoints on this interrelationship reflected a consensus that "overpopulation" is a major cause of poverty. This perception consequently dominated the provision of foreign aid and research into underdevelopment. A leading proponent of overpopulation theory, Paul Ehrlich, summarised its particular philosophy when he wrote "Whatever your cause, it's a lost cause without population control" (Ehrlich 1973:278). A corollary of this was that for population control to be effective birth control was an imperative.

Inherent in this overpopulation theory are the Malthusian\(^1\) notions of "excess population" and the increase in population inevitably overtaking the increase in the resource base necessary to sustain this population growth. However, challenges to this position appeared in the 1970's from two principal sources. The first of these was the 1974 United Nations World Population Conference in Bucharest which ascribed population with the role of a contributing rather than determinant factor in the process of development. The Conference unanimously stressed the need for socioeconomic development and an attack on poverty in efforts to control population growth and assist development. The second

\(^1\) In 1798 Thomas Malthus published the "Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society". In this work he argued that the point must be reached when the increase in population overtakes the increase in the supply of food. He expressed this in the well known formulation that population tended to increase in geometrical progression while subsistence increased only in arithmetic progression. Malthus expressed the view that the only way to contain population within the boundaries of provision were moral restraint, vice and misery.
challenge emerged from the area of development demography where authors and researchers were searching for alternatives to overpopulation theory. The resulting breakthrough has been labelled "mode of production and population patterns" theory (Franke 1981:4). This theoretical formulation sees both fertility levels and migration as a response to a demand for labour inherent in a local production system or a demand for labour which is externally imposed.

The controversy surrounding the nature of the relationship between population and development has not however, obscured one important point of concurrence among the debating parties. This is essentially that an accelerating population can affect economic development where the rate of population growth exceeds the capacity of the economy to provide jobs, physical infrastructure (e.g. domestic water supply) and social services (e.g. health and education). Given the difficulties of increasing the rate of growth in employment and output, governments in several developing countries have directed their resources to controlling population in a bid to reduce its rate of growth. This has traditionally taken the form of family planning programmes aimed at reducing the birth rate by influencing the ideas and consequently the behaviour of groups exhibiting the highest fertility rate. The idea of limiting the number of children has generally been disseminated through different channels of the media.

Jamaica is one of the many developing countries which is concerned about the consequences of its growing population and which has employed mass media strategies in its efforts at population control. Jamaica’s population was projected to grow by about a quarter of a million people between 1980 and 1990 according to the National Population Policy which was published in 1983. This high increase in fertility would be exacerbated by the fact that the greatest percentage of births were expected to occur in the lowest socioeconomic bracket which has traditionally exhibited the highest fertility rate.
Since the post war years the rate of increase in Jamaica's population has been quite rapid and has served to worsen the impact of the economic decline which has occurred since 1972. In view of what the government perceived as a threat to economic development posed by the increasing population one of the goals of the National Population Policy was the introduction of replacement fertility - a two child family.

In demographic terms replacement fertility requires an average number of children of 2.1 - the 0.1 being a compensation for the slight excess of boys over girls at birth observed in all populations, as well as mortality between birth and child-bearing age (Guengant 1985:60). Therefore, disregarding migration movements, fertility at replacement level leads to population stabilization. The introduction of replacement fertility² represented a bold initiative in Jamaica for several reasons. Firstly, although the country had a long history, dating back to the late 1930's, of involvement in the provision of family planning, this movement towards a two child family was the first overt attempt at influencing family size norms³ and preferences. Secondly, this strategy was given formal and explicit Government endorsement in a Policy which made Jamaica the first Commonwealth Caribbean country to issue such a policy.

In a bid to introduce the concept of a two child family and to motivate the adoption of this family size norm, three different mass media advertising campaigns were conducted during the nineteen eighties. However, a mass media campaign

² Since 1978 fertility in Cuba has been below the level of replacement fertility and its estimated total fertility rate in 1979 made it the lowest recorded for any developing country (Diaz-Briquets & Perez 1982). By the early 1980's Barbados became the only other Caribbean country, apart from Cuba, to fall below the replacement level (Guengant 1985).

³ Where attempts at changing family size norms are concerned China has generated considerable academic controversy with the introduction of its one-child family policy in 1979. Goodstadt (1982) for example, is one of the many researchers who have looked at this policy and its many ramifications.
such as this, used as a vehicle of social change, is important for more reasons than the primary objective of propagating the message of population control and is significant in several ways.

Firstly, the use of the mass media as a strategy of social intervention of this nature is not only a declaration on the perceived role of the media in national development but it is also a reflection on the particular philosophy of development espoused by the Government. Secondly, it also provides an ideological definition of the causes and consequences of accelerating population. Finally, the media campaign as a strategy is predetermined as a mechanism of social change by the very processes involved in its design.

This thesis addresses the efficacy of this replacement fertility campaign strategy in Jamaica’s national development. The word efficacy is important not solely for its semantic significance of "appropriateness" or "effectiveness" but also because its inherent interrogative function summarises the particular heuristic perspective adopted by this thesis - that of raising and responding to relevant questions concerning the campaign initiative. To this end the efficacy of the mass mediated population control campaign is examined by raising questions along two specific dimensions. Firstly, its efficacy must be questioned by both the explicit and implicit assumptions about what the mass media and the mass media campaign are seeking to achieve in Jamaica’s development. This conceptualisation will influence the success of the campaign’s primary objective. The second dimension along which the efficacy of the campaign will be questioned is that which analyses it in terms of the principles, specifically the audience based research activities, underlying its design and execution. These features most naturally impinge on the fundamental goal of the campaign i.e. delivering the message of replacement fertility.

These questions regarding the campaign’s efficacy in Jamaica’s development are raised and responded to through the
development of the following chapters. As a theoretical framework for the thesis the first two chapters respectively discuss scholarly contributions to the two principal research areas framing the issues raised in the thesis: the mass media in development and mass media campaigns. Chapter 1 reviews some of the main arguments on the media in development which have influenced thinking on the subject in the past few decades. The main principles underpinning scholarship in the area of media and development will be extracted and used as a framework to question and interpret the Jamaican attempts to influence population growth through the use of a mass media campaign strategy. Mass media campaigns constitute the subject for discussion in Chapter 2. Several "successful" mass media campaigns, particularly health campaigns, will be examined in order to extrapolate principles and practices common to them particularly those relating to audience based research. Relevant questions extracted from audience based campaign research will be used to question the efficacy of the campaign initiative (in Chapters 8 & 9) from the audience's perspective.

Chapters 3 to 6 provide background information which act as an illuminating context for an understanding of the issues discussed in the empirical chapters. From the generalised discussion on mass media campaigns, Chapter 3 looks at more specific examples of family planning/population control media strategies practised in the developing world. The achievements and failings of these interventions will be examined and used as background criteria to assess the Jamaican attempts to adopt such strategies. There will also be a discussion on alternative/complementary approaches to spreading the message of fertility control.

The primary objective of Chapter 4 is to look at population growth and economic development in Jamaica. It examines why, within the context of the Government's development philosophy, which sees underdevelopment as a product of endogenous factors, population was identified as a threat to the country's economic progress.
Chapter 5 places population growth in its sociological/cultural context and examines such issues as family structure, contraceptive knowledge and practice as well as the socioeconomic variables which are known to influence fertility in Jamaica. This is important for an understanding of the causes of high fertility and it is vital in order to assess whether the Government’s prescription for the problem of high fertility, evidenced in its choice of the mass media strategy and the message it purveys, is indeed appropriate.

The press and broadcasting facilities in Jamaica are the subject of Chapter 6. The media are discussed by addressing the research question to what extent they are performing in a manner consistent with a development theory of the media. An informed answer to this question is not purely academic. Its importance lies revealingly in just how supportive, in terms of ethos and orientation, the mass media are as an environment for the development thrust of the replacement fertility programme. The normative theoretical position of the mass media is also crucial for an understanding of any elements that may prove dysfunctional to the development based role the media are being cast in as well as to the specified goals of the campaign.

Chapter 7 commences the actual discussion on the replacement fertility intervention. This chapter seeks to examine the theoretical notions underpinning the use of the mass media in its developmental role of propagating the message of a two child family. This will be addressed by examining both the explicit and implicit assumptions about what the mass media and the campaign can achieve in Jamaica’s development. These assumptions and notions will be analysed to see whether they are identifiable with any of the paradigms on the role of the media in development discussed in Chapter 1.

Whereas the previous chapter examined the campaign at a conceptual and theoretical level from the perspective of the policy makers and campaign planners, Chapter 8 turns to an
examination of the audience and the design of the campaign. The audience is discussed in order to assess how successful the media campaign was in delivering the message of replacement fertility. The chapter also identifies some of the features internal to the campaign's design, based on the principles discussed in Chapter 2, which may have influenced reception of the message.

Chapter 9 seeks to establish those reasons, provided by audience survey research, which may have contributed to the low success of the media campaign in getting the two child family message across. The issues addressed include mass media use among the target group; credibility of the mass media as a source of family planning information compared with other sources providing this information; information needs on family planning among the target group; and levels of contraceptive use. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by offering a summary of the research findings.

Appendix 1 has two objectives in seeking to outline the research design of the thesis. Firstly, relevant questions will be formulated and presented as the basis for organising the research; these questions will be extracted from the theoretical arguments germane to the thesis discussed in the opening two chapters. Secondly, the Appendix will detail the methods used to obtain the empirical data necessary to answer the questions raised. Appendix 2 contains the interview schedules used and Appendix 3 presents the survey questionnaire.
CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF ITS CONCEPTS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Introduction

The role of communication in national development has largely been historically defined by the changing contours of development theory. To understand the evolution of the development communication field is to relate its growth to the currents of thought and debates on development itself. The interrelationship between the two concepts does not reside solely at the level of definition. As academic enterprises and in their practical application as policy initiatives, both development and development communication share a common heritage in the changing global scenario, precipitated by World War II, which characterised the 1950's and 1960's.

The post war decade was marked by radical realignments in the balance of economic and political power at the international level. Central to the changing character of the international context were two important events. The first of these was the increasing hegemonic position of the United States in the capitalist world. Its ascendancy was accompanied by the dwindling economic and political power of Europe which was left prostrate by a long debilitating war. America assumed the task of reconstructing the 'free world'

1Jayaweera (1987:76) has made a distinction between development communication (DC) and development support communication (DSC) arguing that this distinction is yet to be made theoretically and systematically. No where else in the literature reviewed was this point regarding the difference between DC and DSC substantiated. The distinguishing features that Jayaweera identifies between DC and DSC could arguably be seen as different facets of the same process rather than being the implied mutually exclusive activities.
and two aid policies in the form of the Marshall Plan and the establishment of the World Bank along with the International Monetary Fund, were designed to be the primary instruments to achieve this objective. The agreement leading to the creation of the latter two institutions was reached at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 and their designated raison d'etre was the provision of short and long term loans to the poorer developing nations. The Marshall Plan was launched in 1947 and was specifically intended to provide for the reconstruction of Europe.

In the midst of this process of restructuring and change the dismantling of the colonial system became a significant feature. The rapid decolonization of this era meant that the newly emerging nations were grappling with the problems of self-generating growth. In a response to this a major initiative to foster a few specific types of development through state intervention and international assistance, mostly from the advanced capitalist countries particularly the United States, was introduced into the poorer nations. This thrust towards development, propelled by exogenous sources, also marked the beginning of the harnessing of communication to assist in the development process. An important aspect of the use of communication in development was its ideological roots in the free flow of information doctrine.\(^2\) The free flow of information and communication doctrine therefore became a premise in the sponsored activities employing communication in development.

\(^2\) After the disturbing experiences highlighted by warmongering propaganda during World War Two, the coalition of victors which created a new forum for itself in the United Nations tried to base the international information and communication system on new premises and principles. Since the Western democracies had a strong majority in this coalition in 1944/45, they elevated the principle of free information flow and information exchange to a worldwide maxim. Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in April 1945, and Article 1 of the preamble of the constitution of UNESCO from November 1945 lay down the doctrine of the "free flow of information". These factors which co-determined the genesis of the "free flow" concept paved the way for later dissension and untenability of the concept in the long run in the light of East-West, North-South differences at the UN.
However, these initiatives must be understood in relation to the fact that the theory and practice of development is neither value free nor ideologically neutral. As a defined path to political, economic and social change, development is committed to certain aims and objectives which are underpinned by both explicit and implicit assumptions regarding change. It is these assumptions, inherent in the particular development theories which have guided the practice of development which have also informed the use of communication in the process. It is therefore the objective of this chapter to review some of the literature on development germane to an understanding of the changing assumptions about the development process itself. This is an instructive precursor to the second objective of the chapter which is to critically assess how these assumptions and concepts have contributed to defining the role of communication in national development. This review is offered as a way of framing the discussion in later chapters, on the efficacy of Jamaica's efforts to assist development through the use of a communication strategy.

**Modernisation as the Pathway to Development**

The pattern of development sponsored by international assistance and appropriated by the newly emerging nations was also given academic credibility in a systematized format known as "modernisation theory". Its essence lay in its assumption that the growth trajectory of all countries had to be similar to the development path of the western, industrialised nations. The United States in particular was perceived as the model and ultimate goal of development, but for this to be achieved certain ideological, cultural and social obstacles had to be overcome. The theoretical heritage

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3 Mowlana (1990:2) has argued against the validity of the concept "development" stating that it has become "a residual conceptual category for a number of otherwise ambiguous notions of individual, institutional, societal and international change". Mowlana also traces the word development back to an Islamic social thinker who used it in its broadest sense to mean the development of human societies in space and time (pg. 9).
of these concepts of social change embedded in modernisation theory was found in the classic sources of structural-functionalism,^ 4 Spencer, Weber, Durkheim and Tonnies. As Hoogvelt (1978:51) comments it appears odd that structural functionalism parented modernisation theories for although as a theory it has nothing to say about social change it nevertheless became the dominant intellectual force behind these early theories of social change.

Inherent in these scholars' viewpoint that the development of social life is a process of continuous growth was an emphasis on evolution.\^ 5 The principal feature of this evolutionary perspective was that out of a quantitative growth of social life a more qualitative change in its forms would inevitable follow. This particular evolutionary premise on which the classic theories of social change are based offer crucial insights, noted later, into the formulation and application of modernisation to the nascent countries of the Third World.

\^ 4 As a theory of society structural-functionalism has four basic premises:
1) Society is a system, a whole consisting of interdependent parts.
2) This systematic whole comes before the parts - one cannot understand any single part except by referring it to the larger systematic whole.
3) The relationship between the parts and the whole is a functional relationship. All parts therefore function for the maintenance of the whole.
4) The interdependence of the parts is itself a functional interdependence; the parts are mutually supportive and mutually compatible with each other.

\^ 5 Spencer's theory of evolution was based on the propositions that in the development of human social life there has been a process of diversification which has created many forms of social life out of a smaller number of original forms. He also argues that there is a corresponding trend for more complex forms of structure and organisation to arise from simpler forms. The notion of an expansion and change in the form of social life is also inherent in the work of Durkheim who says that in quantitative terms when the division of labour increases as a result of population growth then there is also a change in the qualitative nature of social life - from a mechanical to an organic form of social cohesion. In a similar vein Tonnies spoke of an increase and consequent change in the nature of social relationships from communal to associational organisations.
The emerging image of social transformation was therefore the transfer of Western technology and rationality with the aim of increasing production while preserving class structures. This strategy geared towards modernisation was designated 'developmentalism' and out of this concept the term 'developing' societies evolved. For the next two decades following its formulation, modernisation persisted as the virtually unchallenged blueprint to national development. Several assumptions and concepts about economic and social change constituted the theoretical basis of modernisation. A summary and critique of its main economic and sociological arguments now follows.

The Sociological and Economic Arguments of Modernisation

The concept of economic change embedded in modernisation theory is most clearly identified with the work of Rostow (1960). He presented the development process as consisting of five discrete stages: traditional society, establishment of preconditions for take-off, into self-sustained growth, the drive to maturity, the age of mass consumption. The stage of take-off would be arrived at when the following factors all converged: a rise in the rate of productive investment, the development of a manufacturing sector and the emergence of a balanced socioeconomic and political system. For Rostow, it was the symbiosis of these factors which would collectively produce a self-sustaining economic growth. This view of development was essentially unilinear and evolutionary in perspective and implicitly defined the state of underdevelopment in terms of observable, quantitative differences between poor and rich countries on the one hand and modern sectors versus rural sectors in the poor nations on the other.

This was a general criticism applicable to other modernisation scholars and was inherent for example in Smelser's (1963) model depicting social transformation from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies. The central thesis of Smelser's macro-theoretical framework of change is that evidence of a developed economy and society is a highly
differentiated structure and conversely, an underdeveloped one is characterised by a lack of differentiation. Social change therefore hinged on the process of differentiation which essentially involved the creation of more autonomous, specialized social units in such areas as the economy, the family, the political system and religious institutions. Economic development would take place through the modernisation of technology, the commercialization of agriculture, industrialisation and urbanisation. Accompanying this economic change would be a social transformation producing the required differentiation. Of course this radical economic metamorphosis necessitated an equally radical change in local cultures to allow for new values appropriate to this differentiation. The idea that development could be quantified and its progress measured in a unilinear way is suggested by Smelser (1971:263) when he writes that it is possible "to classify underdeveloped economies according to how far they have moved along this line of differentiation...the concept of structural differentiation provides a yardstick to indicate the distance which the economic structure has evolved."

Smelser's argument that his model identifies on a general level the ideal and typical features and processes of socioeconomic change is also evident in the writings of other scholars. In an application of Parsons's\(^6\) pattern variables, which also influenced Smelser's differentiation model,

\(^6\)Talcott Parsons was one of the chief exponents of neo-evolutionary theory. This particular philosophical school, in contrast with the evolutionary school, replaced "humanity" or "mankind" with "society" or "culture" as the logical subject of both evolution and progress. However, Parsons developed his structural-functional theory long before he wrote his neo-evolutionary paradigm. He formulated the concept of pattern variables which are alternative patterns of value expectations of the actors in any social system. Parsons presents five contrasting pairs of value orientations which in their varying combinations account for the nature of role relationships in any society and therefore typify the structure of any society. These pairs of value orientations are - affectively rewarding versus affectively neutral, self-orientation versus collectivity orientation, universalistic and particularistic, achievement versus ascription, functionally specific or functionally diffuse.
Hoselitz (1960) for example produced a schema of the development process. He argues that development and underdevelopment are characterised in the oppositions of universalism, achievement orientation, and functional specificity on the one hand and particularism, ascription and functional diffuseness on the other. Hoselitz conceives of the transition to development as necessitating the eventual elimination of these latter 'traditional' variables. The structural shifts involved in modernisation are seen by Parsons and Hoselitz as occurring through the process of differentiation described by Smelser. The presence or absence of these variables indicated the level of modernisation attained by individual nations. Further theoretical contributions by scholars such as Eisenstadt (1966;1970) have fine tuned this approach to identify important distinctions between the varying societal forms referred to as 'traditional' or 'pre-modern' and differing ways in which modernisation may be stimulated.

Out of the persistent stress on economic growth as the lever of social change in modernisation theory, development was conceived in terms of certain indices of economic and demographic progress. Terms such as the gross national product (GNP), per capita income levels, the literacy rate of a population, the numbers of radio and television sets and the number of newspapers in circulation were used to measure the status of a country on the path to development. These indices of course failed to capture qualitative changes in the development process. They were also based on a view of society fragmented into various units which ignored the dynamic intersectoral linkages between these units. A fundamental premise of this conception of society was that its material base consisted of various resources. It was only through an incremental change in the amounts of these resources that development could be achieved.

The emphasis on the transformation of socioeconomic structures in modernisation theory subsequently defined development as a shift from a static, agricultural, primitive, rigidly ascriptive society to a dynamic,
industrialised, rational and socially mobile nation. In practice, modernisation was assumed to be synonymous with westernization. The political corollary of this conception of development was the need to adopt free enterprise and private ownership as the ideological basis. It was just assumed that the benefits of development and economic growth would "trickle down" to the underprivileged. No one suggested how this would occur.

The Psychological Basis of Modernisation

The notions of economic and sociological change specific to modernisation theories were predicated on the prescribed need for psychological change at the individual level. Modernisation of the socioeconomic environment was inseparable from modernisation of the individual, the creation of a new enlightened personality capable of engendering and adapting to the structures of a modern world. This is the essence of Inkeles and Smith's conclusion when they write that "research has produced ample evidence that the attitude and value change defining individual modernity are accompanied by changes in behaviour precisely of the sort which, we believe, give meaning to, and support, those changes in political and economic institutions which lead to the modernisation of nations" (1974:312).

This school of thought on the necessity of individual internal change was influenced by the theories of Hagen (1957;1962) and McClelland (1963;1971). Both are concerned with the values and motives in child-rearing and how they will ultimately affect the creation of an innovative, entrepreneurial personality crucial for modernisation. Hagen defined traditional societies as rigidly authoritarian, particularly in their child-rearing practices, which acted as a deterrent to innovativeness. McClelland believed that "need achievement" (N-ach), based on the Weberian concept of the Protestant Ethic\(^7\) and defined as the motivation to succeed.

\(^7\) Weber's essay "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of
for personal accomplishment as opposed to personal recognition, was critical to the type of internal change needed in the modernised individual. His research endeavoured to prove the existence of a correlation between the level of modernisation in a society and the prevalence of "need for achievement" in people. McClelland also identifies a sense of collective responsibility and feelings of superiority as important psychological ingredients of societal development.

Hagen (1960) presents a more complex theory of "withdrawal of status respect" which employs an analytical framework of ideas similar to McClellands'. Hagen argues that it is a "psychological motor" present in large numbers of people which provides the necessary stimulus for economic development.

Theories of modernity have also identified the modern personality as a psychological complex of values. Lerner (1958) describes the modern individual as possessing the interior capacity of adjusting to and coping with new situations and externally displaying an adherence to the values of Western industrialised society. Inkeles (1966) has identified nine major attitudes and values distinguishing the modern man:

1) Readiness for new experience and openness to innovation
2) Disposition to form and hold opinions
3) Democratic orientation
4) Planning habits
5) Belief in human and personal efficacy
6) Belief that the world is calculable
7) Stress on personal and human dignity
8) Faith in science and technology
9) Belief in distributive justice

Capitalism" (1904-1905) explored the paradoxically positive relationship between ascetic religious belief and economic enterprise. Weber sought to resolve this paradox by noting that Puritan religion and capitalist enterprise are characterised by a highly systematized life which suggested a source of affinity between the two.
As Portes (1977:70) comments, the qualities defining modern man are not complemented by similar descriptions of the traditional personality - the latter appears to be "defined by default".

The Failings of Modernisation Theory

The theoretical inadequacies of modernisation have been most cogently argued by its critics from both the developed and developing worlds. Criticism of the economic assumptions of modernisation was published by Gunnar Myrdal (1968) in his research on the development of South Asian societies. A central argument of his study revolves around the inappropriateness of Western capitalist models, methods and concepts to the developing societies where they are applied. He argues that the economic criteria and concepts employed in western, industrialized market economies may not always be appropriate to the peculiarities of South Asian countries where economic activity is largely agricultural. Following on this idea Myrdal questions the relevance of standard economic concepts such as savings and investments. He argues that although economic growth in the West might be considered a function of investment, in an underdeveloped economy it might be more usefully considered a function of consumption since higher consumption will increase labour productivity where nutritional and health standards are poor. On this understanding, any attempts to divert savings away from consumption could increase poverty and thwart development.

Another aspect of Myrdal's criticism of modernisation was its suggestion that the developing world would travel the same path to development as Western Europe. The ahistoricism of this approach has been pursued by other modernisation critics such as Gunder Frank (1972). To perceive the process of development in the poorer nations as simply a replication of the growth and changes that the industrialised countries experienced failed to take into account the forces of colonialism and imperialism. These historical factors were pivotal to the increasing prosperity of the richer nations and to the creation of poverty within the developing
countries. Gunder Frank further argues that these developing societies are locked into an international capitalist system which reinforces patterns of dependency and actively allows the persistent exploitation or continued underdevelopment of the poorer countries.

Other objections to the theoretical validity of modernisation have been offered by Bernstein (1971). He attacked the idea of the need for attitudinal and psychological change in his criticism that McClelland's thesis of need for achievement is reductionist since "the attributes of social structures and processes cannot be derived from statements about individuals" (1971:148-149). He takes issue also with the traditional-modern dichotomy arguing that not only is the former defined negatively in relation to the latter but differences in the societies subsumed under these headings are ignored. He further objects to the traits used to describe the traditional contending that they reflect the ethnocentrism underlying the conception of modernity. In fact the overt ethnocentrism of modernisation, evidenced in its identification with westernisation, is central to the arguments of many critics such as Rogers (1976:218). He makes the point that although many economists maintain that their discipline consists of universally valid theory "one might ask rhetorically how different economic theory would be if Adam Smith had been Chinese or Sikh". Bernstein's critique of modernisation theory's ethnocentrism exposes its covert motivations as having "a valuable ideological, i.e. legitimating, function in relation to the activities of certain economic, political

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8 The eighteenth century scholar Adam Smith published "The Wealth of Nations" in 1776. The importance of this work lay in the fact that for a long time it largely determined the selection of issues and the initial analytical approaches of economists in many countries. In his treatment of economic progress he emphasised such factors including technological progress as promoted by extension of division of labour; freedom of private enterprise; freedom from official policies and practices that constrain individual initiative or misdirect it. He therefore presented economic progress as synonymous with individual progress in a competitive or market society.
and cultural interests" (1971:147). Hoogvelt (1976) endorses this point in claiming that the structural/functionalist theories of modernisation have acted as an ideological mask obscuring the imperialist nature of Western capitalism. Hoogvelt adds that for its own survival the western capitalist system had to expand, but the success of this expansion depends on its ability to reproduce wherever it goes, the structural conditions under which it operates at home.

Communication and Modernisation

The preceding sections examined some of the academic literature on modernisation to identify its main concepts and assumptions as well as its major inadequacies. The issue that will now be addressed is how these assumptions and inadequacies featured in the use of the communications media in the development scenario. Several different perspectives on the role of the media in development have characterised studies and experiments in this area: the correlation approach, the mass media as information multipliers, the mass media as an agent in psychological modernity and the mass media in the diffusion of innovations.

The Correlation Approach

As an approach to estimating the position of traditional societies on the road to modernisation, scholars employed several indices of economic and demographic progress as correlates of development. The number of television and radio sets and the number of newspapers in circulation were also identified as being correlated with modernisation. Golding (1974:44) however, makes the distinction between the "simple association" and the "causal models" inherent in the correlation approach. The former model has been popularised by UNESCO (1961) and essentially measures the association or correlation between the increase in mass media use and indices of economic development, urbanisation and industrialisation in the developing nations. The causal model is identified with Lerner (1958) who found positive
correlations between urbanisation, literacy, media use and political participation in 54 countries. Lerner argues that literacy only increases after a country reaches about 10% urbanization, after which literacy and media grow uniformly to about 25%.

Fundamental to this conception of change is the idea that out of the interaction of these correlations somehow development would be fostered. It was also based on the assumption, inherent in modernisation theory, that development could be quantified according to certain indices and it was the improvement or increase in these various indices that indicated developmental progress. Of course such indices as literacy or the number of television or radio sets do not assess the more qualitative features of development neither do they give any indication of media distribution or use. Certain features of this model are also problematical: urbanization for example is not seen as dependent on any other variable of the socioeconomic structure, the political context of change is left unaccounted for and the unidirection of change is highly deterministic. Such features too as urbanisation, industrialization and political participation are all characteristics of Western development. To transpose them to other cultural contexts is to identify them as universals of growth and to suggest that there are no other paths to development appropriate to the environment. This was in summary the particular teleology of modernisation theory.

The Mass Media as Information Multipliers

In the efforts to foster growth in the developing countries aid agencies and governments directed attention to resources which could be harnessed and instruments which could be used to achieve their objectives. The mass media's technological impressiveness made them into an index of the desired socioeconomic advancement as well as a valuable tool in reaching the far corners of traditional societies. With the mass media as the mechanisms of dissemination, information was ascribed the status of a resource capable of
effecting development changes.

The function of the mass media in modernisation as an index in development and as an agent in the dissemination of information is clearly articulated in Schramm’s *Mass Media and National Development* (1964). Originally published for UNESCO’s media development programme, this volume became a cornerstone in scholarship on development communication. Schramm’s argument is essentially that the provision of information is the prime lever in development and the mass media are the main vehicles for the dissemination of the required information. Schramm perceives the relationship between development, information and the mass media in these terms: "Social change of great magnitude is required. To achieve it people must be informed, persuaded, educated......Here is where mass communication enters the calculus: the required amount of information and learning is so vast that only by making effective use of the great information multipliers, the mass media, can the developing countries hope to provide information at the rates their timetables for development demand"(1964:246).

For Schramm the mass media create an informational climate conducive to development in the Third World. They also lend themselves to valuable application in the fields of agriculture and education and in their use in health or literacy campaigns. In Schramm’s belief that the causes of underdevelopment were related to the lack of information and knowledge within the developing world information was ascribed the deterministic function of leading to modernisation and the mass media were reified with capacities of change through intervention. This idea gained popular currency in that era and is found in McCleeland’s prognosis on development in Iran and Turkey when he writes: "To put it in a nutshell, what Iran, and to a lesser extent Turkey, needs to promote rapid modernisation is a good five-cent battery-operated radio and a government willing to broadcast programs that present the social norms of a modern society." (1972:167). As Hartman (1983:1.12) comments the influence of this approach to the study and application of communication
in development has been quite profound. It contributed to the definition of the dominant tradition in development communication as the application of advertising and propaganda to development and the research as the study of the effectiveness of these techniques.

The Mass Media as an Agent in Psychological Modernity

Modernisation theories placed a considerable emphasis on the necessity of engendering psychological changes in the people of the Third World. The inhabitants of the newly emerging nations were perceived as adhering to values and attitudes detrimental to the process of modernisation. These traditional values, attitudes and practices were held as antithetical to the values of entrepreneurship and aspiration necessary for industrialisation and urbanisation. The mass media were therefore assigned the responsibility of effecting the internal changes, identified as a precondition of modernisation, among the members of traditional societies.

The role of the mass media in the creation of attitudes and values appropriate to modernisation is most clearly expounded in Lerner’s study, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958). Lerner’s research was conducted among six Middle-East countries and as Samarajiwa (1985) writes much of the data was drawn from secret audience research for the Voice of America (VOA) which was originally used for American propaganda purposes in the Middle East as well as creating a radio audience for the VOA. The key concept in Lerner’s work is that of "empathy" which defines the way individuals appropriate new values, attitudes and opinions through vicariously experiencing new situations and innovative personalities. Lerner sees empathy as "... the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow’s situation. This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings" (1958:50). The principal actor in the production of empathy is the mass media which "...by simplifying perception...have been great teachers of interior manipulation. They disciplined Western man in those emphatic skills which spell modernity. They also portrayed for him the
roles he might confront and elucidated the opinions he might need" (1958:54).

According to Lerner, traditional society is marked by values which lead to the lack of an entrepreneurial spirit, low achievement motivation which retard modernisation. Through the use of the mass media, emphatic values could be disseminated which would ultimately mould and alter traditional behaviours and values towards the creation of a modern personality. These new values and behaviours would then be a fillip for economic production. Lerner also stated that empathy would create "psychic mobility" which was a precondition for social mobility and ultimately for social change. However, Lerner feared that the mass media would be responsible for rapidly increasing expectations which sluggish economies would be unable to satisfy. He hypothesized that the resulting imbalance in the "want: get" ratio would lead to a "revolution of rising frustrations" (Lerner 1963:331).

The role of empathy in the modernisation process was pursued by other scholars in the development communication field. Pool (1966:106-107) argues that "correlation studies show few variables as predictive of modernisation as the measures of mass media exposure" and he therefore concluded that "where radio goes, there modernisation attitudes come in." Influenced by Lerner's conviction on the power of psychological identification, Pool noted that "modern media extend the scope of a man's emphatic comprehension of ways of life that he has not experienced at first hand.... enabling people to conceive what it is like to be a ruler, or a foreigner, or a millionaire, or a movie star" (1966:110). The notion of the mass media as being instrumental in the creation of a modern personality was also explored by Inkeles and Smith (1974) who conclude that "In most places the mass media bring men information about many aspects of modern living.......all of which should induce greater modernity in any individual open to influence" (1974:152).

The fundamental flaw of these psychologistic theories is
the individual blame view of the causes of underdevelopment, a perspective which faithfully reflects one of the key assumptions of modernisation theory. This perception serves to deflect attention away from the very socioeconomic and political structures which also contribute to the outlooks, values and behaviours of individuals. The inherent blame the victim ideology, identifying the individual as responsible for his poverty fails to recognise where the system, both at national and international levels has contributed to his deprivation. The imbalanced emphasis on the individual and the consequent de-emphasis of structural factors are predominant characteristics in this paradigm of development communication.

The inaccurate diagnoses of the causes of underdevelopment initiated equally faulty prescriptions on the remedies of the problem and where these remedies were to be applied. The locus of change was identified as the individual and not his environment. The solution to his problem was to provide him with ideas of how to improve himself and the corresponding values to achieve this. The ideas of social advancement conveyed essentially conformed to the western middle class ideal of individual progress through individual effort, of just rewards for the deserving. The Protestant Ethic that the media should disseminate would somehow guarantee an increase in productivity sufficient to initiate a self sustaining economic growth. Lerner is clear about the role of the media in creating the necessary values for this type of development when he writes "...communication will rapidly have to become the most potent and persuasive educational instrument ever known in human history....it will have to teach many millions of simple folk around the world to associate personal reward with personal effort, to acquire a work ethic appropriate both to what they want and to what they can get" (1970:311). Many later critics such as Mattelart (1979) Schiller (1976) Smythe (1981) have noted how these ideas about the role of the media served to further entrench developing societies into the American dominated world market and political system as well as its media management structure.
The Mass Media in the Diffusion of Innovations

Perhaps the most applied research model in development communication is the diffusion of innovations approach associated with the scholar Everett Rogers (1962). An important feature of this model is the concept of a two step flow of communication. This concept was extrapolated from studies by Lazarsfeld (1944) and consists of two elements: (a) the idea of a population divided into active and passive participants or opinion leaders and followers according to interest and activity in relation to media and their messages (b) the notion of a two step flow of influence rather than a direct effect between stimulus and receiver which undermined the validity of the prevailing hypodermic model of communication research. The general conclusion of this line of research is that mass communication is less likely than personal influence to have a direct effect on social behaviour.

Rogers applied these ideas to the study of the spread of agricultural innovations among farmers in the United States and he formulated a general model representing the processes of change involved. Rogers introduced this approach into the development field. It was based on a view of the role of communications in social change as facilitating the spread of ideas into a social system with the aim of producing higher per capita income levels and living standards through more efficient methods of production and an improved social organisation. As Golding (1974) points out this approach was essentially one of "exogenously induced change" in which ideas, innovations and capital are introduced from external sources into the developing world to precipitate social change.

In the diffusion of innovations approach the mass media is conceived of playing the crucial role of creating awareness of a particular innovation in early pre-adoption stages. However, opinion leaders are important links in helping to disseminate and reinforce the development message as well as in contributing to the adoption of the particular
innovation. These became the major constituents of a paradigm used to apply communication to development projects in developing societies particularly in the areas of agriculture and family planning. In this particular tradition the main areas of emphasis were the complementary roles of developmental messages and field agencies as well as the identification and cultivation of opinion leaders in the various communities.

The heritage of the diffusion of innovations in American rural sociology and in American communication research has meant that the theoretical and methodological orientations of diffusion studies are characteristically American. Evidence of American scholarship traditions is found for example in its emphasis on empathy and achievement orientation which are closely related to the psychologistic components of modernisation theory. Its development philosophy which emphasised the quantitative elements of economic growth also coincide with modernisation theory's measurement of development in these terms.

It is of course these elements suggesting ethnocentricity which have been used to attack the diffusion of innovations approach. Other criticisms of this model have focused on its neglect of the role of the socioeconomic environment. Beltran (1975) for example has maintained that diffusion studies have ignored structures, particularly power structures which have important bearing on the adoption on innovations. In a similar vein Grunig's (1971) study of economic decision making among Colombian peasants shows that the tendency for diffusion studies to stress the extent of communication exposure and general communication behaviour among peasants has removed necessary attention away from those situations and structures that exert an influence on media use and the actual adoption of innovations. Rogers himself was aware of the criticisms levelled at diffusion research and in a later article (1976:229) confesses to these criticisms as its pro-innovation bias and the propensity of diffusion to widen the socioeconomic gaps in rural audiences.
The catalogue of assumptions underpinning the use of communication in development discussed in the preceding sections can be distilled into three main assumptions. The first is that the reasons for the underdevelopment of societies are internal to those societies. Progress and development can therefore be achieved by the identification of these retarding forces and the formulation of policies to address them. The second assumption is that if communication is used "appropriately" it can precipitate the process of development. Communication is therefore ascribed the status of an independent variable in the system. The irony of this assumption is that as Krippendorff (1979) points out whereas American research showed that the media reinforced preexisting beliefs (Klapper 1960), the development communication approach claimed that the media were capable of bringing about big changes. As a consequence of both of these assumptions the communication model inherent in the mass media strategies employed was top-downwards oriented, issuing vertical flows of information. This process and its information product were both reified with the capacities to effect changes deemed necessary for an accelerated development. A final assumption, implicit in the previously mentioned factors, is that the peoples of the developing world are homogenous in nature and will therefore respond in a predictable manner to the development communication intervention. Just how these assumptions have fared academically in the face of changing debates in development theory constitutes one of the principal discussions in the following section.
The Challenge of Structural Dependency Theory

By the middle of the nineteen seventies, the failure of modernisation to fulfil the promises of economic growth within the developing world was an historical fact. Changes in indices of development were undeniably retrogressive rather than progressive. The "widening gap" between "developed" and "developing" countries became common parlance at the international forums of development debate and activity at the United Nations and its agencies, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Evidence of the glaring inequities between the developed and developing societies is found for example in the 1980 World Bank's World Development Report which documents that in 1950 the average annual income per head of 18 industrialised countries was $3,841 and that of the 38 countries with lowest incomes was $164, or about one twenty-third. By 1980, the estimated average income of the former was $9,684 and by contrast the average income of the latter was $245 or barely one-fortieth. The World Development Report further points out that in 1975 the average adult literacy rate in the 18 most industrialised countries was 99% and in the 38 "low income" countries it was estimated to be 38%, average life expectancy in 1978 was 74 years in the former group and 50 years in the latter.

The universal acknowledgement that development was not being achieved in the developing countries whose development policies were based on the modernisation paradigm inspired renewed academic controversy on the issues of socioeconomic change. The language of development debates changed from discussions on the dichotomy between "traditional" and "modern" societies, particularly the ideas about "values" and "attitudes" thought to impede or favour modernisation, to a more in-depth concern with structural considerations. In the fore-front of the debate, the scholarship of dependency

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9Because some developing economies in the Third World have increased and improved, some observers have argued that there is no longer a widening gap between rich and poor countries. Hoogvelt (1982:34-40) examines the main arguments in the debate.
theorists, particularly from Latin America, criticised the proponents of modernisation as apologists of the status quo and perpetuators of neo-colonial patterns of control. This theoretical tradition essentially stressed the subordinate location of developing societies within the framework of the global capitalist system and the deterministic influence it exerts on these societies. A coexistent and inter-related contribution to the debate was a renewed emphasis on Marxist theories which focused on political economy, class structure, the dynamics of capital accumulation and the nature of change of precapitalist societies by colonial and neo-colonial capitalism. The changing conceptual environment replaced the ideas of "tradition" versus "modernity" to the ideas of the "core" and the "periphery" which placed the developed and the developing worlds into a single context of unequal relationships. Dependency theory therefore has as its central premise the notion that the processes of social transformation in the developing world cannot be adequately comprehended without placing it in the socio-historical context of the expansion of industrial capitalism and the colonisation of the developing world by Western nations. As Griffin (1968:38) writes: "underdeveloped countries as we observe them today are a product of historical forces, especially those released by European expansion and world ascendancy.....Europe did not "discover" the underdeveloped countries; on the contrary, she created them."

The Principal Arguments of Dependency Theory

Although the dependency paradigm emerged primarily out of the analyses of Latin American social scientists, the foundations of this perspective were laid by such North American scholars as Paul Baran, Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy. In 1942 Sweezy published The Theory of Capitalist Development which has remained a classic analytical examination of Marxist economics. As a study in political economy it includes analyses of the commodity and of the relation between labour and capital, the historical tendencies of the capitalist system, corporations, international economy, fascism and imperialism.
Magdoff's (1978) essays on imperialism addressed such themes as the history of imperialism as well as the relationship between the theory of imperialism and the Third World. In this latter essay Magdoff (1978:165-198) explores how in the period of decolonisation the rise of U.S. multinational corporations became the major source of capital and technology in the newly independent as well as the older periphery nations. Magdoff concludes that this fact, together with the obvious tendency for these multinationals to only invest in ways that suit their profit objectives, served to reinforce the economic ties of the ex-colonies to the métropoles. These ties were also further entrenched by the increasing network of multinational banks.

Another highly influential work on the dependency theorists was Paul Baran's *Political Economy of Growth* first published in 1957. Baran argues that the Western industrialised nations are fundamentally opposed to the industrialization of the developing societies since they provide the former countries with necessary raw materials and places for investment. As such, Baran explains the economic backwardness of the developing world in terms of its dependent location in a global mercantile system which is to the advantage of the industrialised nations. These nations own and control the financing, technology and market outlets essential to economic growth.

These themes were pursued by the Latin American scholar Andre Gundar Frank, the leading proponent of dependency theory, who set out to apply this particular perspective to an understanding of structural underdevelopment at national and local levels (1967,1969). Frank's analysis is based on the premise that underdevelopment in the Third World is the logical outcome of Western capitalist colonial expansion. He conceives of the relationship between developed and developing worlds as "a whole chain of metropolises and satellites, which runs from the world metropolis down to the hacienda or rural merchant who are satellites of the local commercial metropolitan centre but who in turn have peasants as their satellites" (1969:146-147). The relationship between
the metropoles and the satellite leads to the expropriation of the economic surplus of the latter by the former centres and the progressive dependence of the satellites on the metropoles. This economic dependence occurs with a corresponding concentration of political power and social resources in the metropolitan centres. Dos Santos describes this situation of dependence in this way: "Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others....(it) is based upon an international division of labour which allows industrial development to take place in some countries while restricting it in others, whose growth is conditioned by and subjected to the power centres of the world" (Dos Santos (1969) in Bernstein 1973:76-77).

Frank also argues that the economic, political dimensions to the relationship between the metropolis and the satellite foster an increasing interdependence between their bourgeoisie who have a mutual vested interest in the survival of the system. In a later study (Cockfort, Frank, Johnson 1972) Frank et al examine the class basis of the metropolitan-satellite relationship and conclude that the nature of rural economic exploitation and dependence is associated with a hierarchical class structure which separates the owners of the means of primary production along with a merchant and moneylending class from the poverty stricken peasants, artisans and rural peoples. The former dominant group is well integrated into the key sectors of the economy as well as in the powerful political and social institutions. By contrast the rest of the population is discriminated against and has no access to these institutions. The central notions of Frank's thesis have been applied by social scientists to an understanding of structural dependency and internal domination in other developing countries.

Dependency theory's explanation of underdevelopment in terms of the structural relationships between the "core" and "periphery" appears as an antithesis to modernisation paradigm's obsession with endogenism. However, just as
Dependency theory grew out of dissatisfaction with the explanatory capacity of the modernisation paradigm so its critics such as Long (1977:103) see it as incapable of explaining the new realities of the post colonial world. Frank's thesis has been principally criticised from several different perspectives. Firstly, it tends to emphasise the penetration of the capitalist market economy and pays scant attention to the ways in which different production systems, capitalist and non-capitalist, coexist at local, regional and national levels. Secondly, it describes underdevelopment in terms of a pattern of metropolitan-satellite or vertical relations consequently ignoring the importance of horizontal ties for sustaining dependency structures. Finally, the emphasis on imperialism or colonialism as the main agents of change in effect minimises the importance of endogenous social and cultural factors that interact with these to produce historical situations. Portes (1976:79) has also observed that an empirical weakness in dependency theory is the absence of autonomous data for each country.

Other theories to explain the relationship between developed and developing countries have had an impact on debates about the issues at stake. Wallerstein (1975, 1979) World Systems theory has made a further contribution to analyses of global inter-relations. Wallerstein argues that from the seventeenth century a specific world system has evolved out of the experience of the expansion of the capitalist world economy. This system consists of core countries, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. The former group consists of the rich industrialised nations, the semi-pheripheral countries have acquired a certain level of wealth and are crucial to keep the system in balance. The peripheral countries are the poor and exploited countries of the Third World. Wallerstein maintains that it is the relationship between core and periphery which has resulted in the underdevelopment of the Third World. This has occurred through the appropriation of surplus by the core from the periphery. This flow of surplus towards the core countries is secured through the international division of labour and political power arrangements.
The Genesis of the Media Imperialism Thesis and the New World Information Order

Media Imperialism

The writings of the dependency theorists and the ideas inherent in the World Systems paradigm spawned new intellectual trends in development communication research which were oriented primarily in two directions. The first of these trends was in the direction of media or cultural imperialism research which gained currency in the 1970's. It was used as an explanatory framework for how communication and the transnational communication industries seek to perpetuate neo-colonial patterns of control and domination. Whereas the main frame of reference for the modernisation scholars had been how communication intervened "positively" for social change at the national level, the media imperialists adopt a predominantly international level of analysis to prove the negative influence of Western media products on the development of local cultures.

Supporters of this thesis postulate that the domination of the "periphery" by the core occurs through a combination of power components: economic, political, cultural and military. The axis of their debate is that paradoxically, as the developing world begins to achieve emancipation politically, the cultural and communication spheres have become of greater importance in a bid to perpetuate dependent relationships. Their studies involve a shift away from a reverence for the free flow of information, goods and services that characterised the modernisation paradigm to a critical assessment of this flow. They also raise issues of concern about the transnationalisation of communication industries which are seen to permeate and legitimate Western lifestyles, values and norms. Adherents of the media imperialism thesis also highlight the situations of economic and cultural dependence of the developing on the developed world as a result of the latter's control of information technology.
Studies on media and cultural imperialism have tended to concentrate predominantly on the flow of news and television media products from the richer countries of the North to the poorer countries of the South. Nordenstreng & Varis's 1974 study of the television traffic from the developed to the developing world concludes that generally this flow operates on a "one way street" principle which includes not just the sale and exchange of films and programmes but also the acquisition and distribution of television news material. Harris's study (1977) on Third World news dependence highlights the domination of media resources by the major Western international news agencies which, as one consequence, has contributed to the one way flow of news material.

Dorfman and Mattelart (1975) illustrate how the consumption of the superficially innocent Disney cartoon comics can lead to an internalisation of culturally alien values and attitudes and reinforce dominant structural relationships. Schiller's publication Communication and Cultural Domination (1976) examines how the free flow of information is an ideological mask hiding the true economic and political intentions of capitalist nations. In a study of television programming in Latin America Beltran (1978) notes that the images and messages purveyed are incongruous with the goals and ideals of national development since they promote such values as individualism, elitism, racism, materialism, adventurism, conformism, self-defeatism, providentialism, aggressiveness and romanticism (1978:75). A study by Guback and Varis (1982) on transnational communication and cultural industries generally concludes that the international production and dissemination of information, at least in the case of film and television, is highly dependent on some internationally dominant companies. Mattelart, Delcourt & Mattelart (1984) analyse the imbalances of international flows of culture, information and communication revealing discrepancies between production potential and distribution among countries seeking new forms of cooperation and seeing how this affects Europe and the Third World. The authors also ask whether the increasing
transnational communications networks can be harnessed to provide an "alternative audio-visual space". Hamelink (1978, 1983) however, favours the concept of cultural synchronisation instead of the more common cultural or media imperialism idea. In his view, cultural imperialism is the most frequent, but not exclusive form in which the synchronisation of cultures occurs. For Hamelink, cultural synchronisation can take place without imperialistic relations constituting the prime causal factor, or even without overt imperialistic relations.

It is essential to underscore however, that most studies on the deleterious cultural/media effects on Third World societies do not progress beyond quantitative as opposed to complementary qualitative analyses. These studies supply documented evidence on the quantities of information, ideas, entertainment, advertisements, capital and hardware flows between societies which constitute imbalances between centre and periphery nations, as well as between countries and social groups i.e. linguistic and ethnic majorities and minorities as well as rich and poor classes. However, there is a noticeable absence of an explanation as to how this Western influence has a qualitative effect on the realities of Third World societies. The unanswered question remains how does this process affect the culture, ideology and behaviours of people in the long term. Most media and cultural imperialists take for granted that together with the huge volume of Western media messages a conservative and capitalistic ideology and consumptive culture will be introduced and reinforced simultaneously. Thus they question the belief of the modernisation theorists, especially the diffusion theorists, that mass media can work as agents of change.

Where dependency communication research is concerned, its primary failing is its lack of analysis on the nature of the class forces and the position of the nation sate in the peripheral countries. The dependency theorists extreme emphasis on the contradictions at the international level has underestimated the contradictions at the national level:
between the interest of the state and the media owner on the one hand, and between the government and the population on the other. It is important to accept however, that the internal and external factors inhibiting development do not exist independently of each other. Therefore in order to devise an appropriate development communication strategy it is essential to understand the class relationships of any particular peripheral social formation and the ways in which these structures articulate with the centre on the one hand and the producing classes in the Third World on the other.

**The New World Information Order**

The concerns articulated by Third World social scientists about structures of dependency and avenues for new forms of imperialism initiated a second trend in mass communication history. This took the form, during the early 1970's of a demand for a New World Information Order. This initiative became part of renewed political action in anti-colonial struggles by the Third World generally and the non-aligned movement in particular. There was a growing awareness and acceptance, as exhibited in the studies documenting the imbalance in flows of media products, that the activities of imperialism are not solely confined to political and economic relations but also include social and cultural arenas.

Concurrent with the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the New International Economic Order[^10] studies such as those cited in the previous section began to show communication and information dependency as both a product and reinforcement of the old order. The demand for a New

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[^10]: The concept originated as a term in the Algiers Action Programme and represented the aim of a fundamental restructuring of the world economy to benefit the South. The basic declaration was agreed by the UN General Assembly in May 1974. It contained 20 principles dealing with the recognition of the fact of economic interdependence in the world, especially in the relationships between developed and developing countries, and the putting of these and all other international economic relationships onto a basis of equality and co-operation.
World Information and Communication Order was first officially introduced at the Non-Aligned\textsuperscript{11} Symposium on Information in Tunis in March 1976. It has since become a key component in the struggle for decolonization and freedom from all types of dependency; democratization and monopolization. The fundamental objective of this initiative is to create the conditions for a more authentic and self generated form of development.

Communication and information issues were receiving renewed attention by the mid 1970’s. In terms of news flows the dominance of the Western news agencies and the desire to promote alternative forms of information exchange assumed importance leading to the establishment of the Non-Aligned News Pool in 1975. The constitution of the pool was formulated at the New Delhi Conference of Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in July 1976 and was later ratified at the Fifth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Colombo.

In UNESCO and other international forums, debates on communication issues included the one way flow of media products from the North to the South, the operation and domination of the international news agencies and the manner in which satellite broadcasting and other kinds of information flows could impinge upon national sovereignty. After several years of negotiations between different groups of countries, the 1978 UNESCO general conference resolution on a "New International Information Order" was arrived at. The issues at stake prompted UNESCO to appoint an independent commission of experts headed by Sean McBride to study the matters involved in greater detail. Two years after the NIIO resolution, the McBride Report (1980) was presented. In response to this report the general conference of UNESCO passed Resolution DR 8 on October 24, 1980 which outlined the major elements and demands of the "New Order". This "New

\textsuperscript{11}The Non-Aligned Movement was formed in 1961 by leaders of 25 newly independent nations and marked the beginning of efforts by new states in Africa, Asia and Latin America to change the structures and rules of the international economic and information order.
Order" essentially seeks to curtail the flood of information from North to South, thereby undermining the free flow doctrine, to make room for the developing countries' communications systems to positively influence the development process through the mass media; to promote dialogue and solidarity among Third World countries; and to give the South adequate instruments for depicting itself and conveying the real problems, successes and needs in the development process (Keune 1984:10).

The issues and debates involved in the demand for and institution of a New World Information Order have generated a plethora of empirical studies and analytical perspectives. Gunter (1978) provides an establishment overview of the issues of the debate. Arguments for the NIIO are well represented in Harris' (1977) study of international news flows. In an adversarial role Righter's (1978) "Whose News?" contributes to the debate by supporting the activities and role of the major news agencies accused of monopolising news production and presenting biased coverage of the Third world. Hamelink and Pavlic (1985) present a study on the New International Economic Order and the links between economics and communications and they also provide an inventory of the myriad articles and books published on the NIIO.

The Masses and Communication: The Audience Speaks Back

During the 1970's a new paradigm characterised the application of communication in development. It evolved out of the failure of the modernisation based model and the intellectual climate of the 1970's which favoured redefinitions of the causes and curatives for the retarded development of the Third World. The new movement has emerged with the rise to self consciousness of the peoples of the Third World and the consequent stress on self-reliance, people participation, and the value of the needs and aspirations of people at the grassroots level. The new model sought to reinstate the role of the audience in the communication process. In practical terms this meant that the vertical direction of communication characterising the
modernisation model was replaced with emphases on horizontal flows between source and receiver.

The intellectual heritage of this approach was found in the scholarship of the NeoFreudians and NeoMarxists - the Frankfurt School - and their third World variants - Franz Fanon, Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich. The common theme of these writers is their exploration of the process of awakening to historical consciousness and self-identity as the motivating force behind revolutionary protest against foreign and domestic domination and exploitation. In this theoretical trend authentic developments cannot be divorced from revolutionary processes of social protest, national liberation, ethnic and racial identity and sometimes the assertion of one's humanity against the exploiters through violence.

Contrary to the more economic and political views of the modernisation and dependency paradigms, the central theme in this paradigm is that there is no universal path to development. As Servaes (1986:132) notes "development must be conceived as an integral, multidimensional and dialectic process which can differ from country to country.....each society must find its own strategy".

The notion of development distilled from this theoretical framework has been best summarised and disseminated through the Dag Hammerskjold Foundation and their Development Dialogue magazine. Their concept of "Another Development" is:

1. Need oriented i.e. being geared to meeting human material and non material needs for expression, creativity, equality and conviviality besides understanding and mastering their own destiny.
2. Endogenous i.e. stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and vision of the future.
3. Self-reliant i.e. implying that each society relies on its own strength and resources in terms of its members energies
and its natural and cultural environment.

4. Ecologically sound i.e. utilising naturally the resources of the biosphere as well as the global and outer limits imposed on present and future generations.

5. Based on structural transformations in social relations in economic activity, in their spacial distribution as well as in the power structure, so as to realise the conditions of self management and participation in decision making by all those affected by it, from the rural to the urban community to the world as a whole.

The emerging concepts of self-development and self-reliance and people participation subsequently lead to a redefinition of the role of the media. This new conceptualization is illustrated for example in the radio listening group campaigns for public health and food/agriculture that were conducted in Tanzania in 1974 and 1975 respectively (Hall 1975; Dodds and Hall 1974). The apparent success of this new approach in relation to the obvious failure of the modernisation model of communication lead to recantations by leading scholars who helped to formulate the latter paradigm.

The acceptance of the inadequacies of the primary model was articulated by Schramm who stated "In 1964, the outlook was optimistic. We had a model for development that had proved itself in the Western countries and Japan, and was expected to do the same in the rest of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Few people were disposed in 1964 to challenge this model seriously.....In 1975, it was recognised that the model had accomplished somewhat less than had expected of it...the condition of a large proportion of the people of the developing world was, at best, not much better in 1975 than in 1964" (Schramm & Lerner 1976:4). From a position of unqualified optimism in the developmental role of the mass media expressed in The Mass Media in National Development (1964) Schramm's 1977 publication Big Media, Little Media suggested reservations on the developmental benefits of introducing television into Third World societies. By 1979 Schramm was endorsing a model of development communication
whose assumptions and strategies were diametrically opposed to those inherent in his earlier paradigm. Schramm (1979:9) proposed that "...the centre of development strategy, as far as possible, will be the local area; local activity and, as far as possible, local decision making will become central in development planning; two-way, not one-way, communication will be emphasised, and horizontal communication will emphasised at the expense of vertical communication."

Another participant in the process of reformulations of development and the role of the media was the foremost scholar on diffusion theory Everett Rogers. He revised his earlier notions inherent in diffusion theory and ascribed a new role to the mass media: "The main role of mass communication may be summarised as providing technical assistance about development problems and possibilities and about appropriate innovations in answer to local requests and circulating information about the self development accomplishments of local groups so that such groups may profit from other experiences and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance" (Rogers 1976:232-233).

Much of the alterations in opinion regarding development and communication among the prominent proponents of the older paradigm was due to the intellectual alternatives articulated by Freire (1970) and Schumacher (1973). Freire’s philosophy proposed a 'pedagogy of the oppressed' which in essence was a revolutionary educational approach to development which sought to liberate people from ignorance, poverty and exploitation. Schumacher’s Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered advocated the use of intermediate scale  

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Rogers (1969:8) described development as: "...a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per-capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization." His later revision of development described it 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 the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers 1978:68).
technology as an alternative in economic development based on the criteria of smallness, simplicity, inexpensive capital access and anti-violence values.

The new paradigm's stress on horizontal communication and participation generated a growing concern for the role of community media in development. The Latin American scholar Diaz Bordenave (1977:22-23) saw the media's role as becoming "......more accessible to the participation of rural populations in programming;....and the content of the messages is (becoming) more relevant to rural people's problems and needs." The increasing consensus among scholars contributing to this paradigm is that community media can aid the development process if employed in conjunction with social and political structural change. The promising contribution of this sphere has been summarised by Berrigan (1977:13) "......participation calls for a horizontally layered process in which community groups consider and decide priorities for development and suggest the way this can be achieved. It is the operation of this procedure that community communications can play a part."

Karunanayake's (1986) account of the Mahaweli Community Radio experiment in Sri Lanka; Berrigan's (1977) analysis of the Fogo Island Project and Stetter's (1986) account of community media in Kenya all underline the important role of this type of operation. However, Heath's account (1986) of the Homa Bay Community Radio Station in Kenya identifies some of the obstacles to the success of this approach. Heath points out that in order to promote national unity the government must speak with one voice, therefore the broadcast media, which must be controlled by the government because they are so powerful, must speak with one voice also. The practical consequences of these assumptions are centralised production of broadcast information. The question inevitably arises can horizontal communication of this nature be realised within this type of political environment? Will community media and its practical implications conflict with broadcasting policies and strategies for development? These questions all underscore the necessity for structural changes
to accommodate this lateral dimension of development communication, changes which may or may not be realised given the political leverage of the communications media in the pursuit of power and control.

The new emphasis on self reliance and alternative approaches has suggested folk or traditional media as one of the viable ways of solving present problems in development, a sharp departure from the philosophy of the old paradigm in which the indigenous communication system was bypassed. Dissanayanke & Wang (1982) have pointed to the value of the folk media in grassroots development and have strengthened their position by furnishing practical examples of its successful application in India, Zambia and Indonesia. Lent (1982) on the other hand, although in agreement with the positive impact of the folk media has expressed reservation on the adaptability of this media to development communication. Some purists such as Diaz Bordenave (1975) argue that the use of folk media for developmental purposes should be avoided because of his fears that as soon as people realize that their folk songs, poems and art are being used for what he terms "subliminal propaganda" then they will let them die.

In fact Dissanayake (1977) has reported that numerous cases have been cited in India where the audiences were hostile and walked away during performances of folk plays whose content have been modernized and the structure tailored to suit modern messages. In discussing the marriage of folk media and broadcasting Katz and Wedell (1977) give four reasons why they often do not blend well together: a) traditional media have limited repertoires while mass media demand novelty b) folk arts tend to be eclipsed by the pace of modernisation c) open village square settings of folk media do not adapt well to confined or tiny broadcast studios d) because of the festive and occasional character of many traditional media they cannot be made into just another programme.

The sharp contrast between the ideas of the
modernisation model of development communication and the widely divergent debates of the media/cultural imperial thesis and the proponents of the NWICO and community media are summarised by Servaes (1985:2-3). He summarises the principal changes in scholarship on development communication as:

1. From a positivist-instrumentalist approach, which uses mainly quantifiable indicators, towards a more normative standpoint that builds on qualitative and structuralist methods.

2. From a formal perspective where development is defined in terms of universal goals that can be combined in a predictive model, toward a more substantive dimension where development involves societal change of a less predictable nature.

3. The shift from a Western - or ethnocentric- to a contextual or polycentric understanding.

4. The change from endogenism over exogenism to globalism.

5. The shift from a predominantly national framework or reference, over an international perspective to mixed and combined levels of analysis.

6. The shift from chiefly economic to more universal and interdisciplinary approaches.

7. From segmentary to holistic and more problem-oriented approaches.

8. From an integrationist-reformist strategy over revolutionary options to combined policies of (r)evolutionary change.

New Information Technology and Development: Progression or Retrogression?

The decade of the 1980's has become synonymous in the archives of communication history with the beginning of the "information revolution". Proponents of small and local media of the 1970's are now facing vociferous competition from advocates of the computer, satellites, telematics and telecommunications. The apostles of the ensuing new creed on development communication, which sees technology as the fulcrum of development, are now prophesying optimistically on the role and contribution of communications.
Clarke (1981) and Pelton (1981) for example argue for telecommunication as a spur to economic development by stressing its capital saving nature and its potential in offering small scale investments. Casey-Stahmer (1985:61) has commented that: "The development of the "barefoot" microchip, that is new technologies using microchip technology that are specifically adapted for rural use, has significantly changed the possibilities of using telecommunications in remote locations." The promising tone of this observation is endorsed in Jussawalla’s (1985:66) statement that: "To many developing countries telecommunications systems using satellites may stand between stagnation and progress...Development support communication policies will become more cost-effective with the use of new technology."

Other scholars have defected to this camp which deifies technology in the area of national development: Saunders, Warford and Wellenius (1983) have argued vigorously for telecommunications as a stimulus to economic development; Hudson (1984) praises the benefits of telecommunications (especially telephones) to help isolated people keep in touch among other things and Jusawalla (1985) postulates that telecommunications is not only positively correlated to economic development, but should be recognized as a leading sector.

The renewed emphasis on technology as the prime vehicle in social change loudly echoes the assumptions made about the developmental and communication processes inherent in the modernisation paradigm. Critics of this new movement such as Schiller (1981), Jayaweera (1983 & 1987), Smythe (1985) and Lent (1985) have not hesitated in voicing their despair and concern about this new trend. In summarizing the changes in development communication, Jayaweera (1983:13-18) has demonstrated how a full circle has been circumscribed: he argues that the use of satellite communication is effecting communication thinking in the same manner that the eruption of television and radio did in the 1950’s. Jayaweera identifies one of the assumptions behind the introduction of new technology as the hope that this "marvellous new tool"
will obviate need for the type of structural changes that the developing world has been agitating for. He also articulates the concern that the adoption of these technologies will mean that the Third World will get sucked into a mode of development that is dominated by the global capitalist system (1987:xvii). In a study of satellite telecommunications for development in Indonesia, Peru and the Caribbean, Block et al (1984:33) conclude on a pessimistic note that "the telecommunications and economic development cultures in most countries have had little interaction with each other."

It is essential however, to preface any discussion on the new technology based model for development with the observation that technology is not just restricted to the satellite and the computer. Technology also refers to the systematic application of collective rationality to the solutions of problems by asserting control over nature and over human processes of all kinds (Goulet 1977). What is included is simply not machines or the hardware of knowledge but as Katz and Wedell (1978) argue, the collection of transferred attitudes, values, institutions, social and political structures and systems that come with the technology. It is within this framework that the more extended discussion on the economic, political and sociocultural dimensions of this model must be located.

For the proponents of the new communication technologies, the economics of the information society will bring a new economic order and information technology is a sine qua non of industrial development. It is argued that the new society will see the end of industrialised production and the new system will be a more decentralised, diversified market with information as the resource. In the new society this resource is basic to all other processes (Hamelink 1986). This may apply to the industrialised countries but for the developing countries it is forecast that a new economic system of dependence and domination will replace the old.

This appears as the natural outcome of the dependence of the poor nations on the rich, not just for the hardware but
for all its facilities, spare parts, servicing etcetera. To compound the situation the financing of the system will require foreign aid – usually from the donor country which sells the communication system. A pattern of dependence is thus built up and Reddi (1985) predicts the emergence of unscrupulous business practices, making the developing country a dumping ground for obsolete and defective technology.

O'Brien (1984) argues that the basic question in relation to the economic imperative is whether these new developments will either increase the already substantial potential for control in traditional world centres or be used by developing countries to decrease their information disadvantage. Schiller (1981) has repeatedly argued that the commercial incentive afforded the application of these new technologies will only serve the power and influence of the transnational corporations.

Where the political impact on development is concerned, Hamelink (1986) has pointed out that the perceived notion of the information society is that it is decentralized, with greater access to information for all segments of the population, and a shifting of power structures from the governing elites to the real citizens. Advocates of technologies identify ways in which the new technologies are supposed to encourage and foment the democratization of societies where the individual will be powerful because he will have information and free choice.

Reddi (1986) however, refutes this point stating that there are no indications that this will take place and that although the ruler and the ruled may be called by different names the existing power relations will persist if for no other reason that the power elites will employ the new technologies for their own purposes. Given the prohibitive costs of this technology there is no doubt that it is this elite that will retain access and control over the system. In this way communication only serves to exacerbate inequalities by cementing power positions. Development will therefore
emanate from these centres of power and revert to its top-down approach. The corollary of this will be the widening of the gap between the information/knowledge rich and the information poor (Agrawal 1986). Hopes for a more democratic and egalitarian society will fade. The issues of the one way flow of information and the centralization of power in the hands of technocrats have been raised by several scholars such as Lent (1986) and Diedick (1983). For those subscribing to the media imperialism/cultural synchronisation thesis the perceived threat is given sharper definition by the introduction of new technologies. Reddi (1986) for example sees them as being a new portal for the inflows of values, attitudes and beliefs that are antithetical to the development process of Third World societies.

Concurrent with the widening of the knowledge gap between the information rich and poor, Reddi (1986) sees the introduction of new technology as creating a new international division of social classes. The media rich elites in the developed and developing countries are said to be forming a fairly homogenous group able to identify and relate to each other irrespective of cultural and social differences. The result of this is a parallel polarisation among classes internally providing the basis for social conflict. Seen from this perspectives the use of technology in development must, as Jayaweera (1986) argues, be based on policies that are critically aware of the potential and perils of this phenomenon. He issues the warning that the technology is not value neutral and that the social relations they foster tend towards a progressive integration of the whole world into a single dominant economy, polity and culture.

Halloran (1986) has identified some of the key questions that must preface any examination of the development impact of new communication technologies:
1. Who needs information?
2. What sort of information do different groups or the population as a whole need?
3. Who decides what is needed by whom?
5. Who selects and presents what is provided?
6. What are the aims and intentions of the providers?
7. What use is made of what is provided?
8. What are the consequences of that use for individuals, groups, institutions and societies?
9. What criteria are used in determining what is functional or dysfunctional and for what groups?

Hamelink (1983) has also proposed another set of questions to direct policy decisions regarding the use of technology in development:
1. Which social group is receiving the economic, political and cultural benefits?
2. Who is going to use the new technology?
3. Who is going to exploit their prestige value?
4. Which groups can communicate more effectively using these technologies?

Despite the observed disadvantages of the introduction of technology, the prevailing view among communication scholars is that there can be great potential in its application in developing countries. The fundamental question is whether its use as a fillip to development will be of ultimate benefit to the majority of the underprivileged members of society. Only a carefully planned strategy of implementation, rooted in the realities of the particular society will provide a positive response to this statement.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the principal arguments on development and has illustrated how these arguments have defined scholarship on the role of the mass media in development. The chapter commenced with a discussion of modernisation theories and how the assumptions of these theories were reflected in the primary model of development communication. As Mowlana (1990:51) writes this first paradigm is based on the premise of causal relationships between the components of communication and the entire process of development. Modernisation theories emphasised
economic growth, industrialisation and urbanisation, and the creation of a modern personality which were collectively intended to bring traditional societies into the enlightenment of a modern/western world.

These objectives consequently served to underwrite the assumptions on the media's role in development. Great expectation was therefore placed on the mass media as agents and indices in development. For Lerner (1958) the "empathy" created by the media in the audiences of the Third World was capable of imparting modern values, opinions and attitudes. These were deemed necessary to engender the "psychic mobility" Lerner perceived as a precondition of social change. Schramm (1964) identified the media as "magic multipliers": instruments to disseminate the information required to effect the social change needed in the Third World. A premise of these approaches was as Melkote (1991:92) writes that information was the missing link in the development chain.

Challenges to the positions of the modernisation model emerged in the 1970's as a consequence of the writings of Dependency theorists. These theorists argued principally that the underdevelopment of the Third World was a result of Western capitalist expansion. This view was reflected in criticisms of the mass media in the cultural/media imperialism thesis. This thesis labelled the media as a negative force in Third World development. This was in direct contradiction to the view of the media as a means of positive social intervention in the modernisation model. The demand for a New World Information Order during this era also represented a call by Third World nations to use the media themselves as a positive influence in the development process. During the 1970's a new paradigm characterised the application of communication in development. Based on the developmental concepts of self-reliance and people participation there was an emphasis on community media and the use of folk media in grassroots communication. By the decade of the eighties there was a new thrust towards the application of computers, telecommunications and satellites
to the goals of development. This has prompted strong arguments on both the negative as well as the positive implications of this new approach. Some observers see the new technology as a fillip to development while other critics see it as a reformulated modernisation based paradigm.

The inventory of arguments on the role of the media in development presented here acts as an important framework for analysing the conceptual dimension of the replacement fertility campaign. Later chapters will examine the efficacy of the campaign at the conceptual level by assessing the views on the role of the media and the media campaign in Jamaica's development. The assumptions made in this regard will then be analysed to assess whether they are identifiable with any of the schools of thought on the mass media in development discussed here. The following chapter will detail the theoretical work on mass media campaigns. This is a prerequisite for an understanding of the efficacy of the dimension of the campaign relating to its design and implementation.
A REVIEW OF THE MASS MEDIA IN PUBLIC HEALTH EDUCATION: 
ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

Introduction

In recent years much attention has been directed by governmental and commercial organisations toward the use of the mass media in "pro-social" interventions at both national and regional levels. This has generally taken the form of public communication campaigns designed to teach and influence audiences to adopt more appropriate patterns of behaviour - for example in the area of health. As a field of research, the realm of information or communication campaigns is characterised by an impressive and ever increasing inventory of theoretical and empirical analyses. However, as Salmon (1989:7) comments much of the theoretical base of campaign literature can be described as a "theory for" rather than a "theory of" campaigns since most researchers have relied on psychological and sociological theory in an effort to improve the effectiveness of campaigns. This is in essence true and as Salmon argues, this trend has served to deflect attention away from the relevant questions pertaining to the social context in which campaigns occur.

1 The prolific literature on mass media campaigns is replete with definitions of what campaigns are: Devine & Hirt (1989:230) describe campaigns as "organised attempts to influence another's beliefs about, attitudes toward, and/or behaviours with respect to some object (e.g. product, issue, person etc.) through the use of mass media or other communication channels". Rogers & Storey (1987:821) specify that a communication campaign "(1) intends to generate specific outcomes or effects, (2) in a relatively large number of individuals (3) within a specified period of time and (4) through an organised set of communication activities".

2 As a response to this deficit the contributions in Salmon (1989) for example provide critical insights into the identity of campaigns as mechanisms of social change and their operative values and premises.
The recognition of these different theoretical perspectives on campaigns does not imply that they are mutually exclusive approaches or that they must exist as discrete areas of research. The "success" of campaigns is contingent on the observance of several important principles as much as on an understanding of the social context in which they occur. It is the purpose of this chapter to review some of these principles which will be extrapolated from a few examples of health education campaigns hailed as successful in campaign literature. The concepts or ingredients of successful campaign planning distilled from this analysis will provide a framework to assess, from the level of internal validity and implementation, the efficacy of the campaign initiative designed to introduce replacement fertility in Jamaica. Before this more extended discussion however, there are several issues germane to an understanding of campaigns which must be addressed.

**Mass Media Campaigns: Do They or Don’t They Succeed?**

It has become somewhat ritualistic that most reviews on public communication campaigns inevitably raise the question of whether campaigns can in fact succeed. Rather than reflecting some stylistic approach to the subject of campaigns this recurring theme is testimony to the long tradition and importance of a controversy on their potential efficacy. Historically, opinions regarding the possible success of mass media campaigns have tended to be dichotomous. Mass communication researchers have either adopted an optimistic attitude towards the use of the media in communication campaigns or have had the more pessimistic view that media campaigns will inevitably fail. However, these polarised opinions appear to be changing in recent times and the general consensus emerging from research on mass media campaigns strongly suggests that they can be successful given certain conditions and the careful observance of certain prerequisites.

Research evidence on early mass media campaigns pointed to their general inability to achieve the behavioural and
attitudinal changes they intended to achieve. The negative tradition of criticism associated with media campaigns is historically linked with the work of Herbert Hyman and Paul Sheatsley. In a classic review appropriately entitled *Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail*, published in 1947, Hyman and Sheatsley identified several factors contributing to the failure of campaigns. Their arguments rested on the hypothesis that there are many psychological barriers thwarting the free flow of ideas and they illustrate this by using data from several opinion research studies. To rationalise the failure of campaigns, they propose five generalisations supported by research evidence. These include the identification of what Hyman & Sheatsley call a hard-core of "know nothings" in the audience, the facts that interested people acquire the most information and people seek information congenial to prior attitudes, people interpret the same information differently and information does not necessarily change attitudes.

In a further explanation of the failure of information campaigns, which were then based on the hypodermic needle model of communication, Dervin (1981) makes the point that one of the defects of this direct effects strategy is that it rests on the core assumption that:

"Information can be dumped into people's heads as if peoples heads were empty buckets. To make this assumption it must be assumed that information is a thing rather than a construction, that it exists independently of observers and has an inherent, correct, absolute and isomorphic relationship to the reality it describes" (Dervin 1981:74).

Dervin states that this conception of information has acted and still acts as a constraint on audience comprehension of the message and instead she proposes the adoption of the alternative conception of "information-as-construction". This consists of the proposition that:

"Information....is a creation inexorably tied to the
Dervin’s observation underscores just one of the several features of the hypodermic base to information campaigns which, ipso facto, condemned these campaigns to failure. It was no surprise therefore that numerous examples of ill-fated projects predominated among early research literature. Perhaps one of the best known of these campaigns is the famous Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations. An investigation of this project reported by Shirley Star and Helen Hughes in 1950 confirmed Hyman & Sheatsley’s observation on the failure of desired effects by communication campaigns. They echoed for example one of Hyman & Sheatsley’s conclusions in the comment that:

"Information, to be disseminated at all, must be functional, that is interesting to the ordinary man because he has been made to see that it impinges upon his own affairs" (Star & Hughes 1950:389)

Further condemning evidence to support the pessimistic views of mass media campaigns appeared when Lazarsfeld & Merton published in 1948 a disturbing paper on the power of the media prompted by their concern with the notion of propaganda during World War II. Their arguments revolved around the pessimistic observations that the media have a status conferral function but more importantly they enforce rather than change social attitudes and norms and they tend to paralyse rather than motivate. Lazarsfeld & Merton’s

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3 Salmon (1989:41) presents a different interpretation of the data presented by Star & Hughes to support their claim that the campaign had failed. The researchers claimed that the slogan of the campaign was not recalled by 51% of the people thereby rendering the initiative a failure. However, Salmon argues that another way of looking at the findings is that 49% of the citizens did recall the slogan which he adds would be applauded by contemporary social and commercial marketers.
important contribution however, lies in the fact that unlike Hyman & Sheatsley and Star & Hughes who tended to focus on the importance of the audience in an analysis of ingredients for success, they highlighted the message and the communication system itself as pivotal to successful media campaigns.

The preceding synopsis of theories, opinions and analyses present a very dismal image of media campaigns and indeed there have been enough examples of failures to support this claim. O'Keefe's (1971) study of anti-smoking commercials, Udry's et al (1972) and (1974) study of a six month US$330,000 advertising campaign on contraceptive use and Robertson's (1974) study on a media campaign for the wearing of seatbelts all reinforce the notion that communication campaigns are doomed to failure. However, despite the discouraging evidence, few examples of successful campaigns, in particular health campaigns exist which indicate that they can meet with success, where success is defined as the realisation of specified objectives. Notable among these success stories are the Finnish Heart Disease Prevention and Cessation Project; The Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Programme (SHDPP) in the United States and the "Quit For Life" campaign in Australia. These mass media campaigns will be reviewed later in this chapter.

The success and failure in the arena of communication campaigns have certainly created a division in scholarly analysis with each camp pointing to research evidence supporting its position. How then can one reconcile these two divergent perspectives? There are probably two approaches to tackling this essential question. The first of these approaches adopted by Atkin (1981) offers four factors to explain the differing perspectives. The first involves the level of effect being considered; effects can be arrayed along a hierarchy ranging from simple awareness to changes in attitudes and habitual patterns of behaviour. Secondly, the substantive topic of the effects within each level must be considered; certain topics are difficult to teach while others may be readily communicated. Thirdly the definition of
success apparently varies drastically between the two camps - opinion regarding media impact is subject to differing interpretation of the same degree of change in the audience. The example provided earlier in the different interpretation of the results of the Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations by Star & Hughes (1950) and Salmon (1989) is a thought provoking illustration. Finally, the quantitative and qualitative attributes of campaign communications vary considerably from one campaign to the next. Many of the ineffective campaigns have been poorly conceived, inadequately pretested and underfunded. On the other hand campaigns that utilize the most advantageous strategies will produce much more positive results.

The Persuasive Process and Health Assumptions in Mass Media Campaigns

The second approach to understanding the success/failure dichotomy has little to do with the technical dimensions of campaign planning and execution but rather concerns itself with the internal logic of the persuasive process itself and the assumptions made by health educators in particular in the design of campaigns. In the ensuing discussion of these points the position is adopted that all campaigns seek to influence and alter the behaviour of its public through a strategy of persuasion no matter how veiled or obvious this strategy may be. It is an inherent feature of any mass media campaign. Some researchers such as Atkin (1981) have sought to distinguish between persuasive and information campaigns. The latter is supposed to emphasise cognitive gains and benefit individual receivers in society and the former is said to be beneficial to the interests of the sponsoring

Some scholars such as Rakow (1989) have pursued the issue of the labelling of campaigns as either "informational" or "persuasive". She notes that some campaign planners prefer the word "information" because the term persuasion has become vilified through its association with the term "propaganda". However, through a critical analysis of the term "information" Rakow argues that it too cannot be perceived of as "innocent" or some "pure good" since it is a product of social relations and is by and large produced by institutions to suit their own purposes.
source and consists primarily of consumer and political advertising. However, to deny the persuasive dimension of a health campaign for example, and to see it as purely intending to convey information is to severely underestimate the objectives of health educators who always hope for and indeed expect behaviour or attitude changes as a result of campaign initiatives.

**Assumptions of Health Educators**

One of the underlying assumptions of this expectation is that the tendency towards healthy and unhealthy behaviour is an inherent characteristic of the individual and that all human beings will, generally speaking, tend towards healthful choices in their lifestyles, providing that they are in possession of sufficient information as provided by a campaign. Allied to this is the additional assumption that significant changes in health states can be achieved by individual acts of will. As McCron & Budd (1979) state, neither of these assumptions can be substantiated.

Although current mass media campaigns stress personal responsibility for health care and the prevention of illness, much ill health is in fact beyond the control of the individual and will therefore remain unaffected by individual behavioural change. An example is the onset of bronchial conditions stemming from or aggravated by poorly heated or damp working environments in factories. It is increasingly recognised that significant improvements in public health have been effected, not from personal initiative but rather from macro level changes prompted by political, social and environmental reforms. This position immediately raises

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5 Salmon (1989:36) comments that the "information not persuasion rationale" should be considered a strategy employed by an organisation to win acceptance for its activities and divert criticism of its intention rather than a reliable index of its moral or ethical motives.

6 Examples of this will be cited later in this chapter during the discussion of reforms introduced in Finland for example during anti-smoking campaigns.
questions about the ideological function of employing the mass media to achieve desired health goals when in essence the true responsibility for achieving these objectives may lie within the domain of elected governments. Placing the onus of good public health on the public themselves is, from another perspective, blaming them for their own ill health—an attitude which emanates from a "blame the victim" ideology.

This ideological function of mass media campaigns has been addressed by several scholars. Salmon (1989:26-7) for example makes the point that the power to define a situation as a problem also carries with it the power to define the cause or locate the problem. He develops this argument by saying that more often than not the agency responsible for defining the problem usually approaches its resolution by devising ways of changing the behaviours of individuals affected by the problem rather than addressing the systematic roots of the problem itself. Wallack (1989:365) adds that mass media health promotion initiatives focus on symptoms rather than causes and by so doing emphasise the most obvious and politically safest locus of intervention—the individual. Wallack (1990:150) further elaborates on this argument by pointing out that television contributes to an understanding of health that in effect serves to reinforce the individual nature of disease and ignores or minimises the social, economic and political factors that are major determinants of health. He therefore defines television as presenting a medical rather than a social understanding of health.

These issues regarding the individual blame view inherent in communication campaigns touch on the ethics of health education interventions. The ethics of these initiatives may be questioned from the point of view that health educators, through the use of mass media health campaigns, pontificate about the virtues of good health and avenues to achieve this as if they had an ascribed right to influence and attempt to alter the behaviour of people. In many instances this activity is a licence granted by
politicians, who themselves decide, with a strong probability of covert political intentions, the health topics that become high profiled in the public sphere. This hidden agenda of intentions could very well be more related to attempts to deflect criticisms that the government is not addressing current social problems rather than genuine efforts to change unhealthy behaviours.

The assumptions as well as both implicit and explicit expectations of health educators add a strong element of risk to the success of the persuasive purpose of campaigns. The persuasion process itself is a complex one fraught with its own problems and possessing its own internal logic. Perhaps a brief overview of the process which seeks to change attitudes and consequently behaviour will highlight its complexity and the consequent difficult task of mass media campaigns.

The Persuasive Process

During the 1920's and 1930's research in persuasion and attitude research, emphasis was placed on conceptually defining attitudes and operationally measuring them. The study of attitude and attitude change received more attention than any other topic in social psychology or communication yet scholars could not find conclusive links between attitude and behaviour. Some scholars such as Chien (1967) placed primary emphasis on external sources influencing the strength of the bond whereas others such as Doob (1967) favoured an internal orientation. In the post-war years considerable interest was placed on the experimental study of persuasion.

7 McGuire (1981,1989) has become one of the foremost authorities on theories of persuasion as applied to communication campaigns and has designed an input-output matrix of communication and persuasion variables.

8 The researcher frequently identified with these post war studies was Carl Hovland who wrote some of the seminal work on the persuasive power of the media e.g. C. Hovland et al Experiments in Mass Communication, Wiley, 1949 and C. Hovland (ed) The Order of Presentation in Persuasion, Yale University (Footnote continued)
in an effort to illuminate the attitude/behaviour relationship. However, by the 1970's experimental research on attitudes waned as disenchantment grew with the utility of attitudes for understanding human activity. Little can be said with confidence about the connection of attitude and behaviour.

Persuasion is now conceived of as a multi-variable theme for study (Reardon 1981). It is a process which can be related firstly to the way man learns and apprehends — learning and persuasion share common ground when the focus of attention is upon the change, modification or reinforcement of human behaviour. It is also related to the ways in which he retains this knowledge — memory; if information is not remembered with sufficient intensity it will have limited value as a persuasive force. Memory however, is in turn influenced by the facts that individuals possess a bias in attending to and retaining information and that information remembered may be subject to idiosyncratic and imaginative reconstructions. Persuasion is also influenced by motivation — the reasons or purposes which determine actions. The effectiveness of persuasion is dependent upon the extent to which it can enlist motivational support. Various theories have been forwarded to explain the phenomenon of motivation, among these for example are Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance, Maslow's (1962) concept that motivation can be placed on a hierarchical basis of needs and Freud's (1976) motivational analyses. Persuasion will be affected by the complexities of various codes of communication and their semiological significance to an individual. Finally, the particular ideology of the receiver will also impinge on the persuasion process.

Generally speaking however, because life is lived in a matrix of interactions, critical persuasive influences may be difficult to detect. It is not easy to disentangle the interacting variables, any one response may well be the

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8(continued)
Press, 1957
combination of a series of influences. This is a fact best understood by the health educator before the commencement of campaign planning. If then persuasion, the ultimate objective of any information/communication campaign, is such a difficult goal to achieve, how then can a campaign planner ensure the efficacy of a campaign intervention? There is no simple formula to guarantee this but there is evidence to suggest that the careful observance of certain principles and practices in campaign planning and execution can assist in the realisation of carefully defined, realistic goals. A brief summary of some practical examples of "successful" health education campaigns will be discussed and evaluated in a bid to extrapolate the fundamental principles underpinning their successful execution.

Media Experiments in Health Instruction

One of the most applauded demonstrations of the use of the media to influence personal behaviour was conceived and implemented in Finland in 1978. A series of seven prime time television programmes monitored the experiences and progress of a group of volunteer smokers who met with a leading physician in the television studio during a three month period. Approximately 100,000 smokers watched the series and 10% of them quit for at least six to twelve months - this figure represents 1% of the one million Finns who smoke. In the province of North Karelia, small groups were organised to view the programmes together in homes. Although difficult to form or maintain, wherever the groups persisted the effectiveness of the television series doubled: 20% of the smokers quit permanently (Puska 1981).

The Stanford Heart Disease Prevention Programme (SHDPP)\(^9\) represents one of the most sophisticated and often quoted example of a successful mass media campaign. It was a

\(^9\)Other experiments in health prevention similar in design and objectives to the SHDPP have been implemented e.g. The Minnesota Heart Health Programme, Rhode Island Pawtucket Heart Health Programme, Pennsylvania Community Health Improvement Programme.
semi-experimental field study in three Northern Californian communities in the United States designed to prevent cardiovascular disease. Two of the communities had intensive mass media campaigns in both English and Spanish over a two year period; in one of these the mass media was supplemented by concentrated face to face tuition of a small group of high risk individuals. The third community acted as a control. People from each community had their cardiovascular health checked before the campaign began and again one and two years afterwards. In the community with both mass media and intensive instruction the initial decrease in risk was greater but by the second year the mass media only community had equalled it. Risk in the control community increased over the two years (Maccoby et al 1977; Solomon 1982; Flora, Maccoby & Farquhar 1989).

The original concept behind the SHDPP project was created by D. Cartwright who wrote Principles of Mass Persuasion in 1949 which reviewed findings of research on the United States War Bonds Campaigns. He cites evidence from this research to support his theory that the power of the media is not all that great, apart from the effects of other sources of influence. Cartwright stated that in order to affect changes in behaviour through the mass media, three separate changes must be achieved: firstly, changes in cognitive structures - what people know and understand; secondly, changes in affective structures - what people want to do and finally changes in action structures - what people actually do and how this can be facilitated. Cartwright is also one of the few theorists to stress the importance of combining interpersonal communication with mass media campaigns to maximise behaviour change. As Flora, Maccoby & Farquhar (1989:237) note, the results of the campaign were consistent with the Cartwright formulation to the extent that there was a noteworthy degree of success when the mass media were supplemented by intensive personal instruction.

Another experiment in the use of mass media for health instruction also regarded as successful and fashioned after the SHDPP was the 1979 "Quit For Life" anti-smoking campaign
in New South Wales, Australia (Milio 1985). The project utilised a similar three town design - one control, one using the media by itself and the other using complementary small group instruction. The initial findings revealed that firstly, after 15 months, a 6% larger drop in smokers in the two test towns than in the control town and secondly, small group efforts did not make a significant difference.

The Principles of Mass Media Influence in Health Education Interventions

The pivotal question here is how can one explain the variations in overall results from these three planned mass media experiments in health instruction? The net decline in the rate of smoking was 10% in Finland, 6 to 12 months afterwards, and for a similar period, 6% between the media and control towns in Australia 3 months afterwards and no significant difference between the two Californian towns (media only and media plus personal instruction) after three years.

The fundamental variation in these situations, one that explicates the media influence process is, as Milio (1985) suggests, the historical and social climate in which the experiments occurred. The Finnish project had been preceded by several years of debate and publicity on the hazards of smoking and the need for legislative measures. This generated a climate of opinion influenced by strong public, professional and news media (which are under public control) support for strict anti-smoking measures. The net result of this charged atmosphere was the implementation in 1978, of the world's most stringent anti-smoking measures; these include a total ban on cigarette advertising, an increase in cigarette taxes and restrictions on smoking in public places (Leppo 1978). Thus the climate of opinion and political manoeuvres favoured people's efforts to avoid smoking and to help sustain that motivation, minimised their options to smoke conveniently or economically.

In contrast with the Finnish situation, there were no
restrictions in force in Australia apart from a newly agreed nationwide code by which cigarette manufacturers were voluntarily to avoid appealing to youth in their promotion efforts. An interesting situation developed however in the experimental towns; the cigarette industry complained to publishers about the "Quit For Life" newsprint campaign, an action which succeeded temporarily in ending the anti-smoking messages. The issue was taken up at public hearings and the controversy was settled in favour of the campaign. Ironically, the proceedings generated far more publicity than the campaign itself could have in the media towns and thus performed the functional role of contributing to and influencing the prevailing climate of opinion on the issue. This factor may then help account for the apparent effectiveness of the campaign messages in the media towns compared with the control town.

Although there were no differences in the California town rates of smoking prevalence, the 11-15% reductions are significant indications of changes in smoking behaviour. Here again, these results must be located within the wider context of social opinion, agitation and demand for anti-smoking reform. A study of national smoking trends over the past two decades suggests that news reports of the 1964 U.S. Surgeon General's report on the health effects of cigarette smoking triggered several chains of social response that have precipitated the current continuing drop in the cigarette habit (Warner 1977).

The long term decline in cigarette smoking in the Californian towns is probably more likely the result of the indirect effects of the widespread publicity on the negative health impact from cigarettes initiated in 1964. A change in public consciousness and opinion created an environment in which groups of nonsmokers and ex-smokers were galvanised into making a political issue of cigarette control. Possibly because tobacco interests in the United States constitute an impressive part of the nation's economy - the industry as a whole accounts for about 2.5% of the nation's GDP (Jowett & O'Donnell 1986) - and have established themselves as an
important force in American politics, these attempts have not met with the same success as what happened in Finland. However, the social agitation proved sufficient to prompt an annual health report, mandated by Congress, on progress toward reducing smoking and a national survey to monitor smoking habits: This at least ensures health news each year reminding the public and policymakers of the effects of smoking. Of greater importance have been the successes of organised health action in some American states which resulted in a large increase in tobacco laws and ordinances banning smoking in public places. These restrictions facilitated smokers who wanted to cease and helped discourage those who might have initiated the habit. Such measures could have had a similar effect on the Californian town experiment if introduced.

How then can the overall contribution of the media in the Finnish, Australian and American situations be defined? The media influence process can be said to have operated in two significant ways. On one level, it was the long term effect of health news which set the agenda for public discourse on the smoking/health issue which defined it as a problem demanding action. This defines the media as operating in the manner of agenda setting. The news reports were not intended to lead to social changes or generate political

10 The state of Kansas is illustrative of this type of action. In the mid 1980's legislation was passed which banned smoking in public. In practice this meant that in the State Judicial Complex for example, smoking was banned in public areas such as the main lobby but was allowed in specially designated areas. Where private interests such as restaurants were concerned, mandatory no smoking areas were legislated. However, smoking areas were optional.

11 The principal idea of this school of thought, as first defined by McCoombs & Shaw (1972) states that the media define the salience and framework of issues to be discussed by audiences. The processes by which this occurs are too complex to elaborate on here but suffice it to say that research (Golding 1981; Golding & Elliot 1979) has underscored that news is not simply the "random reporting of random events". Rather news items are selected from a pool of possible events and as such the producers of mass media messages determine the way these issues will be reported and consequently the nature of public discussion.
action but they did nonetheless tap and strengthen previously submerged anti-smoking sentiments. Milio (1985) reports that in Finland, the United States and Australia, it was the long term effect of health news punctuating the public mind and placing the smoking/health issue on the agenda of public discourse that defined it as a public problem about which people formed opinions. This then provided a social climate in which health instruction, intended to affect personal habits was carried out. The potential that media health news has for deciding the agenda for public discourse is readily demonstrated in an IBA research paper entitled Informing the Public About AIDS—Measurement of Knowledge, Attitude, Behaviour which was researched and published in the United Kingdom in 1987. The report notes that 83% of people said they got their information about AIDS from television news as opposed to 56% who cited government television advertisements as their source. A further 53% quoted radio news as their information source compared with 38% who identified government radio advertisements.\(^\text{12}\)

The second level on which the media influence process has operated in the specific examples mentioned is in the creation of a "climate of opinion".\(^\text{13}\) The concept of a "climate of opinion" identifies the media influence as operating in a complex and indirect manner. Originally conceived of by Noelle-Newman (1984) the argument essentially poses that the mass media exert influence primarily through their effect on public opinion rather than on individual opinions and attitudes. In time people will adopt and conform

\(^\text{12}\)There has been opposition to the idea of the agenda setting role of the media where health issues are concerned. Culbertson & Stempel (1984), quoted in Meyer (1990:55), found that most people's personal health information agendas are set by their own specific problems rather than by national concerns raised by the media.

\(^\text{13}\)The "climate of opinion" concept is also analogous with the older concept of the "Two Step Flow" (or Multi-Step Flow) formulated by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955). This theory postulates that media influence emanates from the mass media to opinion leaders interested in a specific topic and consequently most likely to be exposed to media messages, and then by word of mouth, to the rest of the public.
to these opinions and attitudes rather than risk social and psychological alienation. Although this theory has received academic criticism, McCron & Budd (1979) point out that it does fit in with various pressure group activities in the health field in the United Kingdom which endeavour to fight the smoking habit and its consequences for health through changing public opinion on a long term basis.

The net result of the long term media influence in setting the agenda\(^{14}\) on the health-smoking issue and the creation of a climate of opinion in the Finnish, Australian and American situations was the birth of an effective environment in which health instruction, intended to affect personal habits and behaviour was carried out. The ensuing changes in law, regulation and prevailing public opinion affected the relative difference in the effectiveness of the health instruction in each country.

The Principles of Design and Implementation of Mass Media Health Education Campaigns

The success of media campaigns exemplified in the three media experiments previously discussed, depends not solely on the process of mass media influence but also on certain specific principles in design and execution. From the literature reviewed on this aspect of communication campaigns, the following principles have been recurrent characteristics of successful campaign planning and execution: evaluative research, pretesting and interpersonal communication.

\(^{14}\)Some researchers have commented on the complexities of the relationship between the health community and the media. These issues and conflicts could affect the role the media plays in agenda setting and in the creation of climates of opinion. Atkin & Arkin (1990:20-23) state that there is a conflict between what gatekeepers judge to be newsworthy and what health specialists believe the public should be told. In arguing that the public health community needs the media more than the media needs them, Stuyck (1990:72-73) states that most health news is considered "soft" by media standards and be covered or ignored without any serious immediate implications.
Evaluative Research

As Flay and Cook (1982:46) note two broad categories of evaluative research are usually distinguished. Formative evaluation which is concerned primarily with pre-campaign implementation activities and summative evaluation which principally assess outcomes. Although, as the researchers comment, the distinction between the two is somewhat artificial in the sense that results from summative research can be used in a formative sense to improve future implementations of the programme, the distinction is useful in delineating the range of activities covered by each. The strength and potential success of these evaluative research activities are however, contingent upon asking and answering the right questions.

Formative Evaluative research

The functional value of formative research lies in its ability to provide a data base on which campaign planners can make informed decisions about the prospective mass media intervention. However, as Atkin & Freimuth (1990:150) point out such research activities are "still the exception rather than the norm" in public service campaign efforts due to insufficient funding, lack of technical expertise and minimal appreciation of the value of background information. Several key issues should however, be addressed in this research endeavour.

One of the more fundamental concerns of formative research is deciding whether a media campaign is an appropriate strategy at all to achieve the specific objectives. It also raises questions about what models and forms of media influence and what media are appropriate and at what stages of the campaign. In many instances it may be just assumed by campaign planners that the media are right for the job without thorough assessment of its efficacy for the intervention.

Research is also geared towards the present state of
knowledge about the particular issue of the campaign. Campaign planners must have a thorough understanding of the issues they are dealing with if they are to grasp the various nuances in meaning, connotations and facts of the subject matter they have to construct a campaign about. Perhaps more importantly however, the formative research activity must provide a basis for determining what the public are concerned about in relation to the particular health issue so that health educators can respond to these felt needs rather than simply to their assumptions about what the public should be concerned about. This is of particular significance when one considers the relationship between health educators and government organisations which are usually providing the funding. In certain instances health educators may fall victim to the pressures of the political ambitions of a government anxious to project an image of attempting to rectify a particular problem.

An interesting illustration of the execution and value of formative research is demonstrated in the production of the "Can You Avoid Cancer?" series in the United Kingdom (Jackson & Laking 1985). This was a series of five twenty five minute programmes transmitted late in the evening on BBC 1 television during June/July 1984 and repeated in January 1985. The series was intended to inform the public about what cancer is and how it may be prevented.

The formative research began with the co-operation between the programme producer and a senior researcher from the BBC Broadcasting Research Department, in a project designed to clarify how the series might best fulfil the needs of the potential audience. The research sought to

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15 Another example of formative research using both quantitative and qualitative methods is described by Miekle and Chen (1983). These formative research methods were used in the preparation of a children's television series 3-2-1 Contact which dealt with motivating interests in science and technology. Some of the formative research methods used included open-ended question generation (pg. 35), ratings analyses (pg. 39) and freeze frame comprehension testing (pg. 47).
identify firstly, the fundamental issues of the topic - what is cancer and how can it be avoided; and secondly, how this information could best be communicated to people so that they understood it and be encouraged to take action for themselves. The first of these objectives was achieved by extensive and thorough discussion with medical experts. The second relied on inputs from qualitative and quantitative research techniques. A questionnaire survey was used to find out what potential viewers already knew about cancer; this was complemented by a series of group discussions which attempted to assess people’s feelings about cancer - their hopes, fears and superstitions - and to ascertain why people adopted the attitudes they did.

The information provided by both these techniques presented a clear picture of people’s attitudes to cancer which can be summarised as follows:

1. Cancer is viewed as "alien, taboo, mysterious and incurable"
2. Cancer is generally thought of as one illness, not many
3. Knowledge of the causes of cancer is confused
4. Smoking causes cancer - maybe?
5. Doubts about a cure and fear of treatment
6. Disappointment in the "sensationalist" scare and wonder cure approach of the media

Having arrived at this audience perspective, the Producer of the programme was able to develop the series in a manner which was capable of dealing with these conceptions and misconceptions. The formative research on "Can You Avoid Cancer?" was obviously helpful in formulating the nature and content of the programmes but it is impossible to assess whether it was more effective than it might otherwise have been since there was no comparable series done without the assistance of formative research. However, evaluative research done on the impact of the series (Jackson & Laking 1985), which included a special research project carried out by the BBC Broadcasting Research Department in association with a repeat showing of the series in January 1985, suggests
that "Can You Avoid Cancer?" did succeed in fulfilling many of its objectives and there seems little doubt that the formative research contributed to that success.

An extremely important facet of formative evaluative research is audience research. The literature on principles of public communication design not only stresses the importance of this aspect of formative research but is also replete with examples of various approaches to do this. Wortzel (1975) for example suggests that the health marketeer should study the target audience in terms of their perceptions with regard to 1) their susceptibility to a health disease or problem 2) the seriousness of the disease or problem if it is encountered 3) the estimated probability that a given course of action will reduce the threat and 4) the estimated cost of the action. Wortzel believes that data on the above factors can be combined with other demographic and psychographic information in order to define audience segments and thus tailor the message in a manner more likely to motivate behaviour. A key consideration is the ability to reach these groups through some medium of communication.

The operative concern in this approach which is in general a characteristic of audience research is segmentation. As Grunig (1989:205) writes, the literature from the diverse disciples such as marketing, public relations and mass communications which have appropriated the concept of segmentation provide an "inexhaustible and disorganised" list of approaches to segmentation of populations. He further defines segmentation (pg. 202) as "divid(ing) a population, market or audience into groups whose members are more like each other than members of other segments". He qualifies this definition in relation to communication campaigns by adding (pg.204) that segmentation "must be capable of predicting when members of a segment will

16Grunig also provides a list of segmentation techniques which can be used to narrowly delineate audience segments. He reviews and organises material from diverse disciples to devise a "nested" model of segmentation taken from literature on industrial marketing.
communicate". This latter point could be considered more of an oversimplification of the communication element of segmentation. Dervin (1981) makes the more detailed suggestion that when planning a campaign, the segmentation of the audience should address such questions as: how much do people use information? What kinds of information do people need? What do people use information for? And what predicts their information use?

The SHDPP for example used a diverse selection of segmentation methods in its campaign effort. Language segmentation was one method used - Spanish speaking adults were reached on Spanish speaking stations. Other techniques used included attitudinal segmentation which meant designing and aiming messages specifically at those with a particular predisposition to change and channel segmentation which involved directing certain elements of the campaign at those who regularly went to such places as barber shops, grocery stores and libraries.

The importance of segmentation lies in the fact that there is now a recognition that for campaigns to succeed in "getting the message across", the campaigns must be directed to carefully selected segments of the mass audience.\textsuperscript{17} Audience segmentation/definition is therefore crucial to the success of campaign efforts. Evidence of the consequences of the failure to clearly focus a campaign intervention at specific audience segments is exemplified for example in the evaluation of "The Asian Mother & Baby Campaign" in the United Kingdom (Dickinson, Khan & Rocheron 1989 Vol.11).

The campaign was an intervention aimed to improve

\textsuperscript{17}Mendelsohn (1973:50-51) expresses this well when he writes:"An impressive fund of data gathered over the past thirty years indicates that the publics who are most apt to respond to mass-mediated information messages have a prior interest in the subject areas presented. As a consequence, information directed to this segment of a potential audience requires totally different communications strategies and tactics from information that is to be disseminated to an audience that is initially indifferent".
maternity services for Asians in 16 District Health Authorities between 1984 and 1987. The project consisted of a health education campaign intending to make Asians aware of the importance of antenatal care and the services available. A novel feature of the campaign was the use of Linkworkers - who were trained to act as interpreters, cultural ambassadors, representatives of patients and staff and health educators. The Linkworkers functioned as a link between Asian women and health care professionals. Despite the sophistication of the campaign, its evaluation showed that its impact was slight. In trying to find an explanation for this the researchers (pgs. 116-118) make several propositions. One of these is that the campaign made "Asian families" its main target which meant according to the researchers that "the content of the publicity had to take on a rather unfocussed and nonspecific character". They conclude that this may have been one of the reasons for its lack of impact and they suggest that if the campaign had been aimed more specifically at young married Asians it may well have had a greater impact.

Another factor to be taken into account in audience research is the social context of the receiver: interpersonal influences may compete with or complement the mediated messages. If pejorative or negative personal interactions are anticipated the campaign might seek to counteract these pressures and deal with controversial topics in an open two sided manner.

An additional consideration in this regard is the fact that campaign messages will not be received in a media vacuum - entertainment, news and advertisements may be countering or supporting campaign themes. In health campaigns dealing with alcohol abuse for example campaigns have to face competing influences from advertisements which promote alcohol consumption and associate it with attractive lifestyles, prestige and desirability. It may be wise for a campaign to deliberately attack pervasively disseminated images or arguments rather than simply ignoring these other influences that the public is exposed to. In pursuing this theme of the
campaign's media environment, Signorielli (1990:111-112) points out that there is a considerable amount of health related information in television programming and that research reveals that these messages are in conflict with realistic guidelines for health and medicine. She further stresses the fact that there is a dearth of information on the effects of these images upon behaviours and conceptions about the world.\footnote{Although numerous studies in many counties have examined media portrayal of alcohol for example only a few have examined the social implications of this portrayal. An example of the latter type of research was done by Hansen (1988). He has utilised a cultivation approach to media influence to examine the role played by television in determining the beliefs and images among the public regarding the use and abuse of alcohol.}

Once the campaign planners have conducted a thorough formative evaluative research which would have yielded a wide data base on the audience, the topic of the campaign and the approaches they will take, they are in an informed position to establish specific goals for the campaign. These goals must be based on adequate definitions of the "problem" being addressed by the media strategy. A number of researchers have stressed the importance of setting explicit and specific goals for mass media campaigns. Mendelsohn (1973) has underscored the value of "middle range goals which can be reasonably assessed as a consequence of exposure" (pg. 52). He supports this point by referring to a television traffic safety programme. It was developed with the following middle range objectives 1) to overcome public indifference to traffic hazards which may be caused by driving 2) to make bad drivers cognizant of their deficiencies 3) to direct viewers who become aware of their driving deficiencies into social mechanisms which had already been set up to correct such deficiencies. Mendelsohn emphasises the "specificity of these objectives" and the fact that "they are succinct, reasonable and amenable to post-hoc evaluation" (pg.34). Consideration should also be given to variables having to do with the type of target behaviour at which the communication is aimed, for example whether at immediate or long term change, at a change...
on a specific issue or across a whole ideological system, or at a change in an existing belief.

The value of goal setting is evident when considering that unless there are explicitly stated goals advertising copywriters may treat public service campaigns like "creative trips", where they are free to let their imaginations be unrestrained without the pressures of accountability that are presented by commercial clients. The statement of goals also guides evaluation, allows evaluative plans to be specified in advance and should aid the campaign planner in estimating budgetary needs.

**Summative Evaluation**

A communication campaign does not simply end once it has been executed. Post campaign evaluation or summative evaluation to assess the intervention is of critical importance in any campaign strategy. Flay & Best (1982:46) define summative evaluation as determining 1) how the programme was implemented, or whether or not it was implemented as planned or as officially stated (implementation evaluation); 2) the effects of the programme on the recipients (outcome evaluation); 3) the effects on the broader social environment as well as the recipients (impact evaluation); and sometimes 4) why the effects did or did not occur or what conditions moderated or mediated them (process evaluation). With regard to an analysis of effects it is important as Halloran (1991:9) suggests to have a conceptual understanding of effects as opposed to effectiveness. The latter idea refers to an assessment of declared aims and objectives. Summative evaluation therefore, should not only question whether the campaign achieved its goals but it should also concern itself with how did it attain its goals. These results must be used constructively to improve and modify future campaigns.

A number of researchers have argued for examining the cognitive and affective as well as the behavioural influences of the campaign (Clarke & Kline 1974; Kline, Miller &
Morrison 1975; Ray and Ward 1975). The advantages of a multifaceted approach in evaluation are several: firstly, if only behavioural change is measured, many effects of the campaign will be overlooked; secondly, it will be difficult to understand how or why a campaign succeeded or failed to modify behaviour if other responses are not measured; and thirdly, it is valuable to see how cognitive, affective and behavioural responses relate to one another and to demographic and nondemographic characteristics of the respondents. Ray & Ward (1975) and Clarke & Kline (1974) also point out that evaluative studies should seek to investigate the influence of mass media on subsequent interpersonal communication. Swineheart (1975) emphasised the importance of assessing exposure levels to mass media campaigns since this serves as a constraint on further effects.

Many of the evaluation processes advocated however, tend to place an unbalanced emphasis on the quantifiable aspects of evaluation procedures. This quite often occurs to the exclusion of a study of the relationship of these outcomes to the very processes that have engineered them. In an attempt to reappraise the rationale and techniques of evaluation Parlett & Dearden (1977) have defined an alternative approach. Their "illuminative evaluation" model is concerned primarily with "description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction" (pg. 13) and takes into account the wider context in which the intervention has occurred. As the authors write, the "main task is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex reality (or realities) surrounding the programme" (pg. 24). The methods they advocate in the use of this model include observation; interviews; questionnaires and tests; documentary and background sources. Although this model was initially designed for the evaluation of educational programmes it has been appropriated for the study of campaign interventions. The evaluation of the "Asian Mother and Baby Campaign" for example was based to some degree on this model. As the authors of the evaluation report write "Such an approach to evaluation studies considers that measuring the outcomes of a given campaign can only be useful when carried out together
with an examination of the processes of change which lead to these outcomes....it seeks to identify and map out the milieux - social, cultural and political - in which the innovative programme is being conducted." (Dickinson, Khan & Rocheron 1988:8).

Whatever the nature of the evaluation method used there is an agreement among communication scholars that evaluation is a crucial strategy to fine tune and tailor campaigns. It is particularly essential if they are being executed on a long term basis. Some scholars advocate the building in of evaluation procedures throughout the entire campaign, testing one's decisions and providing feedback on how one's choices might be improved. McCron (1985:68) has suggested that "the commonly held view of evaluation as examination of outcomes tested using a clinical model is inadequate" and he calls for "the integration of research and evaluation throughout all stages of campaign development and execution". The necessity for this is rooted in communication theory because it is unwise to assume that the message intended by the producer is the message received by the audience. In an effort to minimise this risk, consistent evaluative methods must be instituted to constantly ensure that the message is being communicated and to identify any flaws in the design and execution of the campaign if communication is not being achieved. The economic advantage of this approach is apparent when one considers that smaller amounts of money can be spent on integrated evaluation which can effect modifications where they are needed, rather than commissioning a large post evaluation study which might reveal costly errors when it is too late to rectify them.

The Role of Pretesting

Pretesting is part of the evaluation process that is conducted in the early or formative stages of programme development. Pretesting has been defined by Romano (1985) as the process by which the producers of a campaign systematically gather target audience reactions to messages and materials before they are produced in final form.
value of this particular research activity cannot be overestimated when one considers that very often, the health information to be communicated may be controversial, inconclusive and subject to change as new research findings are released. Many diseases such as cancer are fear arousing and public responses are sometimes emotional. Consequently there exists the potential to misdirect or alienate target audiences with inappropriate messages. This exercise is also important because the campaign planners and health educators are not usually representative of the target audience by virtue of their experience and education. The consequent failure of coincidence in worldview between them and their audience increases the likelihood of an inability to get the message across.

Pretesting can be used to identify strengths and weaknesses in campaign material and these findings can be used to revise and improve materials before they are distributed to elected audiences. Pretests of messages and materials are usually designed to assess their effectiveness in the following categories:
1. Attention – does the message attract and/or hold the audience attention
2. Comprehension – is the message clearly understood? Are the main ideas conveyed?
3. Personal relevance – does the target audience perceive the message to be personally relevant?
4. Believability – is the message and/or its source perceived as believable?
5. Acceptability – is there anything in the message that may be offensive or unacceptable to the target audience?

Pretesting of campaign material can be conducted in different ways. Atkin & Freimuth (1989) for example provide a

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19 Atkin & Freimuth (1989:131) classify pretesting as a second type of formative evaluative research which they label "production testing". The first phase or type of formative evaluative research is referred to by the authors as "preproduction research" and would include all the activities previously discussed under the section on formative research.
description of seven different methods that can be employed as pretesting exercises. These include focus group interviews which are a form of qualitative research conducted among a group of some 8 to 10 respondents; individual in-depth interviews which are used for sensitive issues that must be probed deeply; central-location intercept interviews which involves positioning interviewers at places frequented by members from the desired audience and asking them to participate in the exercise; self-administered questionnaires which can either be mailed or distributed at some location; theatre testing which relies on forced exposure to test visual messages in a controlled setting; day-after-recall, used primarily to test commercials, involves contacting people by phone to invite them to watch a programme on cable television in their own homes and then participate in a follow up telephone interview the following day; gatekeeper review in which gatekeepers are asked to review a version of the campaign material since gatekeepers are likely to be sensitive to what the audience may or may not like.

The Role of Interpersonal Communication (IPC)

There is now a strong consensus from research to date that including interpersonal support20 and reinforcement for behaviour change through community organisation can increase the effects of a media campaign. Its value lies in the fact that if an audience has incompletely understood a message or is having difficulty in learning, appropriate individualised guidance can be provided through interpersonal communication. This is particularly important if the campaign is seeking to teach new behavioural skills such as educating women on the techniques involved in breast self-examination.

Generally speaking, interpersonal communication

20 Hornik (1989) dissents form this view arguing that the consensus may be wrong and could often lead communication programme planners down the wrong path. Using evidence from a health communication programme in Swaziland he focuses on the potential of influencing behaviour change through the use of mass media alone.
encourages discussion of fears, problems, questions, attitudes, feelings and anxieties at an intimate level and allows for the expansion of the message in an informal setting thereby reinforcing the impact of the message.

The importance of a sustained interpersonal supportive network is illustrated in the examples of the three media experiments previously described. The Finns concluded that their small group doubled the effectiveness of the television message whereas the Australian and Californian researchers were not of the opinion that this component was of significant long term benefit. The difference in Finland however was that preceding the programme was five years of a community wide, multifaceted programme to reduce heart disease, organised and implemented through North Karelia's community associations. They consequently had a wealth of experience on which to draw, one in which local people were leaders; this was quite different to the health professionals who came from outside sources to lead the groups in New South Wales and California.

This is not to deny the value and role of this model of communication in other forms of health education using the media. An illustrative case is the role played by the Linkworkers in the previously mentioned Asian Mother & Baby Campaign (Dickinson, Khan, Rocheron 1988 Vol.11). The researchers concluded that the Linkworkers have improved the range and quality of information received from and given to Asian patients on their health and family situations. They also note that more crucially they have helped women who would otherwise have been unable to use health care services on their own to do so with more confidence (pgs. v-vi).

Interpersonal support has also proved a helpful and instructive channel in a Netherlands preventative health education campaign in helping women to cope with breast cancer in an adequate way (Rutter-van den Hof 1981). The first phase of the campaign utilised the media and the second phase consisted of group sessions on the subject of breast cancer, organised in conjunction with women's organisations.
and other voluntary groups. Such a forum provided an open but intimate atmosphere for the sensitive discussion of a frightening and disfiguring disease for women. It has allowed for feedback from its participants who have the opportunity of sharing their apprehensions, fears and questions about the theme of the campaign. Of equal importance too was that the group/support sessions provided added instruction by way of demonstrations on breast self-examination using slides along with personal explanation.

That such a support system, geared to offer sufficient back up to the media attempts in a given direction, must be adequate, organised and well in place merits special emphasis. Otherwise the result could be similar to the ill-fated Granada, "Reports Action" programme in the United Kingdom which offered viewers a free antismoking kit to help them stop smoking (Raw & Van de Plight 1981). About 600,000 people asked for the kit and it was said to have been the biggest response to a television programme in the history of broadcasting. However, the project failed as it provoked a response for which there was a totally inadequate back up. Of the 600,000 people who appealed for the kit only 10,000 received as this was the limit on the quantity that "Reports Action" had prepared. As a result about 590,000 smokers were left frustrated and angry.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the principles and practices of mass media health education. The discussion highlighted the various processes by which the media influence process can operate in health promotion. These included the creation of a climate of opinion - a process by which the mass media exert an influence primarily through their effect on public opinion rather than on individual opinions and attitudes. Another media influence process which was focused on was agenda setting. It was argued that the media are capable of firstly, organising an agenda of health issues that the public think and talk about and secondly, defining the nature of the issues that are placed on this public agenda. These
concepts of the media influence process will be used as a frame of reference in subsequent chapters to see if and how the Jamaican replacement fertility campaign has functioned to realise its goal.

Where mass media campaigns are concerned, the chapter discussed several principles of campaign design and implementation. These principles included evaluation research, an activity which consisted of several components: formative evaluation, audience research and summative evaluation. Other features of campaign design and implementation which merited discussion were pretesting and interpersonal communication. These principles will be applied in later chapters to an assessment of the efficacy of the replacement fertility campaign on the level of its design and execution.

Any review of the role of the mass media in public health education will invariably underscore one fundamental factor - the complexity of the media influence process. As such no miracle formula exists for the successful execution of campaigns utilising the media. The various principles discussed here and illustrated by way of practical examples drawn form the health field, serve primarily as guidelines which may be operationalised in organised attempts to achieve positive health objectives employing the media.

That the principles and approaches discussed here can be extrapolated and applied wholesale in all health contexts is not being suggested. Rather, it is contended that these principles and approaches will necessarily be subject to modification according to certain defined factors.

The first of these is the particular topic of the campaign. Campaigning against cigarette smoking, a habit which has been generally thought of as socially acceptable behaviour, is in essence different to utilising the media in attempts to persuade people to limit their family size. Such a mission is often fraught with other considerations such as the sensitivity and personal nature of such an issue and in
certain communities, the cultural and ideological dimensions of procreation.

Another fundamental influence directing the design and execution of campaigns is the nature and structure of the particular society. In Third World countries for example consideration has to be given to the existence of a communications gap (Rogers 1976; Tuluhungwa 1981). One unfortunate consequence of communication in developing countries is that it may help to widen the gap in knowledge between two categories of receivers - the high and low in socioeconomic status. The radio and television systems favour those who can afford them and the energy required to sustain their use. Illiteracy also proves a barrier to exposure to printed material. Illiteracy however, not only refers to the absence of reading and writing skills, many campaigns utilise visual images without a full awareness of the fact that rural people in the Third World have often not been exposed to pictorial stimulation and do not yet have the same skills in reading pictures as an urban audience (Fuglesang 1973).

As such, programmes and messages developed by the educational elite can very often end up geared more to the middle and upper classes of the nation. This orientation is further promoted when one considers that most communication systems are establishment oriented and generally serve to legitimize and maintain the status quo. Given this constraint and the fact that information is not a neutral product, every effort must be pursued in campaign design to ascertain the extent of coincidence in fields of experience within societies characterised by social cleavages. Just how the above mentioned contextual circumstances and constraints have influenced the efficacy of the media campaign designed to restrict population growth in Jamaica is one of the objectives of the thesis. However, before embarking on this analysis it is useful to examine how mass media family planning/population control programmes in the Third world have been approached. It is to this issue that the following chapter will address itself.
CHAPTER 3

THE MASS MEDIA IN FAMILY PLANNING AND POPULATION CONTROL:
LESSONS FROM THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Introduction

The application of mass communication techniques and strategies to further the objectives of population/family planning\(^1\) in the developing world has witnessed rapid and extensive growth in the past two decades. This particular domain of population communication has generated a plethora of studies and projects of varying quality, too difficult to describe globally. A chronicle of the efforts in population/family planning is beyond the scope of this chapter although some description is both inevitable and appropriate to the general theme of this study. Rather what this chapter seeks to offer in general terms is an evaluation of the role of the mass media in the sphere of population communication.

To this end an historical overview of the field is essential to locate the use of the mass media within the specific contexts which have affected and influenced its development. These experiences will be distilled to determine firstly, the particular models of communication and assumptions about the communication process that have underpinned the use of the media in population communication; and secondly, given this heuristic framework what have been the achievements and failings of the mass media within this domain over the past two decades.

\(^1\) By family planning, this paper refers to Rogers (1973:230) definition: "If we define 'family planning' operationally in terms of what family planning programs do or seek to accomplish, we would include activities/objectives such as 1. prevention of unwanted births, 2. child spacing, 3. reduction of number of children desired and, sometimes 4. assistance to couples with infertility problems."
An examination of a frequently adopted mass media strategy — mass media campaigns in family/population planning will provide the basis for an analysis of the viability of such a media strategy in fulfilling the objective of assisting in the long term goal of restricting population growth. This discussion will involve a critical evaluation of the methodology of campaigns as well as the particular perspective of the communication process embraced by this strategy. The contribution of family planning communication research will be one of the evaluative criteria employed in this discussion. This chapter will close with a summary of the findings of the study together with a submission of proposals intended to expand and improve the current role of the mass media in family planning communication.

Historical Overview

In general, the perception of the role of information, education and communication (I.E. & C.) through the media has been influenced by policy decisions and changes in family planning programmes internationally. The rapid development of favourable policies together with steadily increasing amounts of international assistance, resulted in the establishment of family and population planning programmes and accompanying communication units of varying form in most developing countries during the 1960's. With few exceptions such programmes were placed within the existing health structure — based on a medical clinic approach — with the obvious advantage of legitimization provided by the medical and health activities.

Integration of family planning information and services with a country's comprehensive health programme was viewed as a politically expedient means to minimize criticism of the government. Family planning was considered safe when combined with maternal and health care. However, the placing of family planning programmes within the health structure also meant that medical doctors were named not only as heads of such programmes but often times as administrators of their
communication components as well.

This in itself, according to many observers, was a primary obstacle in the effective communication of family planning. The Western based model of clinic medicine used as the forum for disseminating family planning information, imported indiscriminately with it the typical doctor/patient relationship. As Bunnag (1981) writes, this relationship was, and still is, characterised by an absence of communication probably due in large measure to the exclusionary and elitist nature of the medical system. Bunnag (1981:30) states that where this relationship is concerned, "such information as is passed between the two (doctor and patient) follows a model of communication which is a linear left to right paradigm that implies a transmission approach to communication like a bucket carries water."

This model generally reflected the approach adopted by the mass media wherever it was employed. Large scale trials of the mass media were emerging in a bid to propagate the message of family planning. In most instances this took the form of a single communication medium, chosen more on the basis of its availability than on its ability to communicate to the appropriate target audience. The emphasis was clearly on providing information. Berelson (1964:101) defined the task of the media as necessary to:

"...... generate interest, provide information, change attitudes stimulate action, that is to do all those things that a program of information and education is supposed to do."

In a summary of recommendations for a 'sociologically correct' family planning programme, Bogue (1967:100) proposed that:

"The first phase of this programme should emphasize information dissemination and should go easy on active pressure to change people's actions or to 'motivate' them. The first goal should be to bring specific family planning information and knowledge about reproduction to the people so that anyone who cares to listen may learn."
Within these particular prescriptions, naive optimism chartered the proposed course of the mass media. They were perceived as powerful purveyors of information which was expected to be a panacea, specifically to the problems of population control. Like communication planners in other development sectors, those in population and family planning tended to assume mistakenly that knowledge, attitudes and practice of contraception could be influenced in direct proportion to the extent of publicity generated through the media. This reliance on creating "awareness" of family planning was the norm of most programmes in these early stages. Unfortunately most failed to move far enough and fast enough beyond the awareness stage. Perhaps one of the most striking features of this view of communication was its contradiction to prevailing thought on the process in the United States. American research, noticeably that of Joseph Klapper (1960), was showing that media only reinforced pre-existing beliefs, while the particular approach in the developing countries was claiming that the media were capable of bringing about big changes. This model of communication assumed that the audience would be unable to resist the messages hurled at them by the media.

Growing dissatisfaction with the performance of the Clinic era and disappointment with the inability of the mass media to attract the expected number of acceptors, led to a radicalization of approach in the mid and late sixties. The new thrust was active rather than passive. Clinics were still an important part of the programme but informational/motivational efforts were the responsibility of field oriented change agent aides supplemented with heavy financial investments in vigorous mass media campaigns. The intellectual basis for this approach was the classical diffusion model discussed in Chapter 1.

The process of media influence leading to the adoption of contraceptive techniques was perceived as operating through six progressive psychological stages: 1. awareness 2. interest 3. acceptance 4. trial 5. adoption 6. reinforcement. The mass media were therefore thought to play an
indispensable role in the promotion of family planning, a position reflected in the following statement:

"The mass media not only can carry programme information to large numbers of people, but importantly, they can reach all of them with the same message at the same time and with the needed frequency. This feature is especially valuable in terms of information impact and the building of massive public response." (Johnson et al 1973:9).

This uncritical view of the role of the media and unquestioning acceptance that the provision of information was pivotal to successful communication strategies, failed to address certain fundamental issues. Who, for example, was this information directed towards? What type of information did different groups of the population require? Who would decide what is provided? What values or whose values would the information provided reflect? What use would be made of what is provided? In a communication sense therefore, family planning programmes and strategies were still source oriented or at least message oriented, rather than client oriented. The programmes did not begin with the target audience, with their mentality, perceptions, needs and motivations.

This restricted use of the mass media occurred to the exclusion of any consideration to the complexities of the communication process. The notion of process implicit in this model was a vertical one, derived from an acceptance of a one-way, 'top-downwards' model. It was based on the erroneous assumption that communication was a simple independent variable in a complex set of social, political and economic structures and processes. This inventory of criticisms unmistakably identified these communication strategies with the Modernisation paradigm of development communication.

In addition to their role in diffusing family planning innovations, communication channels were perceived as having another broader function. Mass communication was thought to have a crucial role in a nation's modernisation which in turn would facilitate the adoption of contraception and result in a decrease in fertility rates. One fundamental conceptual
problem with this developmental communication approach was the level at which change was envisaged as occurring. The locus of control was centred in the individual and this individual - blame view of the problems of underdevelopment failed to set the information environment within the larger political and economic structures of the particular country. Where fertility behaviour was concerned, this perspective localized the issue of high fertility at the level of the individual thus divorcing it from the very contextual socio-economic factors that impinged upon it.

Given the limitations of the classical diffusion of innovations model it was purely a question of the inevitable that enthusiasm for this approach waned in response to its failure to realise previous expectation. After massive expenditures for radio, television, film and newspaper messages in the late 60's, it was gradually recognized that the mass media could not change the strongly held attitudes toward family planning, neither could they directly motivate adoption of contraceptives.

In the very late 1960's and early 1970's, a third era of family planning began in several less developed countries. This era was characterised by newly emerging trends in both family planning programmes and accompanying communication strategies. A major contributing factor to the changing climate for communication population was the World Population Conference held in Bucharest in 1974. The delegates unanimously adopted the World Plan of Action consisting of 94 paragraphs of recommendations, all of which will become part of the content of population communication in the years ahead and some of which represent specific policy statements concerning the role and use of communication in population and family planning programmes.

Two recommendations directly related to communication policy which have received wide attention appear in Paragraph 29: "That all countries

1. Respect and ensure, regardless of their overall demographic goals, the right of persons to determine in a free,
informed and responsible manner the number and spacing of
their children.

Encourage appropriate education concerning responsible
parenthood and made available to persons who so desire
advice and means of achieving it.

Although these recommendations provide the basis for the full
development of information and educational activities aimed
directly at enhancing and encouraging family planning, they
do not constitute an adequate definition of family and
population planning communication.

That communication is not well understood within
population and development circles is corroborated by the
fact that the word is mentioned only three times in the Plan
of Action. However, it did assist in redefining programmes as
not solely adjuncts to medical services but instead located
them in the wider context of national, multifaceted
development policies.

The communication strategies employed stressed
information but there was a renewed thrust on the motivation
aspect of the strategy in an effort to both recruit new
acceptors and encourage continuance of contraception. One of
the approaches adopted was the use of coordination
communication campaigns, a marked departure from the single
medium strategies of the 60’s. The emergence of the
communication campaign has in fact become one of the more
predominant and popular strategies in communicating family
planning.

Rogers (1973:277) defines a campaign as a "pre-planned
set of communication activities designed by change agents to
achieve certain changes in receiver behaviour in a specific
time period." Schramm (1971:35) concludes: "Discrete
campaigns have much to recommend them as variations on a
continuous programme." He cites such advantages of campaigns
as 1. that they make for a variety in messages and materials,
and hence, attract audience attention 2. that campaigns
permit focus on a particular sub-audience or goal 3. that
they facilitate evaluation of messages and/or channels and that campaigns offer a change of pace for the family planning staff, and thus fosters greater interest and creativity. In addition one of the main advantages of family planning communication campaigns is that they entail multiple interpersonal channels, are simultaneously carrying complementary messages to the same audience and the effects of these multiple channels are usually synergistic.

In many countries these campaigns have adopted as their primary thrust the advertising of the concept of family planning and various contraceptive methods. The use of mass media campaigns in this regard, referred to as social marketing, is designed to achieve a social objective through modern advertising and marketing techniques. Kotler and Zaltman (1971:5) define social marketing as the "design, implementation and control of programmes calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and market research".

Campaigns designed to make contraceptives available through existing market outlets at subsidized prices, accompanied by full publicity and promotion are an important and growing element of population communication. By 1973 it was estimated that at least 27 countries were using some form of commercial resources in their programmes and at least 16 buying media space or time (Glattbach 1977:51).

The definitive examples of what commercial marketing can achieve for population is still the Indian experience with Nirodh condoms in the 1960's. In perhaps one of the most sophisticated social marketing campaigns organised, condom sales in India increased from fewer than 25 million in the late 1960's to more than 160 million in 1979; 75% were Nirodh, the socially marketed product (Taplin 1981:130).

Of more interest however, is the conceptual model of communication that provided the framework for the mass media campaign strategy that began to emerge in the 70's. The
typical approach was based on a model characterised by two features which distinguished this approach from the earlier unidirectional model that characterised previous mass media strategies. Firstly, communication and receiver were seen as interdependent and feedback was taken into account. Secondly, the communicator as well as the recipient were located within a social structure, affected by the same socio-cultural variables.

This more refined conceptualization was of course a result of developments that were occurring in mainstream mass communication research. Models of society, concepts of human nature, images of man were all beginning to change. Sociology had advanced and learning theory, work on motives and attitudes, the development of personality theory, the emphasis on selectivity in attention and perception, were some of the forces which produced more sophisticated approaches to the communication process.

However, one of the fundamental failings of this emerging model, a deficiency which will be discussed in more detail later, is that it was primarily concerned with effects. In fact the model might be more appropriately referred to as a model of the persuasion process rather than a development in communication as a social process. The shifts in emphasis from individual psychological variables to the surrounding socio-cultural processes, from questions about effects to questions about uses or functions were progressive developments in themselves but they were progressive in relation to effects and persuasion and not in relation to communication as a social process.

Other Approaches to Population Communication

As mentioned at the outset of this paper the use of mass communication techniques is but one of the strategies employed in population communication. The other approaches merit albeit brief emphasis here.
Indigenous and Traditional Media

It was primarily the irrelevance of the Western developmental models and strategies which has lead everywhere for a search for ‘another development’, based on alternative strategies. This search for indigenous policies, has accelerated the rediscovery of the traditional forms of communication. The folk media have many things to recommend them, for one their rapport with audiences is patent and universal.

UNESCO has convened three international conferences to discuss the potential use of traditional media for communicating family and population planning. It was generally agreed that communication strategies which draw on the strengths of both folk form and modern mass media can improve the environment for informed and favourable decisions towards family planning. In one of these conferences, the Interregional Seminar-cum Workshop on the integrated use of folk media and mass media in family planning programmes, held in New Delhi in 1974, it was recommended that folk media be integrated into all rural development communication programmes. At the same time it was the general consensus that efforts should be made to preserve the originality of folk forms and care taken to adopt only those which by content and character are appropriate for population related messages.

India is certainly in the vanguard where variety and volume of folk media is concerned. A song and dance division established in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry in 1954 employs approximately 800 artists on a regular basis and maintains contact with 400 private troupes operating throughout the country. The division estimates that 14,000 performances take place every year, many of them dealing with development themes including family planning.

The folk forms used include for example Harikatha – essentially a one man show, it is a discourse with story and song: Kavi Gan – a typical Bengali Folk form which involves
an impromptu dialogue between two groups of poets each lead by a lead singer; Tamasha - a harmonious blend of music, dance and drama; Puppetry.

Population Education

The emergence of population education is of specific significance for two reasons. Firstly it represents recognition of the need to consider the long term implications of population growth which is perhaps best done within the forum of formal education and secondly it represents the important involvement of a sector apart from health in dealing with the issues of accelerating population.

In 1967, UNESCO’s Executive Board endorsed population education as an area in which assistance would be offered to member states and identifies two types of population education: dissemination in schools of knowledge about population and introduction of population material into adult education programmes. The first major workshop on population education was convened by UNESCO in Bangkok in 1970. One of its results was the development of a definition broad enough to cover both school and non-school activities: "Population education is an educational programme which provided for the study of the population situation in the family, community, nation and world, with the purpose of developing in students national and responsible attitudes and behaviour toward that situation." (UNESCO 1971:2).

The development of population education, like the provision of family planning services and information has been a function of official national policy. Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand have adopted population education as a national policy and are committed to its promotion over a specified period of time. In all of these countries, the approach consists of integrating population content into a wide variety of subjects and levels as schooling. It has for example been incorporated into instruction into geography, history, civics, health, home economics biology and mathematics. In
the Philippine nationwide programme begun in 1972, population education is introduced into the school curricula from the lowest grades.

Field Workers and Professional Workers as Communicators

In rural areas where mass media are less available, family planning workers are employed in many countries as part of an outreach programme. Even where mass media are readily available the effect of individual counselling in homes and clinics can help potential family planning acceptors to overcome misconceptions and negative attitudes towards contraception.

Despite the expense involved in employing field workers strategies, several countries such as Taiwan, Korea, Pakistan and Indonesia have employed this programme approach. In 1971 Java and Bali adopted a national policy decision to implement the field worker approach. After a few months, in almost every clinic where field workers were assigned their rate of adoption took a dramatic leap upwards. Rogers (1973:135), reports that in a sample of 66 clinics the number of adopters per clinic per month went from 10.4 before field workers to 28.3 afterwards an average increase of 17.9 adopters per clinic. This represents a 172% increase.

In addition to the field workers there are large numbers of para-professional and non-professional personnel who perform a valuable communication function although this may not be their primary task. Rogers (1973) defines three categories of such aides who support professional communication effort: 1) Para-professional aides such as the field workers who have secondary education coupled with training in family planning 2) Quasi-professional aides whose skill comes from experience rather than formal training such as indigenous midwives e.g. the dais of Pakistan, dunkuns of Indonesia, and the mamamamabangs of the Philippines 3) non-professional aides such as the vasectomy canvassers of India and Pakistan, who possess neither professional nor technical competence.
The effectiveness of a network of interpersonal communication in promoting the message of family planning is best illustrated by the achievements of the barefoot doctors in China. Major structural changes under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung included the re-education of doctors in the use of traditional medicine and in understanding the health problems of villagers. These professionals also trained barefoot doctors, paraprofessionals selected by their fellow factory or commune workers to enrol from three to six months of full time medical training. Among their numerous tasks, these barefoot doctors distributed contraceptive pills and condoms to their peers, promoted late marriage and generally encouraged the small family norm. The homophily of these barefoot doctors with their fellow workers tremendously increased their effectiveness in rural areas.

**The Mass Media: Its Achievements and Failings in Population Communication**

Probably the most eloquent evaluative statement on the role of the mass media in advancing the objectives of family planning programmes is a summary of its achievements and failings in this area. Out of the experiences of using the mass media in this domain over the past twenty years the following generalizations have been distilled.

1. **Awareness:** Mass media can be an important source of family planning awareness. The relative importance of mass media and personal communication varies among studies.
   a) In three middle class housing colonies in New Delhi with relatively literate residents the first source of information on the IUD listed by 73% of the acceptors was clinic staff; 72% of their husbands listed mass media, especially newspapers and journals, as their first sources of information. Two-thirds of the couples consulted other users in the course of making their own decisions. (Dubey and Choldin, 1967:608).
   b) In an experimental study of a radio campaign in Bogota, Colombia, during August 1969, the majority of new clinic patients attributed their decision to come to the clinic to discussion with friends and relatives; when directly asked if
they had heard the radio announcements, however, a high proportion said yes. (Simmons and Stycos, 1970:52). However, in a review of recent communication studies in family planning in India, Bardham et al (1984:38) commented that where awareness impact is concerned a study on the family planning reach and effectiveness revealed that the majority of respondents knew the meaning of family planning but that awareness is limited in so far as the scope of the programmes is concerned.

2. **Knowledge**: A concentrated public information campaign, including media or personal contact by staff can increase knowledge of contraceptive methods.

   a) A subsample, representing all the women aged 20-39 in Taichung, Taiwan, showed that the percent familiar with the IUD increased from 2% to 47% during a massive information campaign complemented with services; the percent familiar with the pill, which was not publicized, rose only from 19% to 21% by the end of the first ten programme months (Freedman and Takeshita, 1969:122). The emphasis of the campaign however, was more on personal contact than on mass media.

   b) A two-month campaign using personal contact and some mass media in three villages near Lahore, West Pakistan, yielded an increase from 38 to 87 percent in wives 15-30 years old (mainly illiterate) having knowledge of at least one contraceptive method. The increase in knowledge of the IUD alone was similar (Fayyaz, 1971:54).

3. **Acceptance**: Mass media, used either alone or in combination with other programme inputs can have a direct effect on acceptance.

   a) In Kaohsiung, Taiwan, acceptance of the loop and pill increased significantly after the media campaign was initiated and existing sources of personal contact, such as health personnel, were increased. Fifteen percent of the survey respondents who recalled being exposed to the mass media said that the information contributed to their decision to try a method (Cernada and Lu, 1972:202).

   b) During the height of a brief intensive media campaign using radio, films, sound tracks and pamphlets in urban, lower
income barrios in Honduras, weekly acceptance of contraception tripled at the clinic and reached a peak at the hospital (Stycos and Marden, 1970:23-24). There was a decline in acceptors after the campaign but not to the original level.

c) A mass media campaign first using spot radio announcements and then films, newspapers, leaflets, banners, and mailings was carried out in Isfahan Province, Iran in 1970 and 1971. Preliminary analysis of service statistics indicated that the number of new pill acceptors increased on the average from 425 per month before the radio campaign to 575 during the radio campaign and to 650 during a subsequent mixed media approach. New IUD and condom acceptors also increased and pill and condom re-acceptors rose at a rate faster than that in the rest of the country (Gillespie 1981:8). Four months after the campaign ended, monthly new acceptors of the pill declined but the number of re-acceptors continued to increase. Condom acceptors also increased; IUD acceptors levelled off.

4. A combination of communication channels is more effective than one, and a combination of media and personal communication is more effective than either media or personal communication alone.

a) In Taichung, Taiwan, the 'everything lins' (neighbourhoods with home visits, mailings and group meetings) had a significantly higher acceptance rate among married women aged 20-39 than did those lins using fewer means of communication, as shown below (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:36; Freedman and Takeshita, 1969:126):
100

Acceptance rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>After 10 months</th>
<th>After 14 months</th>
<th>After 30 months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posters and meetings with lin leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaders only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters; meetings mail</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters, meetings, mail and home visits to wife</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters, meetings, mail and home visits to husband and wife</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) In Sungdong Gu, Seoul, acceptance rates per 100 married women 20–44 years old, during the first year of the study were as follows: 11% of women in areas subject to mass media treatment only, 12% of women in areas receiving mailing in addition to media, 15% of women in areas using group meetings and media, and 18% of women in areas using home visits and media (Takeshita, 1966:706).

5. Because radio reaches large audiences and is not dependent on literacy, it appears to be the single most effective medium for creating awareness of family planning. Moreover, it can increase knowledge and acceptance.

a) In the Kaoshiung, Taiwan, follow-up survey, 90% of the married women were found to have radios and 35% of all wives stated they learned about family planning from the radio. The medium cited by the next highest percentage (17) was newspaper (Cernada and Lu, 1972:201).

b) A study in Bombay indicated that, among 240 women interviewed before and after a single radio broadcast on family planning 28% heard the programme. The percent knowing of the IUD increased from 3 to 11; and among those that already knew about the IUD, the percent believing that it caused disease fell from 22 to 11. One third of all the women who heard the broadcast said they intended to go to the clinic (Sinha, 1968).

In any discussion on the mass media in population
communication the achievement potential of the media may be evaluated or measured according to the specific strengths and weaknesses of each particular medium as well as their individual performance in population communication to date.

**Television**

The combination of sound and visual images makes television a powerful means of communication and certainly the most glamorous of the mass media. Television is valuable in teaching technical or other skills that require visual demonstration. Whatever can be broadcast audiovisually can be included on television and of course be prepared on videotape and broadcast repeatedly. However, its disadvantages are great - electricity is required, sets are expensive and production costs are high. In many developing countries, television remains the preserve of the urban elite. This identifies television as an accessible medium for policy makers of social programmes often including family planning. While it is known that television is used in many countries, very little documentation has been produced on television as a medium in family planning activities and what has been done is quite minimal.

In India however, family planning messages featured prominently in the Satellite Instructurial Experiment (SITE) programmes between August 1975 to July 1976. Research done by the Indian Space Research Organisers (ISRO) revealed that villagers were quite indifferent towards the family planning programmes. The apathy was explained by the ISRO as a result of repeated exposure to family planning programmes through television. Non-official investigators felt that lack of privacy in a community viewing situation might also have caused evasiveness among the female audience. No generalizations can be drawn from this or the other data because of its limited availability.

**Newspapers and Print Media**

In recent years family planning organisations have used
newspapers in a variety of ways: as a medium for family planning stories placed in the newspaper through public relations methods, for advertisements ranging from a few lines in a classified section to full page ads, and in advertising campaigns to support the commercial distribution of contraceptives.

Newspapers primary advantage is that they are static and hence provide easy reference. They also tend to be read by the decision makers in the urban areas. In fact in the early days of family planning programme development in many countries, newspapers were used as a successful communication channel to reach the elite and policy makers whose support was needed.

However, the big variable affecting its reach is literacy. Bardhan et al (1984:36) revealed that in a survey done in the reach and effectiveness of family planning communication in India, only 18% of the respondents read newspapers daily - not a surprising result as the literacy rate in the country is low. A large majority of the respondents i.e. about 60% remained beyond the reach of this medium. The reach of newspapers was fairly high in urban areas as reported by 44% of the respondents, while only 12% of respondents in rural areas reported that they read newspapers daily. The correlation between urbanization and socio-economic status and higher newspaper readership tends to be a generalization in family planning communication through this medium (Sweeny 1977).

The use of other print media such as brochures, posters, or flyers heavily dependent on pictures to communicate ideas are also affected by the variable of literacy. Fuglesang's (1973) pioneering work in this area has identified and developed the idea of pictorial illiteracy - the inability or underdeveloped ability of pre-literates to perceive and understand pictures because of their inexperiences in identifying and interpreting picture details in general.
Film

The volume of film materials in the population/family planning area is considerable and yet there is a surprising paucity of solid research material about their quality, distribution and effectiveness. As a medium, film has many advantages including the impact of a full audio and visual presentation; the capacity to present humour, drama and the capacity to present a large amount of information in a relatively short period of time. The need for electrical power, high operating expenses and maintenance of projectors are the primary disadvantages.

From ten film studies and reports - 7 from Asia, 2 from Africa and 1 from Latin America - Sweeny (1977) has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Movie goers are largely urban and middle class.
2. Studies of audience recall of films and film messages is generally low: - 8% in Taiwan, 15-24% in India and 8% in Iran.
3. In a situation where a rural audience is not accustomed to seeing film the equipment may attract more attention than the film message.

Radio

As discussed earlier radio appears to be the most effective medium in communicating family planning. There are an estimated 1.4 billion radios in the World, or one radio for every fourth person (UNESCO 1983). Although figures are not exact it is clear that radio reaches more people in the developing world than any other communication medium. Radios now cost so little that many people in developing countries can afford them. Among radios other advantages are:

1. Adapting radio programmes from one language to another, while not necessarily easy, is easier than for television.
2. High quality radio programmes while not cheap to produce, are cheaper than films or television.
Radio is flexible. Many formats are available: brief announcements (spots), commercials, dramas, serial dramas ("soap operas"), interviews, discussion programmes, news programmes, "magazine" style variety shows. These formats offer a wide range of ways to appeal to specific audiences and to serve specific purposes.

Motivation – The Missing Dimension

One of the recurrent themes in mass media family planning studies is the irreconcilable gap between knowledge and practices of contraception and the failure of media to redress the situation. Postmortems on such studies have repeatedly diagnosed the mass media’s failure to create the necessary motivational structure in the audience to adopt birth control methods. Bhupal (1983:34) notes that in a 1973-74 survey in a few villages of Sharanpur district of Uttar Pradesh to assess the impact of family planning films on villagers, the results proved that awareness was high but motivation poor. Bardhan et al (1984:39) in criticizing contemporary communication strategies in India has said, "The impact of communication on the creation of motivation or psychological readiness to accept some method or other of family planning is somewhat discouraging".

Critical evaluations of this phenomenon tend to be noticeably absent from discussions on the issue. Instead, explanations have inaccurately accused the audience as the culprits in the pronounced absence of motivation to contracept. This "blame the victim" approach tends to rationalise lack of motivation on the grounds of social and traditional factors: low literacy, fears of reducing the family size on account of high infant mortality and the need for children as an insurance for old age security. This diagnosis of the problem, while in essence correct, imposes a limited perspective on the issue involved thereby obscuring its root causes. It fails to locate these factors inhibiting motivation within the wider socio-economic environment and consequently does not recognize them as symptoms of the need for an improvement in the material context of the audience.
That socio-economic circumstances can affect couples' attitudes towards children has been confirmed by a cross cultural study on *The Value of Children* Fawcett (1974) conducted in Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Indonesia, the Philippines and Hawaii. Among the urban middle class couples interviewed in all six countries, children were valued primarily for social reasons, such as the happiness, feeling of personal gratification, companionship and fun which they can provide to parents. The economic benefits of children were generally not perceived as salient to the urban middle class parents in the study, but were mentioned more often as important in the child-bearing decisions of lower class urban couples especially as a motivation for sons. The economic utility of children was most important for the rural couples in all countries surveyed, both in terms of current contributions and as potential security for the parents old age.

Given these kinds of perceptions it is obvious that the economic environment in particular must be substantially changed before it is rational for rural families - the large majority in most developing countries to have only two or three children. This is in essence the position that Berelson (1974:10) adopts in his statement that:

"It may be a fair summary of the matter to say that information or "propaganda" is not very effective alone if life conditions are not changing, so in a fundamental sense the creation of demand for fertility control leads back to square one, namely basic social change."

It is the view of this chapter therefore that communication and the "basic social change" that Berelson refers to are symbiotic processes that must be addressed in any policy decision on fertility control. Failure to address the issue in such a holistic way - accompanying attempts at fertility changes with macro-level structural adjustments - is to invite recurrent postmortems on the inability of mass media strategies to actualize motivation to contracept. A corollary of this position is that "motivation" campaigns, which promise happiness and prosperity to those who accept
family planning are consequently risk laden because of the many other developmental changes needed to fulfil the promise. If the latter, happier life fails to materialise for those who heed the call, that message soon reaches others who are undecided.

The very essence of this argument is by no means novel. In fact conflict centres on the question whether organised family planning programmes, distributing contraceptive technology produce fertility decline that is independent of other causes. Scholars who deny the independent efficacy of these programmes affirm instead the primacy of reproductive motivation in determining fertility — the "indigenous fertility decline hypothesis". Within this particular perspective major features of social organization seen as determining a country's fertility level include: 1. the levels of industrialisation, urbanisation and educational attainment 2. the opportunities for social mobility 3. the nature of the family and 4. changes in these and other structural features of society alter the economic and non-economic costs and benefits of children — the reproductive incentive system (Blake 1973). Thus as the cost/benefit situation changes people respond by modifying their reproductive behaviour.

This position contrasts with the "net fertility decline hypothesis" of the technological schools. This theory affirms that family planning programmes produce a net fertility decline either because they supply a demand for effective fertility control that would otherwise have been unmet or because it generates a reduction in the desired number of children and hence the attendant fertility decline.

These divergent opinions have fuelled the debate on family planning programmes — the most controversial fertility policy in the developing world. In a bid to resolve the debate, academic research (Hernandez 1981) has examined critically the evidence for both schools of thought and the emerging conclusion is that substantial support exists for the indigenous fertility decline hypothesis whereas little
support is in evidence for the more technological approach.

Such critical research furnishes academic evidence to support the argument proposed in this chapter. Perhaps more importantly however, it raises the wider question of why has family planning communications remained insulated from such important research contributions? What accounts for the theoretical paucity of the endeavours in this area? These are questions which will be addressed in greater depth in the more extended discussion on the state of family planning communication research.

The failure of perspective on the so called inability of media strategies to motivate the audience to contracept has consequently lead to narrow and myopic prescriptions to redress the situation. Most pundits in the field have suggested that the solution to the problem is the provision of more information. Bhupal (1983:34) sees the traditional attitudes impeding motivation as "mental blocks" which have to be removed through "dissemination of information, systematic education and constant monitoring of response." In "Twenty-Five Communication Obstacles to the Success of Family Planning Programs", Bogue (1975) identifies barriers to effective family planning and sees the resolution in the provision of information.

That such a solution will invite failure is inevitable for two reasons. Firstly, it relies on a faulty conceptualization of the problem discussed above. Secondly, and more crucial to the communication process underpinning the mass media strategy is the underlying assumption that information by definition is capable of creating the large scale changes envisaged by its advocates. What such an assumption in essence betrays is the persistent influence of the modernisation paradigm of the communication process that characterised the early endeavours in this sphere. It is a sad but realistic testimony of the threatening survival of outmoded conceptualizations on communication paradigms.
The Viability of Mass Media Campaigns in Population Communication

The complexity of the task of restricting population growth does not necessitate stressing. Given the enormity of the task, the question of just how viable mass media campaigns, whether they are social marketing, awareness or persuasive campaigns, are as a strategy in this regard is not purely academic. The question is probably best addressed by an analysis based on two criteria: firstly, the methodology of campaigns as a mechanism designed to influence and alter fertility behaviour and secondly, the assumptions about the communication process on which these strategies are based.

Methodology

All mass media campaign strategies possess a theoretical design, similar to an experimental design. In this design, the dependent variable is fertility or some other proxy variable such as knowledge, attitude or practice of contraception, which is expected to be altered by the mass media invention. However, a change in the dependent variable during the campaign may be caused by the campaign itself or it may be caused by any one or combination of the following factors: changes in socio-economic influence; by the delayed effect of earlier family planning efforts; by high rates of emigration; the impact effect – a variation of the Hawthorne effect – when change occurs in the objective variable simply because the intervention has taken place and not because the approach being tested is in anyway effective.

These different reasons for change in the dependent variable can be summarized by the Ross - Smith (1968) equation:

\[ d = P + E + U + I_{pe} + I_{pu} + I_{eu} + I_{peu} \]

in which \( d \) is the difference observed in the dependent variable after it was subject to the intervention. \( E, P \) and \( U \) each operating alone, represents the effect of the
intervention stimulus, of a pretest and of uncontrolled events respectively.

The absence of strong internal validity in the theoretical design in mass media campaign strategies make it difficult to isolate them as truly responsible for whatever changes that might occur. This was the conclusion for example in Bertrand's et al (1982) discussion of family planning communications and contraceptive use in Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama. The authors conclude:

"While the data indicate a strong relationship between exposure to family planning messages and contraceptive use, it should be stressed that family planning communications are only one of many factors that influence use..... Family planning messages have reached a greater percentage of women in El Salvador than in Panama or Guatemala; yet contraceptive use was much higher in Panama than in the other two countries. These findings reflect the influence a certain macro-level factors such as socio-economic development, standard of living and existing health structure." (p.197).

The ultimate objective of family planning communication campaigns is to increase adoption of contraceptives thereby reducing fertility. Some campaigns use volume of sales as an indicator of achievement. Others employ changes in knowledge, attitude and practice as proxies for a decline in fertility. The relation between these proxies is, to say the least, not direct; in fact considerable research has been devoted to clarifying this relationship. The effect of a mass media intervention on a proxy variable is not necessarily identical with the effect on fertility itself.

Given the methodological features inherent in mass media campaign design and execution which affect its effectiveness, exactly how viable is this model as a mechanism for advancing the objectives of fertility control? As a response to this fundamental question on the role of the mass media it is argued that a mass media campaign, owing to its particular internal logic, is fraught with such methodological problems that it is not viable, certainly not advisable to rely solely on this approach in the complex process of influencing
Rather what is advocated is a more holistic approach to the whole business of communicating family planning. Reliance on a mass media campaign strategy alone is disadvantageous not only because of its internal limitations but also because it is unwise to assume that any one strategy will be most effective in all situations or acceptable in all countries. Given this perspective it is only in the interest of the objectives of family planning to institute other policy measures designed to complement mass media campaign initiatives with other strategies. The most obvious approaches are the ones outlined in the previous section of this chapter: indigenous and traditional media, population education field workers and professional workers. The experiences in both the former and the latter strategies recommend them highly as viable population communication activities. The experiences with population education within the formal system of education are perhaps more limited but attempts to date emphasise this area as another channel worthy of further exploration. But a combined strategy is imperative if the potential of communication is to be harnessed effectively. A holistic approach to the implementation of a communication strategy is no guarantee formula for success in this sphere but the virtues of each approach can compensate for the shortcomings of others and the synergistic effect of a combined strategy will be undeniably greater than that achieved by the use of a single approach.

A Critique of the Use of the Mass Media and its Underlying model of the Communication Process

The major thrust of the typical family planning communication programme to date – like development communication activities in other sectors – has suffered from an overemphasis on mass media usage. The assumption that a stronger communication thrust would automatically strengthen
the family/population planning programme has been realized through focusing more effort on mass media communication programmes – particularly in the form of a campaign strategy.

However, these communications campaigns, with their usual panoply of films, broadcast material and printed matter offer little if any opportunity for the dialogue which we would regard as the sine qua non of effective communication. These campaigns essentially provide publicity or information about family planning, the population problem and the services available in a programme, but give no scope for dialogue with, or feedback, from the target audience which is regarded as essential to the educational process. Another negative dimension to the usage of this type of media strategy in many Third World countries is that these campaigns are not only dealing with new concepts, new skills, new technology but are also attempting to introduce these things through totally unfamiliar media which have conventions and a "grammar" all of their own. They are therefore implicitly asking their audience to learn a new language in order to acquire the developmental innovations being introduced.

This overemphasis on the mass media is underpinned by two important consequences. Firstly it has occurred to the exclusion of audience characteristics needs, and conditions. The audience has traditionally been perceived as a passive, inert, variable in the formulation of mass media strategies. Even where attention has been directed toward the audience it has usually taken the form of defining the audience in terms of sterile demographic characteristics and target groups. The provision of this type of data unaccompanied by sociological or contextual analysis offers little by way of contribution to the design of the campaign or to an understanding of the potential impact of the campaign.

Given this factor it would seem that mass media communications should be more of an eclectic activity than it currently is. In endorsing the need for a more holistic and multi-disciplinary approach to family planning this chapter
stresses the potential benefits of contributions of students of social process such as anthropologists, psychologists and linguists. Anthropological or social-psychological descriptions of traditional birth planning systems or advanced analyses of how a sub-population is likely to react to a specific technology (e.g. will the IUD be compatible with perceptions of menstrual bleeding) lay the foundations for more satisfactory birth planning programmes and also define and direct the accompanying type of communication programme and its particular content. Of equal importance too is the contribution of sociolinguistic research. Many family planning innovations have come from medical research in English speaking nations of the West - a long way semantically to an illiterate peasant in Asia. How can one put a complicated idea like the intrauterine device into words and thoughts that can be understood by such receivers?\(^2\)

The complexity of this task is further emphasized when one considers that the Sapir - Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity postulates that an individual's language determines what he sees and what he perceives. Obviously therefore, sociolinguistic analysis of words and symbols before a family planning media campaign is launched is pivotal if communication is to take place at all. It is a sad declaration on the static nature of family planning communication that nowhere in the literature received for this chapter was there any evidence of this holistic approach to the design and implementation of mass media strategies.

A further consequence of the over-riding emphasis and reliability on the mass media is the limited model of communication it embraces. As discussed earlier one of the failings of this model was its primary concern with effects. The corollary of this is that the provision of information is the prime actor in the required social change. Such

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\(^2\) In an analysis of an Indian Family Welfare (Planning) Campaign, Govindaraju (1990:231) noted that there was difficulty among the target audience in understanding the messages disseminated. He pointed to the use of technical language as part of the problem and highlighted that where local dialectical materials were taken advantage of reception of the message was better.
fundamental assumptions inherent in the model create a failure to define communication as the social process that it is. It does not recognise for example that media are institutions in their own right and not simply vehicles for carrying messages. As such they do not exist in isolation and are influenced by social and political forces nationally and internationally which will impinge upon their role and function in communicating family planning. There is no evidence in the literature available in this field to suggest that the business of communicating family planning is approached as a social process, one that seeks to determine how the control, organization and structure of the media and communication systems function as variables in the construction of family planning communication and with what effect. There is no questioning as to whose interests the media are serving and how this representation of interests might conflict with the concerns of the designated beneficiaries of the communication programme.

Despite this discouraging state of mass media communication in family planning, positive new approaches have been emerging. One of the most interesting trends in population programming to date is the emergence of the community-based delivery model. This approach, unlike the classical model, seeks the decentralization of decision making and co-ordination and concentrates on the development of social infrastructure.

One of the most interesting examples of this approach comes from the Indonesian family planning programme. (Bunnag 1981). Under the National Family Planning Coordination Board (BKKBN) provincial officers have been encouraged to design their own programme consistent with local cultures. One study shows that Bali’s programme, the most successful to date, is run by the council of the strong indigenous "banjar" (hamlet) in which all families are represented. The banjar (there are approximately 3,500 in Bali) is an extraordinarily strong social and administrative group, a traditional focus for a system of mutual aid and co-operative work as well as a gathering point for recreation and ceremony. Household heads
meet monthly to discuss all community matters including the form and function of the population programme. Beginning in 1974 the Balinese provincial BKKBN began training fieldworkers and banjar heads in family planning tactics at the local level. This training included instruction on identification of potential acceptors. Community pressure is used to encourage non-users to accept family planning.

The major responsibility for identification of family planning needs now rests on the local community and it is up to the service providers to respond. This has several implications for the role of communication in such a programme. There are a number of points within these new models of communication where a thorough understanding and utilization of communication as a social process will be of paramount importance. These are:

1. In assessing the communities' problems and needs and allowing them to express those needs to those who can respond. This may, for example, be achieved by using extension agents and communicators as channels of information back to the centre as well as extending the programme back to the community.

2. A second communication function lies in responding to the needs identified wherever it is possible by feeding into indigenous communication processes. The Indonesian programme has been particularly successful in using local puppeteers and midwives, as well as traditional medicine sellers to further their programme.

3. The third task of communication is to provide for continuous feedback from the audience through whatever means are appropriate and available. In some cases this may bring into play the use of some of the newer electronic media, for example, portable video-tape; in other cases, and more simply, it may involve the more innovative and two-way usage of the communication media in the classical system; extension agents, radio-listening groups and so forth. The key to the effectiveness of communication is that all concerned have access to and can participate in, the medium.
Family Planning Communication Research

Much of the responsibility for the current shortcomings of family planning communication is directly related to the underdevelopment of research in this domain. Writing in 1973 Everett Rogers lamented that "unfortunately, in the past (with few exceptions) family planning communication research has been unimaginative, repetitious, and irrelevant." (p.366) Nearly twenty years later its status has only marginally improved.

In many instances this is primarily a consequence of the fact that research is often regarded as a luxury, yet neither family planning nor any other development programme can succeed in the long run without a research component. Wherever research has been employed it has usually been operationally defined as a means of finding better solutions to existing problems and a method of monitoring a programme. As inherently valid as this approach is and as crucial to the success of the programme as it may be, it is argued that such a perception on the role of research severely narrows and restricts its scope and potential contribution. Instead, family planning communication research, in fact research in any sector, would be more usefully defined and regarded as primarily a means of producing and constructing reality - a means which sees the media and the communication process as conditioned by a broad spectrum of socio-political forces. Unfortunately in family planning communication research, as in other areas of research, many researchers take for granted as unquestioned assumptions what ideally they should regard as problematic. This naturally is reflected in the method used to approach their work, their analyses and their interpretations.

Given this particular intellectual framework to the approach to family planning communication research it is not surprising that the following features characterize the corpus of research work available in this area. Firstly, there is a growing volume of researches which has literally created an information overload. Much of this research is of
varying quality - some are all methodology with little attention to theoretical background; some have no clearly defined objectives; others have specific goals and objectives but do not fulfil them; most have no evaluative component. Given this plethora of studies, the family planning programme official finds himself swamped with literature and no guidelines to sift through, locate, and benefit from the better studies.

Among this literature there has been an over abundance of KAP studies. This was a natural consequence of the fact that many of the early researchers were trained in traditional demography and were limited by its viewpoints, methods and concepts. This proliferation of KAP studies has proved a rather doubtful blessing. As Rogers (1973:371) comments, they have been remarkably unimpressive in their contributions to social science understanding of human behaviour. Criticisms of KAP surveys have mostly dealt with their reliability and validity.

Secondly many of the researchers may be local but their work displays a heavy U.S. influence perhaps because of the frequent presence of U.S. research advisors; the researchers have received graduate training in the U.S.; and the strong reliance on models and methods imported from abroad. This Western intellectual source may have provided a strong empirically oriented influence but in many instances this has proved a disadvantage for two reasons. Firstly, the concepts and methods were inappropriate in a cultural sense and secondly, this approach proved inadequate not so much because it was Western in origin but because it was bad research and represented a poor application of the social sciences.

It is necessary to pause and discuss the notion of American influence further as this influence has in many ways defined the character of research in family planning communication. The intellectual origin of American research, otherwise referred to as conventional research, has given it a mainly value free, empiricists and positivistic orientation. It is consequently concerned more with method
than to theory, concepts or the nature of the issues at stake and their relationship to wider societal concerns. At the very heart of this brand of research is a concern for improving methods to facilitate achievement of specific policy or commercial objectives rather than on refining concepts, developing theories and questioning existing arrangements. In many ways it serves primarily the interests of the status quo rather than challenging it.

The current status of family planning communication research and of course, family planning communication itself in many ways reflect the characteristics of conventional research. It is difficult therefore to offer an optimistic prognosis on either of the above if they remain insulated from a more critical policy and problem oriented approach. Such an approach would have among its tasks the reconceptualization of the problem and causes of overpopulation as well as a redefinition of the audience within their socio-cultural contexts; an approach to communication as a social process; a questioning of basic assumptions and an exploration of alternative ways of approaching the problem. Obviously this will require the theoretical contributions and expertise of diverse though related fields of study - sociology, psychology, anthropology, journalism etc. Only such a multi-disciplinary approach can assist in addressing the unbalanced and atheoretical nature of contemporary family planning communication and its allied research.

A third characteristic of family planning communication research is the minimal comparability in researches on a similar topic. Consequently, generalizations to international, national or even state levels is often both inadvisable and perilous. It is virtually impossible for a programme official in one country to base his policy decision on research findings in another country given the great socio-cultural heterogeneity of most less developed countries. Schramm (1971:40) has made a similar observation when he commented that "the circumstances that condition a project - that make it unique or similar to others - often
are not reported along with the findings, with the result that readers in another country cannot tell whether the findings apply to their situations as well as to the situation in the country where the research was carried out."

Perhaps the closest approximation to a solution to this problem would be a thorough analysis of communication strategies - whether in family planning or other health fields - that have successfully realized their objectives, with the fundamental goal of this analysis being an identification of those principles that have generated their success. These principles, once established, cannot be applied wholesale to other family planning communication ventures, rather they should be extrapolated with the intention of providing operational guidelines which must be modified according to the particular socio-cultural environment of the country.

Conclusion

In general, the literature shows that since 1973 there has been an important change in perception of the role of population and family planning programmes internationally. Programmes are now less often viewed as narrowly linked to medical services only and are more often seen in the larger context of national multifaceted development policies. A corresponding change has also occurred in the design and operation of family planning programmes: they have moved from a clinic based approach to a variety of non-clinic, community based approaches, each adapted to unique local conditions. The role of information, education and communication is also changing. Whereas, in the early era, programmes were consistent with the modernisation paradigm of communication and focused on mainly informing people of the general importance and availability of contraceptive services, the focus now is on motivating those individuals who have not yet become regular birth control users and on maintaining the use of contraceptives by couples. Where these latter goals are concerned, the programme components seem to have met with success in increasing knowledge and awareness of family
planning but have not been as successful in motivating adoption of contraception.

However, the current approach to the mass media in population communication is characterised by a need for holism at three distinct but inextricably linked levels. Firstly, mass media strategies, whether in the form of campaigns or community based distribution models must be accompanied by structural socio-economic changes at a macro level designed to improve the material circumstances of the target audience. Secondly, mass media campaigns should not be relied on as the sole mechanism to influence fertility behaviour. Rather what is required is a more integrated approach summoning the respective strengths of other models such as traditional media, population education and an extensive field worker and counselling service. Finally, mass media communications should be more of an eclectic activity than it currently is, relying on the inputs of other disciplines in an effort to provide a more multi-disciplinary base. To this end, family planning communication research should aim to sever its bondage to conventional research and be more critical in its orientation.

This chapter has offered some background characteristics on the achievements and failings of population communication and its allied research. These features, which have been extracted from experiments in the developing world, will provide a useful evaluative context in which to place the analysis of Jamaica's replacement fertility communication campaign in later chapters. Before this more extended discussion however, it is important to elaborate on background issues, relevant to the Jamaican situation which will help inform the analyses presented in the empirical chapters.
CHAPTER 4

POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA

Introduction

This chapter looks at population growth in Jamaica and examines why, within the context of the government's development philosophy, population was identified as a threat to the country's economic progress. It is argued here that the labelling of the causes and consequences of increasing population explicit in the development philosophy serve to construct an ideological definition of the population problem which locates high fertility as a root cause of economic underdevelopment. The pervasiveness of this "blame the victim" ideology will be pursued in later chapters in an effort to estimate to what extent it is reflected in the mass media campaign and the implied consequences of this for the role of the media in development. As a way of framing the issue of population control, the objective of the campaign, the chapter commences with a brief history of population and demographic trends in Jamaica.

The Historical Context of Population Growth in Jamaica

The history of population trends in Jamaica has been characterised by rapid changes in fertility patterns, erratic but nonetheless massive migration movements and sharply defined downturns in the mortality rate. From a total population figure of 377,433 recorded in the island's first census in 1844, Jamaica's population has now increased to 2.2 million.

Prior to the periods of census taking and vital

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1 As Halloran (1983:272-273) correctly writes the use of the word "ideology" is problematic because of the plethora of definitions it has generated. The myriad definitions available is rivalled only by the volume of analyses available on the topic. One of the more recent comprehensive and penetrating studies of ideology has been offered by John B. Thompson Ideology and Modern Culture Polity Press 1990. As a working definition of the term ideology, this thesis uses the formulation suggested by Thompson as "The way in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically assymetrical....'relations of domination' Ideology, broadly speaking, is meaning in the service of power". (p.7)
registration estimates of Jamaica’s population are sketchy and can therefore only be briefly discussed. When the island was "discovered" by Christopher Columbus in 1494, it was inhabited by the Arawak Indians. However, the Indian population was wiped out within fifty years of Spanish occupation. The British captured Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655 and began settling in the island in 1703. Between the period of British settlement and the emancipation of slavery in 1834, immigration (both forced and free) accounted for the larger proportion of the island’s population growth. As a consequence of the poor living conditions and the prevalence of communicable diseases, both fertility and mortality levels were high and the rates of natural increase were small. This resulted in a slow growth of the population. In tracing Jamaica’s population growth since the first census in 1844, five recognizable phases can be identified in its demographic history which are reflected in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Population Growth and Vital Rates in Jamaica 1844-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Census Population</th>
<th>Net Migration</th>
<th>Birth Rate Per 1,000</th>
<th>Death Rate Per 1,000</th>
<th>Annual Growth Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>377,433</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>441,264</td>
<td>+12,800</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>506,154</td>
<td>+8,000</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>580,804</td>
<td>+5,600</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>639,491</td>
<td>-24,800</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>831,383</td>
<td>-43,900</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>858,118</td>
<td>-77,100</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1,237,063</td>
<td>+25,800</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,609,814</td>
<td>-178,000</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,848,508</td>
<td>-288,000</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2,190,357</td>
<td>-9,800</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Demographic Statistics of Jamaica
Published by Statistical Institute of Jamaica
K. Teske, Population and Vital Statistics Jamaica 1832-1964 Kingston:
Department of Statistics

The first phase extended from 1844 to 1881. During this period there was a noticeable gain in the annual rate of growth resulting from a persistently high crude birth rate coupled with an obvious decline in the crude death rate. A contributory cause to the high growth rate was the fact that this period witnessed the inflow of sizeable numbers of East Indian and African immigrants into the island. In the years that followed emancipation the mortality rates declined from the high levels that characterised slavery. Although the cholera epidemic of
1850-1 resulted in the demise of large numbers of people it is highly probable that recorded death rates for the period represent a decline from the level of slave days. It is also possible that the more settled conditions that succeeded emancipation lead to some increase in fertility so that the crude birth rate of 40 live births per 1,000 in 1861 must have again represented some improvement over the rates that existed during slavery.

The years 1881-1921 marked a second phase in Jamaica's population growth. The population grew from 503,804 in 1881 to 639,491 in 1991 and by 1821 it had reached 858,118. The most important characteristic of this period was large scale external migration which reduced the overall growth rate to 0.32%. Thousands of people left Jamaica during this era in pursuit of better job opportunities in other countries. For example, the commencement of work on the Panama Canal, the development of the banana industry in Central America and the expansion of the sugar industry in Cuba, all of which required considerable labour, proved a great attraction to Jamaicans. Aside from this, adverse economic conditions within Jamaica, created by a succession of disastrous hurricanes and distresses in agriculture following World War I, also acted as a strong incentive for emigration (Eisner, 1961). Emigration amounted to 24,800 during 1881-1891, 43,900 during 1891-1911, and reached a climax during the 1911-1921 decade when the net outflow amounted to 77,100. Despite the outflow of large numbers of people, there was no essential change in fertility levels. The death rate, which had declined to 23.1 per 1,000 by 1891 rose slightly by 1921 as a result of the series of natural disasters and a serious outbreak of influenza in 1918.

The period 1921 to 1943 was characterised by a third pattern in population trends. Two important factors were responsible for the initiation of these trends. Firstly, the United States introduced an immigration quota system during the period which effectively curbed emigration from Jamaica. Latin American countries followed suit by imposing entry restrictions. Coupled with this, the absence of large scale developments in the Latin American region requiring large labour resources successfully staunched the flow of immigrants.

Secondly, there was a noticeable decline in mortality. This no doubt occurred as a consequence of the Public Health Act in 1926. The ensuing improvement in health conditions acted
as depressant on mortality. Death rates during the intercensal period declined to 17.9 per 1,000 which represented a decline of 30% from the level prevailing during 1911-1921. Fertility rates declined also in this period. Agyei (1976) points to changes in the age/sex structure as one possible explanation. Teske (1968) also argues that the decreasing fertility of Jamaican women in the nineteen thirties was mainly a consequence of a decline in general fecundity during the same period. He identifies several factors as being responsible for this development. Firstly, the sharp increase in venereal diseases between the mid nineteen twenties and the late nineteen thirties appears to have been one of the main causes of the decline in fecundity. Secondly, the presence of malaria and the intensified use of quinine as a method of treatment, particularly during the early nineteen thirties when a drive against malaria was conducted in the island, was another factor leading to the fertility decline. Thirdly, changes in the mating behaviour of the population during the nineteen thirties considerably influenced fertility. Research by Roberts (1955) and Stycos & Back (1964) document the instability of partnerships, the postponement of entrance into stable common-law unions or delays in the establishment of marriage which effectively reduced the actual reproductive span of females. Finally, Teske (1968) reports that the high level of malnutrition among the population appears to have considerably influenced the fecundity of women as well as the incidence of foetal or infant mortality. The general level of nutrition in Jamaica was unsatisfactory even before the nineteen thirties; a number of surveys conducted in the island gave alarming reports on the inadequate nutrition of the population before and during the nineteen forties.

The declines in both fertility and mortality levels resulted in a rate of natural increase of 15 per 1,000. The combined effect of this relatively high level of natural increase and the cessation of emigration resulted in an annual rate of growth of 1.7% per year, the highest ever recorded in the island at that time. The population arrived at the million mark during this period with a total of 1.237 million people recorded in the 1943 census.

A fourth phase in Jamaica's demographic history extended between 1943 to 1970. Important features of this phase were the resurgence of emigration and a rapid upward movement in the natural increase. The net migration during this period amounted
to -466,000; this figure represents almost a quarter of Jamaica's present day population. However, despite the heavy loss to the population due to external migration, the population grew on an average rate of 1.50% per year. The underlying dynamic of this population movement was the interrelationship between high increases in the birth rate and a sharply defined depression in the mortality rate. Within fifteen years the crude birth rate ascended from a low of 30.0 per 1,000 in 1945 to a high of 42.4 per 1,000 in 1960. This increase in fertility during the nineteen fifties and early nineteen sixties is explained by two important factors. One component of the fertility rise was the increasing fecundity of Jamaican women. As Teske (1967) reports a study conducted by the Department of Statistics (now the Statistical Institute of Jamaica) revealed the main reasons behind the increased fecundity as: the more effective drive, with new medication, against venereal diseases; the successful check of malaria, the improvement of the nutrition levels of the population during the fifties; and the improvement of general health conditions in the island, especially the increasing hospitalization of births which reduced the maternal, neonatal and infant mortality rates.

Another factor underpinning the fertility increases was the changing mating behaviour of the population. The study undertaken by the Department of Statistics showed that there was an increasing proportion of married women and of females living in stable common-law unions. For example, among females 30-34 years of age, in 1943, 33% were married and 28% lived in common-law unions while the corresponding figures for 1960 were approximately 38% and 32%. There was also a decline in the age of women at marriage or entering a more stable common-law union. Accompanying this shift, the average age of mothers at the birth of their first child declined from 24 years in 1943 to 20 years in 1960.

The high increases in fertility during the 1943-1970 period were matched by rapidly declining death rates. The crude death rate fell from 15.1 in 1944 to 7.6 by 1969. The consequence of these demographic trends was a high rate of natural increase. The population increased from 1,237,063 in 1943 to 1,609,814 in 1960, an increase of 30%. By 1970 the population had increased by a further 15% to 1,848,503.

By the late sixties and early seventies a new trend in
the population began to emerge. The crude birth rate began to decline steadily and dropped to 29.3 per 1,000 in 1976 while the crude death rate remained low at 7.0 per 1,000. Until recently it was uncertain whether the emerging trend in the birth rate was a realistic indication of genuine declines in fertility. However, data from the World Fertility Survey (Report No.1 1979) offers evidence that shows a decreasing total fertility rate from 6.33 in 1963 to 3.66 in 1975. This trend suggests that Jamaica has entered the third stage of the demographic transition which is characterised by low mortality and declining fertility.

By the time of the most recent census in June, 1982 the population reached 2,190,357 which represents an overall increase of 18.5% in the intercensal period since 1970, a rate of growth of 1.42% per annum. This figure shows an increase over the 1.39% rate of growth registered in the 1970 census. The demographic transition in the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies continued its trajectory with a persistently low mortality rate and declining fertility in the nineteen eighties. As Table 4.2 shows, the crude birth rate declined from 27.9 per 1,000 in 1982 to 22.7 per 1,000 in 1988.
Table 4.2: Demographic Statistics for the Years 1982-1988

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population at End of Year</th>
<th>CBR* Per 1,000</th>
<th>CDR* Per 1,000</th>
<th>Rate of Increase</th>
<th>Rate of Growth %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2,190,357</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2,263,200</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2,296,800</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2,325,700</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2,346,400</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>2,355,400</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2,357,700</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CBR* = Crude Birth Rate
CDR* = Crude Death Rate

Source: Demographic Statistics 1988
Published by Statistical Institute of Jamaica

For the same years, the mortality rate shifted from 6.6 per 1,000 to 5.2 per 1,000. The overall population growth of 0.1% registered for 1988 is the lowest recorded for Jamaica up to that time in its modern history. This was partly as a result of the estimated net migration for that year of -16.5 per 1,000 persons, which as a proportion of natural increase (94.0%) was the highest recorded since 1960.

The Age Structure

The age structure of a population is a critically important characteristic as it generally provides a reliable statement of the manpower potential of the population, a measure of its dependency load as well as an indication of consumption needs and social requirements for the present and the future. If represented graphically, the age structure of a population takes the form of a pyramid. The general pattern of the pyramid is usually determined by the levels of fertility, mortality and migration which have prevailed during the three
or four preceding generations. However, it is the level of fertility which is the basic factor deciding the age structure of a normal population over the long term. Populations which have experienced high fertility rates also exhibit squat, broad based age-sex pyramids when represented graphically. The Jamaican population pyramid presents this profile when drawn diagrammatically.

Table 4.3 offers an overview of trends in the percentage distribution of the population according to age groups from the past three censuses.

**Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of the Population by Five Year Age Groups at Census years 1960, 1970 and 1982**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>16.64</td>
<td>15.83</td>
<td>12.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>13.71</td>
<td>16.59</td>
<td>12.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>13.46</td>
<td>13.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>12.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>9.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>7.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>5.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>3.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 79</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 84</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Population Census of Jamaica 1982, Vol.1, Statistical Institute of Jamaica

It can be seen from Table 4.3 that the highest proportions of the population are to be found among the youngest age groups, the consequence of high fertility during the past decades. However, the decline in fertility rates which has characterised population movements during the 1960's and
the 1970's has resulted in a decrease in the youngest age groups. In 1970 the 0-9 age group represented just under one third, 32.12% of the total population. This proportion has decreased during the intercensal period and in 1982 it was 25.21%. Consistent with this movement have been the natural shifts from the younger age groups into the middle age ranges, a factor which has resulted in increases among the 15 - 34 age group. The proportion in this range moved from 26.17% in 1970 to 34.36% in 1982 while the 35 - 64 year old group has continued the decline begun in the period between 1960 and 1970. In 1960 just about a quarter of the population, 25.03% was in this latter group but by 1982 the proportion had fallen to one-fifth, 20.36%.

Significant improvements in nutrition, housing conditions and general health care which have occurred over the past twenty years have contributed to the decline in mortality levels with the result that life expectancy has increased. An indication of this trend has been the continued rise in the proportion of the population that is 65 years and over. In 1960 this group represented 4.33% of the population, moving to 5.57% in 1970 and by 1982 it was 6.91%.

The Dependency Ratio

The proportion of the very young and the aged in the population has significant implications for the dependency burden that Jamaican society will have to bear. The higher the proportions of these dependents the greater are the claims on income produced by the working age groups. An analysis of dependency examines the changing proportions in three different age groups: the young - persons in the under 15 age group, the economically active - those between the years 15 - 64 and finally the aged - those 65 years and over. Dependency ratios relate the dependent groups to the working groups.
Table 4.4 traces the movements in the percentage of the three age groups identified since 1960 as well as the changes in the dependency ratios related to the movements. A decline in the under 15 age group from 41.2% to 38.3% in 1982 has reduced the youth dependency ratio. However, the 1982 total dependency ratio of 82.7% stands almost at the same level as the 1960 figure of 83.4% as a result of the increased aged dependency ratio. By way of comparison the dependency ratio of the United Kingdom is 56%, in the United States it is 51% and in Chile and Brazil the figures are 61% and 72% respectively (Boyd 1988:136).

A Note on Fertility Trends

Fertility rates have fallen considerably during the last twenty five years in Jamaica. The decline is notable in those age groups where the fertility is normally at its peak i.e. the age groups of 20 – 24, 25 – 29 and 30 – 34 years. Among the teenage group the fall is less significant. While the Total Fertility Rate (TFR), a measure of fertility which captures the changes in the individual five year reproductive age groups of women, had declined from 5.5 in 1970 to 3.5 in 1983 or by about 36%, the fall for the 20 – 24, 25 – 29 and 30 – 34 years was 37%, 44% and 42% respectively.
The crude birth rate for 1988, as calculated from the vital statistics, was estimated as 22.7 per 1,000 compared with a crude birth rate of 24.3 per 1,000 registered for 1985. However, there is an under-registration of vital demographic events in Jamaica but the exact level of under-registration is not known. In 1982, a study on the coverage of registration of demographic events in the parish of Clarendon found that the coverage of births was more than 90%. Thus assuming that the rate of coverage of births for entire Jamaica is 90%, then according to the Population Census, the revised estimated CBR for 1986 and 1985 would be 25.1 and 27.0 respectively instead of the recorded 23.2 and 24.3 per 1,000. These revised estimates compare favourably with the United Nations estimate of the CBR for Jamaica for the 1985-90 period, which is 28 per 1,000.2

Although there is a considerable change in fertility behaviour of Jamaican women in the past fifteen years in that they tend to have fewer children, the number of births occurring continue to be high. This is because the number of women in the high fertility groups (20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 years old) was greater in 1985 compared to 1970. The number of women in these age groups was 170,200 in 1970 but this number rose to 288,000 in 1985.3 Proportionately, the women in these age groups formed only 18% of the total female population in 1970 but this proportion increased to 25% by 1985.

However, the number of births would have been higher if there was no female migration from Jamaica. In the earlier decades of the 1950's and the 1960's, males were generally the predominant movers overseas; emigrants were distributed in a pattern that constituted a high ratio of males to females and a very high concentration of persons within the 20-29 years age group. By the beginning of the 1970's a new distinctive pattern reflecting family migration began to emerge. The rising emigration rates were increasingly showing more women than men and a very high proportion of children. The main countries receiving the mainstreams of emigrants during the 1970's and 1980's have been the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Similarly to the 1970's the number of female emigrants during the 1980's was extremely high and in fact outstripped

2 Obtained from the United Nations Fund for Population Activity (UNFPA) "Assistance and Population Data" New York 1985

3 Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica 1986 Published by the Planning Institute of Jamaica (P.I.O.J)
the number of male emigrants. In that same year the sex ratios (i.e. the number of males per 100 females) for emigrants to the U.S.A. and Canada were 95 and 59 respectively. Of more critical importance however, is the fact that large numbers of these women are in the fertile age groups of 20-49. In 1982 for example, of the 9,775 women emigrating to the United States 4,964 or 50.78% were in this age group; in 1986 of the 10,306 female emigrants to the United States 5,407 or 52.46% were in this age group. It has been stated that without the beneficial effect of emigration and a decline in fertility the Jamaica population would have reached 7 million by the year 2000.

Population and Development in Jamaica during the Eighties

With an average rate of growth of 1.5% per annum Jamaica may not be categorised among the fastest growing populations, but given its small size this rate is high relative to the available resources and especially so when its historically uneven resource distribution is taken into account. The population projections prepared in 1979 for the Government's Five Year Development Plan for the nineteen eighties emphasised the economic problems that would be created by an increasing population. The projections estimated that between 1980 and 1990, Jamaica's population would grow by about 263,000 people. This was after taking into account a falling birth rate and emigration of 10,000. Exacerbating this growth was the fact that by 1980 about 40% of the population was under 15 and almost 25% were between the ages of 15 and 24. As the large age groups of those currently in their teens and early twenties make their way up through the age structure, their social and economic impact would be felt throughout Jamaican society.

The economic implications of this situation become apparent by looking at some of the demands the increased population was expected to make in several key areas. The population of school children would grow by 100,000 to 270,000 by 1990. The additional school places required would be 65,000 which was estimated to cost anywhere between $65 million and $260 million in 1979 dollars depending on how they are built.

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4 The data on migration trends was taken from the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica 1987 Published by the P.I.O.J.

The labour force was expected to grow by about 315,000 persons. To reduce unemployment to 10% from the current approximate statistic of 25% by 1990 would require 471,400 new jobs. The cost of a new job in industry is at least $30,000 in 1979 dollars. If even one third is provided by industry, leaving the rest to be provided by agriculture and services, the investment cost would be $466 million a year. In 1978 the total investment in Jamaica was $485 million.

The Relationship between Population and Development and the Genesis of the Population Policy

The projections of the Five Year Development Plan underscored the urgency of the need to adopt and implement policy measures to direct the country’s economic future given the demands of an increasing population. This concern was pursued by the new Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) Government which succeeded the People’s National Party (PNP) Administration by electoral choice in 1980. The new government appointed a Population Policy Task Force in 1980. This Task Force was responsible for evaluating population trends against the background of social and economic development in Jamaica and to formulate a population policy for the country. Resulting from the work of the Task Force, a National Population Policy was first presented in 1981. In 1982 the Population Policy Coordinating Committee (PPCC) succeeded the Task Force and the Policy was subsequently revised. The National Population Policy was officially endorsed by Parliament in 1983. Jamaica then became the first country in the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) Region to formulate an explicit population policy.

As an introductory context to the contents of the Policy and the explicit relationship between population and development inherent in the document, it is first necessary to briefly outline some of the more influential ideas on development which have had an impact on the JLP’s political philosophy. This is instructive for an understanding of the Government’s perception on the relationship between population and development which is consequently reflected in the Population Policy.

The diagnosis of underdevelopment is frequently that development and economic growth are synonymous and the rate of economic growth is inadequate because of inadequate investment. The inadequate investment is seen as a result of the fact that
underdeveloped economies are locked into a vicious circle of poverty or in Nurkse's concise and apt wording, "A country is poor because it is poor." Low incomes cause low investment (supply) and low demand (demand) both of which create low investment, which in turn causes low productivity and therefore low income. This binding circle idea has become ubiquitous in the literature being attributed not only to poverty but to overpopulation and to traditional values and social structures which retard enterprise. The vicious circle of inadequate capital accumulation could only be broken by an inflow of foreign capital whether as a shock or sustained over a period of years either in a strategy of balanced or unbalanced growth. These ideas are still widely accepted and constitute the justification for development aid and multilateral aid institutions. The assumption of capital deficiency often remained implicit, but still informed development policy of governments in both developed and developing countries and international institutions. More important however, is the fact that these ideas on the causes of underdevelopment are consistent with the "internal blame view" arguments concerning the problems of development inherent in the Modernisation theories discussed in Chapter 1.

The influence of these views on the JLP Government's perception of development is evident in the fact that the administration viewed development as an evolutionary trajectory moving from an original state of underdevelopment to a state of development. The Jamaican economy was seen as


having no internal dynamic and therefore unable to climb the ladder of development because its smallness prohibits viability. Small size has meant an insufficient amount and limited range of resources and a market which is too limited to support the production of certain goods and does not permit the realization of economies of scale. According to the Government, in the past the country has benefited from its close relationship with other developed countries which has enabled it to climb to the middle rungs of the development ladder. However, further progress has been choked off by rapid population growth. The Government sees rapid population growth as leading to a population too large for the resource base, locking the economy into a vicious cycle of poverty where low, labour productivity causes low, incomes which provide low, inadequate savings permitting low inadequate investment which causes low, productivity and unemployment. The vicious circle of poverty could only be broken by a sizeable injection of foreign capital.

For the JLP administration then population growth was identified as a root cause of underdevelopment. This was a natural outcome of a political philosophy which was clearly identifiable with the Modernisation theories of development. The symmetry between the Government’s political outlook and Modernisation theory is evidenced in several ways: in its perception of development as an evolutionary process; the idea that it is endogenous factors such as population which are responsible for underdevelopment; as a result the philosophy is ahistorical in that it fails to locate present problems in the context of past causes; in the view that the country lacks an internal dynamic and is dependent on exogenous sources — particularly in the form of capital injections — to stimulate growth and development.

It was therefore a matter of inevitability that this particular view on the relationship between population and development was reflected in the Population Policy. The Policy’s overall goal was:

"To achieve favourable conditions for economic and social development of the country in the coming decades. In order to provide the most favourable conditions to accomplish this goal, the population should not exceed 3 million by the year 2000."
The main objectives of the Population Policy to assist in the realisation of this goal were:

1. To promote continued improvement in the health status of the nation which should increase life expectancy from 70 to 73 years by 2,000.
2. Ensure access to high quality family planning services.
3. The achievement of replacement level fertility i.e. two children per woman by the late 1980's.  
4. To create new employment opportunities.
5. To promote balanced rural, urban and regional development.
6. To improve the satisfaction of basic human needs and the quality of life in such areas as housing, nutrition, education and environmental conditions.
7. To create an optimal spatial distribution of the population.
8. To reduce the out-migration of skilled manpower.

The explicit statement in the overall goal of the Policy that restrained population growth is a premise of economic and social development is predicated on certain macro and micro level assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that population control is capable on its own of ensuring the type of development required by the country and implicitly denies the dialectical relationship between population and development. It has long been established that a reciprocal relationship exists between the two and that socioeconomic development can act as a depressant on population growth (Bulatao 1984). Given this constricted view on the relationship between population and development it is not surprising that a major omission in the Policy is the role of a national economic policy. Secondly, the assumption that on a macro level population growth is a root cause of underdevelopment or in other words that a country is poor because its population is too large has important micro level implications. It translates into the notion that high fertility is a prime cause of individual poverty or that people are poor because they have too many children. This is in essence an ideological construction of the causes and consequences of high fertility. Its "blame the victim" innuendoes resound not only at this level but at the macro level view of a country failing to develop because it is guilty of not constraining what is implicitly labelled as surplus

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10 In 1988 the time limit for the achievement of replacement level fertility was changed to the year 2,000-2,010.
fertility. The intellectual heritage of this perspective is clearly identifiable with Modernisation theory.

The Structure and Functioning of the Jamaican Economy

The previous discussion has demonstrated how the Government's political philosophy, reflected in the Population Policy identifies population, and at a micro level, high fertility as a root cause of underdevelopment. However, this section attempts to expose the fallacy and ideological nature of this position by showing how the economic structure, by virtue of certain exogenous and endogenous factors, has experienced serious and sustained crises over time which have adversely affected its performance and constrained development.

With a land area of 4,411 square miles and a Gross Domestic Product of approximately J$9.6 billion, Jamaica is a small economy. This smallness implies firstly, a limited quantity of resources and of greater importance, a limited range of resources, e.g. an absence of energy resources. Secondly, smallness means a small domestic market. The market is not large enough to support economical production runs for most capital. The small market prevents the realization of economies of scale and allows the existence of only a single producer in many commodities with the accompanying inefficiencies and abuses especially in pricing.

The economy also exhibits a high degree of openness i.e. international trade is large in relation to total economic activity. The ratio of exports/GDP and imports/GDP are indicators of the critical importance of international trade and the trade dependence of the economy. In 1970-1988, imports/GDP ratio varied between 30% and 60% and exports/GDP fluctuated between 29% and 53%. These ratios are however, quantitative and have to be supplemented by an examination of the composition of trade and the importance of exports and imports to production. The composition of imports reveals that raw materials, goods, oil and capital goods accounted for between 81% (1972) and 95% (1980) of total imports. The

Jamaican economy does not have a sector producing capital goods. The type of commodities produced in the manufacturing sector consists largely of consumer goods.

Another negative feature of the structure of the Jamaican economy is a lack of intersectoral linkages. Generally, sectors of the economy do not use each others outputs as inputs. This is reflected in the high import content of production and the large share of output for export. Expansion in one sector does not lead to expansion in other sectors. Export sectors e.g. plantation agriculture and sectors producing for the domestic market e.g. manufacturing are very dependent on imported inputs. This is especially the case in capital intensive sectors such as the bauxite/alumina industry but even in labour intensive service sectors such as tourism.

The high degree of openness of the Jamaican economy and its fragile structure has made it extremely vulnerable to crises in the global capitalist system. The disastrous consequences of this was clearly demonstrated during the 1970's when three exogenous developments adversely affected the Jamaican economy. Firstly, there was a marked slow down in world trade, as trade grew at 5.7% per annum in the 1970's compared with nearly 8% per annum in the 1960's. Secondly, inflation in the world accelerated, spurred by a fourfold increase in oil prices in 1973-74. Finally, there was a sharp decline in direct foreign investment in the island during the period 1972-1974. This type of economic danger remains a permanent threat to Jamaica because of its past and present integration into the world capitalist economy. During her colonial period and continuing to the present in modified form, Jamaica is still structurally dependent on the developed capitalist countries.

The importance of this data is that it illustrates clearly the fact that it is a combination of both external and internal factors which has had a negative impact on Jamaica's economic growth and subsequent development. The Government's "internal blame view" perception of the causes of underdevelopment, reflected also in its Population Policy, is therefore an ahistorical viewpoint which misrepresents the nature of the causes and curatives of socioeconomic underdevelopment.
The previous overview of the macro level economic structure is an important preface to an understanding of the broader socioeconomic environment. A review of this is necessary to gauge the levels of poverty in the country. This is a relevant component of an analysis of any population control initiative as it is an acknowledged fact that pronatalism draws its strongest support from settings of deprivation and poverty in which children provide essential labour and security and are an irreplaceable source of enjoyment (Birdsall 1980). It has long been recognised too that socioeconomic development is a recognizable force altering attitudes towards family size norms and creating behavioural patterns necessary for their realisation. However, researchers have failed to find any development level or cluster of development factors that automatically assist in fertility decline (Bulatao 1983, 1984).

Given this established role of socioeconomic change and its attendant rise in living standards and alleviation of poverty, it is instructive to review the Jamaican socioeconomic situation. It is not difficult to summarise the economic status of the majority of Jamaicans. It is the lower socioeconomic class, which has traditionally exhibited the highest fertility rate, that is the most vulnerable to poverty. This class of people constitute the majority in Jamaican society as reflected in Stone’s (1980) description of the country’s economic brackets in Table 4.5.
Table 4.5: Economic Stratification of Jamaican Society

Upper and Upper Middle Class

1. Capitalist (owners of large and medium businesses) .5%

2. Administrative class (top bureaucrats and technocrats in public sector and government, politicians, independent service professionals) .5%

Lower Middle Class

3. Independent property owners and middle level capitalists (shopkeepers, small businessmen, landlords) 5.0%

4. Labour aristocracy (professionals, technicians, white collar, high wage and skilled workers) 18.0%

Lower Class

5. Own account workers or petty capitalists (small farmers, higglers, petty traders, small contractors) 28.0%

6. Working Class (low wage manual workers) 23.0%

7. Long term or indefinitely unemployed 25.0%

Translated into statistical terms, the inequalities of wealth are glaring when one considers that in 1978 an elite 5% of the population earned 30% of the income; the bottom 20% of the population earned 2.2% of the income (Planning Institute of Jamaica 1979). The 1989 Survey of Living Conditions conducted in the island reports that the per capita consumption of the
poorest 10% of the population is J$1056 and that of the wealthiest 10% is J$17,892. In Jamaica the consumption of the poorest 10% of the population amounts to 2% of the aggregate national consumption while the wealthiest 10% consume about 32% which is a ratio of 16 to 1.

The 1980’s have been a decade of increased poverty, economic hardships and austerity measures. The decline in living standards is a documented fact in a World Bank report investigating poverty in the Caribbean and Latin American region over the period 1985-1986. According to the report only war torn Nicaragua came out like Jamaica with a significantly less per capita income in 1980 than in 1970. Indeed in the region, real per capita income, measured in 1986 U.S. dollars grew by 40% while in Jamaica it declined by 20% (World Bank 1986).

The rapid devaluation of the Jamaican dollar between 1980 and 1985 has had a drastic effect on the cost of living. This is reflected in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) increasing by 31.4% in 1984. This increase in CPI covers virtually all items contained in the "basket of goods and services", the prices of which are monitored. The economically disadvantaged members of the society have been severely affected especially by the price movements in basic foods, most of which have had subsidies removed and their prices decontrolled. Retrenchment has been executed in central government with a disastrous effect on the provision of social services. Over the period 1984-1986 hospitals and schools in particular, have come under severe budgetary pressures, resulting in partial or total closure of some, as well as drastically reduced budgets for those remaining open.

Boyd (1988:110-131) documents statistics illustrating the decline in the social services. Recurrent expenditures on social services have fallen consecutively in 1984/5 and 1985/6 in real terms by 27% and 16% respectively. For the same period, capital expenditures on social services has declined by -28% and -25% respectively. This has had a negative effect on the financing of education, health and social security. Where education is concerned, in constant per capita terms for the 0-14 age group, total expenditure on educational services by the government has fallen from J$361 in 1981/82 to J$218 in 1985/6 a fall of 40%.
In constant terms total expenditure on health services by the government has fallen from J$70.00 per person in 1981 to J$47.00 per person in 1985, a fall of 33%. In the three year period, 1983/4, 1984/5, 1985/6 capital expenditure has fallen by 47%, 9% and 23% respectively. This has lead to an observable deterioration in the health capital stock and equipment. Reductions in the recurrent budget have resulted in falling real incomes for doctors, nurses and other hospital staff.

A social security plan was introduced in Jamaica by legislation passed in 1965. In the mid 1980's there were two schemes in the country: one was a contributory National Insurance Scheme (NIS) and the other a noncontributory Public Assistance Scheme (PAS). The NIS makes only a marginal contribution for those fortunate to qualify but the clear majority of the very poor of course do not qualify. The official statistics indicate that during 1984 a total of 43,811 pensioners were benefiting from the scheme, while it was estimated that there were 151,427 persons over 65 years old in the population in 1982. Under the PAS scheme there were 13% less beneficiaries during 1984 than in 1983 and the total payments declined from J$9.0 million in 1983 to J$8.2 million in 1984. This data on the decline in the social security system is especially important to an understanding of the potential success of any population control intervention. It is precisely in situations where adequate social security cannot be counted on that incentives exist for having higher numbers of children to support parents in their old age.

There is now however, a clear national consensus on the need to deal with the social services and economic and social infrastructure on a priority basis to redress the blight and deterioration that has set in over years of cutbacks in public spending. This is consistent with the opinion of the World Bank report which suggests that improved social services and related social benefits to ease pressures on the bottom 40% of income earners should be a top priority (World Bank Report 1986). The human cost of the country's economic crises is provided by the following statistics: in 1977 only 40.6% of urban dwellings and 6.4% of rural dwellings had piped water, 45% of urban dwellings were only one room (Stone 1980). The increasing poverty was also reflected in the basic consumption levels: The Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute (CFNI) developed a least-cost basket of goods covering food items for a household of five composed of two adults and three children. The total cost of
this basket in October 1984 was estimated to be J$120.63 per week. The minimum wage at that date was J$40.00 per week, which meant that a household of five with two members earning the minimum wage would be unable to afford the basket of goods. The sum of their wages would only cover 66% of the total basket of goods. By March 1986 the cost of the basket of goods had increased by 44.9% to J$174.83. One of the inevitable consequences of rising food prices has been increasing malnutrition among children. Fox and Ashley (1985) have reported results of a 1985 survey which indicate that 43.3% of Jamaican children are anaemic. In the metropolitan area of the capital Kingston and St. Andrew, 61% of children had haemoglobin levels below the WHO standard.

Conclusion

This chapter has placed population and demographic trends in Jamaica in a historical context. The point was made that although the total fertility rate of Jamaican women has declined from 5.5 in 1970 to 3.5 in 1983, a major contributory factor to this trend has been the increasingly high levels of female emigration during the 1970's and 1980's.

Discussions on the age structure and dependency ratio of the population illustrate the high proportions of the very young and the very old individuals who place a great dependency burden on the wage earning sector of the economy. Figures were quoted from the 1979 Five Year Development Plan to demonstrate how the projected increase in Jamaica's population during the 1980's would place heavy economic demands on the government. This prompted the introduction of a Population Policy which contained the specific goal of a two child family.

As a background to the genesis of the Population Policy an overview was provided of the Government's political philosophy. It was argued that some of these political views coincided with assumptions about the development process inherent in the modernisation paradigm. Within the context of the Government's political philosophy, which sees underdevelopment as a result of internal factors, population growth was labelled a retarding factor in the country's economic advancement. Consequently, the Population Policy stated that restrained population growth is a premise of socioeconomic development in the country.
It was argued that this viewpoint rests on two assumptions. The first is that on a macro level, population control on its own can ensure development; this position ignores the established reciprocal relationship between the two areas. Secondly, on a micro level, this assumption translates into the notion that high fertility is a prime cause of individual poverty or that people are poor because they have too many children. This was labelled an ideological construction of the population problem with blame the victim innuendoes.

The overview of the structure and functioning of the Jamaican economy highlighted that it is a combination of both external and internal factors which have hampered Jamaica's economic development. This confirms the fallacy of seeing population growth as a main obstacle to development and seeing population control as the curative for the problem. This overview of the economy also illustrated the extreme levels of poverty in the island experienced by the working class who constitute the majority of the population as well as the target group for the campaign. The specific example of the inadequacy of the social security system for the elderly was provided. It was argued that these data on the poor living standards and limited economic prospects is critical to an understanding of the magnitude of the task of limiting population growth. Research was referred to, Birdsall (1980) and Bulatao (1983; 1984) which show that it is precisely in such settings of deprivation and poverty that children provide irreplaceable enjoyment and are important for the economic security they provide particularly in the old age of their parents.

From the preceding discussion of course little can be offered by way of concrete conclusions on the relationship between the socioeconomic environment and prospective fertility decline. However, it can be argued that the increasing poverty levels for the majority of Jamaicans can act as a support for high fertility given the known positive association between poverty and fertility. This is compounded by an obvious failure at the provision of anti-poverty programmes or policy initiatives designed to effect structural change in those areas such as education, health and female employment which have a known impact on fertility. In such a situation it is clear that the first question that policy makers should have addressed is whether the socioeconomic environment was conducive to the desired decrease in fertility. What was
equally apparent was that this concern did not feature on their agenda of issues relating population to development.
CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF POPULATION GROWTH

Introduction

From economic diagnoses and prognoses of the "population problem", this chapter places population growth in its sociological/cultural context. It examines such issues as family structure, contraceptive knowledge and practice as well as some of the known socioeconomic variables which influence fertility in Jamaica. This is crucial to an understanding of the causes of high fertility and it is vital in order to assess whether the government's prescription for the perceived problem of high fertility, manifest in its choice of the mass media strategy and the message it purveys, is indeed appropriate.

Family Structure in Jamaica

The West Indian working class family has been the subject of an impressive collection of sociological and anthropological studies between the mid 1950's and the early 1970's. Interest in this sphere has been generated by concerns similar to those prompting research into the black family in the United States: a high illegitimacy rate (approximately 70% in the case of Jamaica), a low rate of marriage (4.66 per thousand) and rather unusual familial patterns, the stability and efficacy of which - as agents of socialization - have been seriously questioned Patterson (1982).

Traditionally, research on the Caribbean family has specifically addressed such issues as the prevalence and normative status of extra marital conjugal unions; the corresponding high rate of illegitimacy; the double standard of mating between the sexes; the late entry into marriage; the complexity in the performance of child rearing functions and the high incidence of female headed households. While these have constituted the substantive issues of concern, of equal interest has been the allied problem of explaining the existence of these social phenomena.

Although Caribbean family studies has by no means been dismissed as a field of contemporary sociological research, social scientists are now increasingly paying attention to
issues which tended to be unemphasised during the preoccupation with kinship research. Included in the range of new areas of interest are verbal behaviour (Abrahams 1970), male peer group interaction (Wilson 1973), labour migration (Philpot 1973), community systems of ranking (Barrow 1976), recreational pursuits (Manning 1973), drug use (Rubin and Comitas 1976) and the role of women in the Caribbean (Massiah 1982).

It is impossible given the limitations of this chapter, to provide a detailed overview of the specific themes in Caribbean family studies that have been the subject of academic investigation. Rather, one of the main objective of this chapter is to create a contextual understanding of family life as it exists generally within the Caribbean and in Jamaican society in particular. The socio-historical origins of family forms will also be explored as they provide useful insights into the character of conjugal and kinship relations that predominate.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Caribbean family system is the wide array of observable family forms. In general the nucleus of the family structure centres around the reproductive unit of father, mother and offspring. The differing family forms tend to be generally based on the following union typology:

1. The reasonably permanent nuclear family based on legal marriage between father and mother. This familial organisation is the norm only among the upper and middle class strata.

2. The more or less consensual union between male and female who may or may not be the biological parents of all the offspring present.

3. The family where only the mother is a permanent figure. Within the latter category however, there are variations such as a) the mother bringing up her children alone b) the mother who has "visiting relationships" with a spouse or spouses, but who has no permanent father figure in the household c) the mother who with her children lives in her wider descent group, usually including her own mother and/or female relatives. In this latter instance relationships are primarily of a consanguineous nature rather than dependent on a conjugal union. According to Massiah (1982) a total of 33.8% of households in Jamaica are headed by women and among these
households, the remarkably high unemployment rate of 15.7% prevails. The 1989 Survey of Living Conditions also states that female headed households have lower consumption levels than those headed by males.

The Socio-Historical Origins of the Caribbean Family

Several competing models have been forwarded to explain the antecedents of these familial patterns. The 'retentionists' arguments of Melville Herskovits provided the first explanatory framework. The first real family studies to be done in the Caribbean were an offshoot of Herskovits' (1945, 1947) studies of the American Black and they were carried out as a result of his scheme for plotting the persistence of Africanisms in the New World. They were not essentially studies of Caribbean family structure but rather of family forms among descendants of Africans and of the relation of those forms to the general structural features of African societies. It was these structures he argued that persisted and were retained in the familial and household patterns of West Indians of African ancestry.

A challenge to this view arose out of the research of Franklin Frazier who formulated some significant generalisations about the effects of slavery upon the family life of American blacks (Frazier 1939). It was this controversy between Herskovits and Frazier which was introduced in to the earliest studies of the Caribbean family in the West Indies. The two interpretations of social phenomena are similar in their emphasis on historico-cultural arguments. They differ radically however, in their historical point of departure. For example, the matricentric bias of the modern West Indian family and the primacy of the relationship between mother and children have been remarked upon by both Herskovits and Frazier. The latter interpreted this union of mother and children as the one primary group which had persisted throughout the slavery period while Herskovits derived its structural importance from the domestic organisation of African societies where the mother - children group forms a separate cell within the framework of the polygamous family. To those adhering to the 'retentionist' school of thought, modern familial patterns are largely institutionalized continuities whereas for the disciples of the legacy of slavery viewpoint, these phenomena are mainly diachronic continuities.
Within this intellectual framework, early indigenous studies on the Caribbean family sought to rationalise familial forms by classifying different family types and by attempting to estimate the prevalence of each type. Simey's (1946) explanation of the medley of family types suggested that this diversity represented a hybrid of two highly distinct family patterns – one, the upper class European pattern of a patriarchal marriage based family, which by example pervaded the culture of the society as an ideal to be aspired to; the other, a lower class pattern derived from the slave mother and her children which persisted in certain social and economic situations. Both Simey (1946) and Henriques (1953) emphasised the colour-class system and the fact that there seemed to be a close relationship between colour, occupational or economic level and family type.

By the time Henriques' book was published in 1953, current sociological thought established that there were a number of different family types each of which was the norm within the social stratum it occurred. Both Simey and Henriques adhered to the thesis that the forms of the family were sui generis a phenomenon which owed its character to the historic conditions of slavery. Both writers stressed too that what they perceived as the continuing "disorganisation" of the West Indian family, expressed by the high incidence of conjugal turnover, illegitimacy and "maternal households" reflected the continuing situation of the West Indian blacks as an economically and socially depressed class.

Other Perspectives on the Caribbean Family Structure

By the early 1950's however, a clear distinction had arisen between cultural persistence as an explanatory framework and the study of contemporary structural arrangements and their inter-connections. Many studies focused on quantitative data on household composition (Clarke 1957, Smith 1956). Smith's book for example, West Indian Family Structure (1962), is an extended comparison of statistical data on household composition and mating from five (5) samples, two in Jamaica, two in Grenada and one in Carricacou. One of the principal concerns behind the concentration on domestic organisation was that since it had become customary to address the lower-class family as being "disorganised" it was crucial to establish whether any patterning existed at all and whether the "disorganisation" was not primarily a matter of definition. The
pivotal theme of many of these social investigations addressed the question of how social reproduction was accomplished and how it fitted into other activities which in many societies are embedded in domestic organisation such as mating, domestic services such as cooking, washing and the provision of economic support.

R.T. Smith's (1956) milestone contribution to the field of Caribbean family studies provided a significant elaboration to this general theme. From field data collected in three Guyanese Black communities, Smith delineates a developmental cycle through which most lower class Black households pass. In the first phase of this cycle young adults form relationships and become parents without leaving their parental households; in the second, a young couple live together with their children in their own house; in the third, the household becomes matrifocal as authority and control shift to the mother. Smith argues that this cycle originates and is perpetuated not on the community level but in the total Guyanese social system.

Another set of variables that has been researched for its effects upon family and domestic organisation is economic factors. Earlier writers such as Frazier, Simey and Henriques had discussed the effect of poverty in producing or perpetuating unstable family forms. The most detailed treatment of the relationship between economic data and household composition is Cumper's (1961) work. Pursuing an argument Smith (1956) used in his British Guiana study and following his own work in two Jamaica communities, Cumper (1961) demonstrates ways in which Barbadian households and conjugal forms vary by occupational categories. Crucial to Cumper’s analysis is his concept of "equilibrium" which he defines as the double relationship of a head of household to his dependents on the one hand, and by way of his tangible and intangible economic assets, his relationship to the economic system on the other. Cumper’s model therefore emphasises two systems, the economic and familial and tries to clarify their inter-relationships.

The theme of the relationship between the economic structure of society and familial patterns emerged as a significant issue in Clarke's (1957) monumental research presented in My Mother Who Fathered Me. Clarke furthered the debate on West Indian family forms by classifying rural Jamaican varieties of cohabitation and household patterns. Class and economic differences in her view play a significant
role in determining forms of household structure, marital union and parental roles. Comparisons of three communities, a sugar belt (Sugartown), an impoverished agricultural village (Mocca) and a relatively prosperous peasant village (Orange Grove), revealed how life conditions directly affect the types of cohabitation and household organisation predominant in each social setting. It is specific socioeconomic and ecological variables Clarke argues, that result in distinctive combinations of family types at the community level. For example, the high incidence of both concubinage and one person households in Sugartown, was not associated simply with low incomes, but with a whole pattern of mobility, casual labour, individualism, absence of wide kinship networks and a particular kind of community authority structure. In both Mocca and Orange Grove however, the household group is a unit of agricultural production in addition to any other function it may have. Clarke’s research suggested that in prosperous and stable economic conditions there is great emphasis on conforming to what are regarded as the "proper" family norms of the society.

Another major variable receiving considerable attention is the organisation of mating relations and how this affects family and household structure. This variable assumed crucial importance because of the prevalence of unstable mating, of a widespread distinction between legal and non-legal unions, and the existence of mating unions which do not involve common residence. Studies by Roberts and Brathwaite (1959, 1960, 1961, 1962), Blake (1961) and Smith (1962) focus on the variability in mating relations and its effect upon family structure. Many researchers perceived a cyclical dynamic in the sphere of mating relations with a general movement from a visiting relationship to a common law (consensual) union and then finally to marriage in the more mature years. The paradigm suggests a great measure of continuity with the same persons moving through a series of union relationships. In reality however, there are many possibilities of discontinuity. Some women never have any other than visiting relationships; others may experience only a single common law relationship or a series of such relationships, never moving beyond this type of union; while others will never enter a marital union. These options were highlighted in Blake’s (1961) research which saw these possibilities as widespread problems.

A contemporary profile of union type distribution is
instructive at this point. The World Fertility Survey Report (1979) specifies that for all women currently in a union, 32% are married, 24% are in a common law (consensual) union and 22% are in a visiting union. This proportion varies by age with more than half the women aged 15-19 being involved in visiting unions. The fact of offspring being born into this union type where there is no resident father is indicative of a social problem. If women at these ages are not living in their parent’s home (and to a certain extent even if they are doing so) the very young in the society would be exposed to parental and most probably, also to economic deprivation.

The singular principal in mating relations and union distribution is that consequent household groups are not always coterminous with conjugal groups but also may have a consanguineous basis. Rubenstein (1983) has stressed the need to further refine the concepts of "family" and "household" in kinship studies as a result of studies done on domestic group life in a peasant village in the Eastern Caribbean island of St. Vincent. Family life here exhibits a variable and changing relation among family/household activities (sexual regulation, reproduction, economic co-operation and co-residence) and the structures required to carry them out. It is argued that a form of domestic organisation in which various functions and structures are either independent of or are variably associated with each other provides poor villagers with much needed manoeuvrability in family arrangements.

Despite the differing approaches to family and household structure, there is surprising convergence toward the position that the most obvious family grouping - the household - without a strictly determined structural pattern of its own, is largely a dependent sub-system of relationships. To understand its variable organisational manifestations is not to focus on it but upon its context.

As previously stressed, the theoretical foundations of this and other features of family and household structure have been traced back to the retentionist school, the legacy of slavery school or those emphasising socioeconomic conditions as critical explanatory factors. However, not all Caribbean scholars can be classified according to these three competing schools. For many it is largely a question of emphasis. As Patterson (1982) maintains, only the most extreme of the retentionists have completely denied the influence of slavery
and modern social and economic conditions. The economist George Cumper, who has articulated the case of modern socioeconomic variables is nonetheless quite sensitive to historical factors although, like most contemporary scholars, he dismisses the excessive speculations of Herskovits. Of interest too is the fact that R.T. Smith, whose standard research on the subject is firmly in the functionalist tradition, has in a more recent statement (1970) expressed a significant openness to certain aspects of the mostly discredited retentionist position.

The essential issue remains however, that still no consensus exists among Caribbean scholars regarding the relative degree of determinacy of each of the three explanations. R.T. Smith articulates this problem well when he writes (1964:45-46): "The major problem is what it has always been - to relate patterns of familial, domestic and mating behaviour to other factors in the contemporary social system and to the cultural traditions of the people concerned".

**Female Sexuality, Motherhood and Contraception in Jamaica**

The familial patterns previously discussed prescribe that the woman generally assumes a pivotal role in domestic and child rearing activities. It is this centrality of the mother figure and the consequent matrifocal nature of family planning campaigns in Jamaica that warrant further exploration of the role of women in Jamaican society.

This analysis will involve a discussion of three issues relevant in themselves to the role and status of the Jamaican woman but also germane to the more extended theme of family planning and population control. The realm of the cultural expectations placed on motherhood and child-bearing necessitates close examination because the system of belief that these expectations generate will naturally affect attitudes and behaviour towards fertility control.

A second crucial area of concern is the extent of knowledge about reproductive processes and menstruation. Roberts and Sinclair (1978:97) comment that "a society's knowledge of human reproductive processes is of itself an important topic of enquiry, as it constitutes one of many indicators of its level of awareness of current issues". There is also the simple fact too that adequate sexual knowledge should include an understanding of its consequences.
Menstruation is also an important issue as it constitutes a major index of female sexual identity. But on a broader level an assessment of current menstrual knowledge may assist in fertility programmes using contraceptive methods. In so far as the use of these methods affects in different ways the menstrual cycle, an understanding of the underlying physiological processes should assist in preparing users for the changes that will be experienced. If these are not expected or take place without any clear appreciation that they are a normal consequence of contraceptive use, their appearance may result in fear and the termination of the use of the particular contraceptive. Aside from these reasons, the basic fact remains that knowledge of the menstrual cycle is highly relevant to the effective practice of modern contraceptive techniques.

Following on this issue, it is important to examine the status of women from the perspective of the control that she can and does exercise over her own fertility. This will involve an overview of prevailing knowledge and attitudes of the female population toward family planning as well as current practice of contraception. This is a crucial issue to be addressed as the policy considerations this type of information generates bear heavily on the national thrust towards population control.

The Cultural Construction of Motherhood

Within the Caribbean in general, great cultural expectation, and to some measure societal pressure, is placed upon women to enter the child-bearing career. Sociological explanations relate this phenomenon to the fact that for both men and women, perceptions of self identity and social status are contingent upon the expression of sexual potency which is subsequently confirmed by the birth of children. MacCormack & Draper (1987:146) note that "where there are few rewarding economic roles for men and women, sex, birth and the rearing of children provide an alternative way to seek adult status and enhanced self-identity".

Brody's (1981:60) research among male interviewees in Kingston revealed that ideally men thought they should support several sexual partners simultaneously. His accumulating children would be public manifestation of his potency and his masculine social power. For women too, sexuality is natural and it is deemed unnatural not to have a child. A childless woman could be an object of pity, contempt or derision (Clarke
1957:95). In another study consisting of adolescent unmarried women, 59% said that people admired them more because they were pregnant and only 5% said people thought less of them (Clarke 1965). McCormack & Draper (1987:146) comment from their own research among Jamaican women that a woman’s social strength is closely identified with the bearing and rearing of children. They report that a woman they interviewed explained: "Having responsibility is being a woman. Until a woman has a child she is half child herself. After she gives birth and takes responsibility she is entirely a woman".

A consequence of this pattern of behaviour and attitude is early initiation into sexual activity. In a sample of women attending an ante-natal clinic in the working class areas of August Town and Hermitage in Kingston, Mukerjee (1982:23) found that 29% had their first experience at the age of 15 or younger, and practically the remaining proportion of women had their first coitus between the ages of 16 and 19. Allen (1982:29) conducted a similar survey in the predominantly rural parish of Manchester and found that the youngest age of first coitus was 11 and the modal age was 14 years. Allen also interviewed the mothers of the young women and discovered that the age of their first intercourse was later, beginning at the age of 15, with a modal age of 17. In March 1988 The National Family Planning Board published a report on the Young Adult Reproductive Health Survey\(^1\) (YARHS). Some of the main findings of the Survey are that there is still an early entry into sexual activity in Jamaica, 15% of females have their first intercourse by age 14 and by age 18 this proportion is estimated at 76.5%. Males are introduced to sexual activity at a younger age and 14.7% of young male adults reported their first sexual experience before age 10, the average being 14.3 years for men and in contrast to 16.9 years for the young females.

As an inevitable result of the early initiation into sexual activity, schoolgirl and teenage pregnancies are commonplace often pre-empting further education and social mobility. Women below the age of 20 accounted for 26% of Jamaican births in 1973, 30% in 1974 and 33% in 1975 (Gonzales 1982:17). A study in 1962 indicated that only 17% of women whose education was interrupted by pregnancy attempted to

\(^1\) Details of this are found in Demographic Statistics 1988 published by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica
continue their education later, and 59% were unemployed at the
time of the survey (Clarke 1965; Phillips 1973).

This expectation to enter into the child-bearing career
is underpinned by several culturally specific beliefs. There is
a general belief that physical and emotional deterioration
result from a lack of child-bearing/child-rearing.
Durant-Gonzalez (1982:8) reports that these beliefs were
explicitly stated by subjects in her survey sample, she quotes
one woman who said "Putting off having children most times lead
women to be sickly". Another woman explained "Sometimes when
you do not have children you can be unhappy". These data are
significantly parallel to data collected by the sociologist
Madleine Kerr four decades ago, where the consequences of the
failure to reproduce are concerned. The following quotation
extracted from Kerr's (1963:49) research is indicative of this:
"An almost universal belief is that each woman is destined to
have a certain number of children and she will not have good
health unless she does. If she does not have this correct
number she will be nervous, have headaches or even go insane".

Early anthropological studies of family organisation in
the Caribbean revealed that there was a high status and value
attached to the mother role (Blake 1975, Kerr 1963, Henriques
yielded data to support that this is still true. In fact child
bearing is still further linked to the emergence of a sense of
womanhood. Childbirth is in essence a "rite de passage" from
the status of a girl to that of womanhood. This transition is
often manifested by the conferral of the title "Miss" upon
adolescent girls after the birth of a child. The link between
child-bearing and the emergence into womanhood is so close that
Durant-Gonzalez (1982) makes the theoretical assumption that
child-bearing and or child-rearing and the accompanying
acceptance of the responsibility are the main determinant
factors of a self image of womanhood in Caribbean societies.

So entrenched is the business of child-bearing and
child-rearing in the socially prescribed role of women that
oftentimes this career is extended by the rearing and nurturing
of offspring of other women. Even for those women who are
biologically incapable of reproducing, there is an informal
system of adoption throughout the region which makes
child-rearing accessible to most women. This phenomenon within
the Caribbean of sharing the child rearing responsibilities has
been an area of academic interest among West Indian scholars. Roberts & Sinclair (1978:161) have estimated that about 30% of women in the child-bearing age had some of their children brought up in this way. More than half of these children were placed with the maternal grandmother.

Sociological literature on the Caribbean family structure is replete with commentaries on this fluid pattern of child-rearing. Clarke (1957) for example outlined at least two forms of non kin adoptions. In the first instance, a mother may give away her child to strangers primarily because of poverty. In the second case however, the arrangement is basically of a business nature. The child is given to someone usually of a higher social status as a school boy or school girl. Clarke notes (1957:176) that "the child is fed, clothed and theoretically sent to school or taught to earn his or her living in exchange for services".

The child shifting phenomenon has also been commented on by Rodman (1971:101) who notes that a woman may turn her children's care over to her mother, sister or another female relative or friend. The motivations reported were mainly of an economic nature as women experienced severe financial problems owing to the non support from the fathers of their children. Smith (1956) identified this pattern in British Guiana as well. However, in this case the practice seemed confined to the reciprocal exchange of female siblings. Reasons for this arrangement include death or serious trouble experienced by the mother.

The practice of the exchange of children appears as an outstanding and significant feature of the support system of West Indian families. As Powell (1982) notes one would assume that these exchanges would ensure that active links between kin members, or the individuals involved, would be maintained. It would be an area of academic interest to determine to what extent this is the case and to what extent differences between the strength of ties of kin and non kin exchanges are evident.

Knowledge of Sex and Menstruation

Information on the assessment of knowledge on the reproductive system and menstruation is extracted from survey research conducted by Roberts and Sinclair (1978). The outstanding finding of their research is that levels of
Where knowledge of reproduction is concerned, one-third of the women of the sample had no knowledge of the subject, or have failed to state their awareness that sexual intercourse is involved in reproduction. Those only vaguely aware that sexual intercourse is involved amounted to one-third also. Roberts and Sinclair (1978:98-99) report some of the statements made by the women interviewed which demonstrate their poor understanding of reproduction: "A woman gets pregnant when she has sex too quick after menstruation"; "A woman gets pregnant by having sex - a woman gets pregnant only if the man fits her". Only 10% of the women in the survey exhibited an adequate knowledge of the subject. The researchers report that knowledge of this type showed an interesting relationship with degrees and kinds of information received about sex. Highest scores of knowledge were shown by women who received information on the subject from books, while lowest scores were shown by those whose mothers tried to impart information on the subject.

The respondents in the survey showed an almost total ignorance of the basic elements of the menstrual cycle. Women having no knowledge of it constituted 82% of the sample, 12% reported only a minimal understanding of the phases of the cycle. Only 5% of the women interviewed demonstrated a good understanding of the cycle. Roberts and Sinclair (1978:112-113) include some of comments illustrating the widespread ignorance of menstruation: "Waste blood coming away"; "It is a sign that you have enough blood to make a baby"; "Some bad blood you have to pass out.....from the blood vessel"; "Don’t know, but it is a sign from the Lord"; "It was ordained"; "A flow of excess blood you must have". It is obvious that the women interviewed perceived menstruation as something ordained by nature and therefore to be accepted. There was also the recurrent view that the process involves a discharge of waste matter form the body.

An important finding of the research was that the higher the degree of understanding of the menstrual cycle the larger the proportion of women who resort to contraception. The general conclusion was therefore that the possession of some knowledge of human reproduction actively promotes the use of contraception. It could well be that an understanding of the reproductive processes prepares users for any changes in their menstrual cycle that certain contraceptives may induce thus
It is therefore argued here that firstly, the policy initiative designed to encourage replacement fertility which will naturally rely on prevalent contraceptive practice will meet with questionable success given the low levels of menstrual knowledge and the known association between higher degrees of knowledge and higher contraceptive use. Secondly, it is argued that a major omission of the Population Policy was the failure to respond to this research finding. This is evident in the absence of the promotion of elementary courses of instruction on human reproduction in schools.

**Contraceptive Knowledge and Practice in Jamaica**

It is important to examine the extent of the awareness and practice of contraception in Jamaica because contraceptive use is one of the main factors that influences fertility directly. It is therefore germane to an understanding of the potential efficacy of the policy initiative designed to constrain population growth during the nineteen eighties. The majority of the data used in this section is taken from *The Contraceptive Prevalence Survey* published by the National Family Planning Board in 1984.

An encouraging finding of the CPS was that almost all Jamaican women age 15-49 were highly aware of contraceptive methods. Moreover, knowledge differentials by age, education and residence were quite modest. The Report notes that "the general climate of opinion about family planning in Jamaica is.....quite good, judging from the high proportion of women who gave their unreserved approval of family planning" (pg.115).

Contrary to this high level of approval of family planning was the low level of contraceptive prevalence. The rate of contraceptive use among women in a sexual union was 51%. For the non-pregnant subset of women in union the rate was 54%. On the more specific level of the unmet need for family planning only 70% of non-pregnant, fecund and sexually active women who want no more children and 56% of women who want to space their children were currently using a contraceptive. The Report therefore estimates that more than one-third of the currently non-pregnant women who either want to space or cease child-bearing are not using a contraceptive.
This is a negative signal for the potential efficacy of the population control effort since its effectiveness will rely in some measure on the prevalent use of family planning. This appears a necessary foundation for any fertility control initiative and although the Population Policy mentions the need for the provision of high quality family planning services there is little indication that a renewed thrust to actively increase contraceptive prevalence has taken place. In fact, the use of attendance at family planning sessions as an index of contraceptive prevalence shows a noticeable decline in family planning usage according to the Statistical Institute's Demographic Statistics for 1988. In 1987 there was a 9.2% reduction in the national attendance at family planning sessions and a fall of 10.1% in the numbers making a first visit. The number of revisits also declined by 9.0%. This trend has continued into 1988 and the number of new acceptors has declined by 12.5% and the number of revisits has declined by 13.2%.

The CPS did address the issue of the reasons why contraceptive use was low. One finding was that for women who were not using a contraceptive, fear of side effects of contraceptive methods and personal or partner's attitudes about contraception were the most frequently mentioned reasons for non-use. The Report notes that one reason for the persistence of fears is possible weaknesses in the counselling and follow up services, resulting in the predominance of negative attitudes among past users of contraceptives. This point was underscored by the finding that health/side effects predominated as a reason among women who had once used but discontinued using contraceptives.

**SocioEconomic Variables of Fertility in Jamaica**

A complex of factors contribute to fertility not least of which are certain features of the broader socioeconomic environment. As a consequence it is useful to review some of the known socioeconomic variables influencing fertility in Jamaica. This provides firstly a valuable insight into the magnitude of the task of curbing population growth. Secondly, the relationship between fertility and the socioeconomic variables education, employment and union status which will be discussed, highlights the failure of the Population Policy to define specific measures in these areas that could assist in the desired population/fertility decline. The general arguments
concerning the theoretical relationship between each of these variables and fertility will be reviewed first before outlining the nature of these associations in the Jamaican context.

Education and Fertility

The level of education among fecund women has emerged as a critical variable affecting a reduction in fertility. Cross national studies have consistently found a negative correlation between fertility and education, however, on a sub-national level research evidence is variable.

Using national data for example, Adelman (1963), Friedlander & Silver (1967), Heer (1966) and Janowitz (1971) all verified negative correlations between education and fertility. On the sub-national level, Collver et al (1967), Schultz (1969), Drakatos (1969) and Cain & Weininger (1973) found negative correlations for Taiwan, Puerto Rico, Greece and the United States respectively. However, Kamerschen (1971) found a positive correlation between education and fertility for the United States and Heer & Boynton (1971) found no significant correlations. For Latin America Heer & Turner (1965) found mixed results.

Attempts to reconcile these divergent views must begin by addressing the definition and measurement of education. The concept of education signifies different things to different researchers. In one study for example, Willis (1973) views education as a surrogate for the wife’s lifetime earning capacity. In a commentary on this study, Ryder (1973:68) suggests that "the data are blind to the concepts of the theorist, and wife’s education means whatever it means.." Janowitz (1976) notes that the channels through which education affects family size are dependent on levels of education already achieved. Thus though the direct effect is generally more important at lower levels of education, the indirect effects increase in importance at higher levels.

Several researchers have emphasised that the relationship between education and fertility is a complex one (Michael 1973; Ben-Porath 1973). Firstly, by widening a woman’s horizons, education can and does affect her preference for children. Secondly, by increasing the productivity of her time in the market place relative to her time at home, it creates incentives to spend more time working and less time for child
care (Hashimoto 1974). In this regard however, education may also increase home productivity (Leibowitz, 1974). Simon (1974:143) concludes that "at least for simple economic reasoning, not all the data on the effect of women's education on fertility are consistent with the notion that the labour force opportunity cost is the dominant mechanism".

Finally, education may affect the efficiency of fertility control by increasing a woman's knowledge and use of birth control (Khalifa 1976). Michael (1973) finds that more educated couples select more effective contraceptive techniques. In addition to the effects of education mentioned above, educational level also affects age at marriage which in turn may affect family size. Women entering marriage at a later age do so with a wide variety of work experience than women who marry young. Also, the former group tend to work immediately after marriage than then latter Bumpass (1969).

**Fertility Differentials by Educational Attainment in Jamaica**

The nature of the relationship between education and fertility is particularly relevant to population control initiatives in a country like Jamaica where the educational standard is not high. In 1987, fifteen years after the inception of a national literacy programme aimed at the eradication of illiteracy in the island, 240,000 or almost a quarter of a million Jamaicans were still illiterate. Although this represents a reduction of more than half of the 500,000 illiterates identified in 1972 there has been an increase in the level of functional illiteracy. About 52% of graduates of the primary school system are innumerate and illiterate according to a study done by the Planning Institute of Jamaica in 1989.

Demographic research to establish the nature of the relationship between education and fertility in Jamaica has consistently revealed an inverse relationship between these two variables. Teske (1967) showed that women who have gone beyond the primary grades in education have a higher percentage of childlessness and a lower average number of live births per mother. This finding suggests that the better educated women are less likely to enter a non legal union during early

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2This figure was provided by the Ministry of Education, Jamaica.
child-bearing ages.

Empirical studies done by Roberts (1975) and by Whittaker (1980) have found support for the hypothesis that women with higher levels of education tend towards smaller families and that women with the highest educational attainment had the lowest mean number of children ever born. An important point to be noted too is that although the data used for both these studies was collected at different times - Roberts' study was based on the 1960 census while Whittaker used data from the 1975 Fertility Survey - the results consistently confirmed the inverse relationship.

In the Roberts' study, five different categories were used to describe educational attainment. These categories, I through to V, were actually taken from the 1960 census where a fairly detailed classification of the population by educational status was adopted. The research showed that the proportions of relatively small families rose steadily up the educational scale while there was a corresponding reduction in the proportions of women with large families. The proportion of large families for women of completed fertility at the highest level of education (Category V) was only one third as high as the corresponding proportion for women of Category IV.

In both the 1943 and 1960 censuses very close associations between levels of educational attainment and levels of completed family size are in evidence. For 1943, family size values are by far the lowest in the two parishes comprising the urban centre, Kingston and St. Andrew, for which also are recorded the highest levels of educational attainment. While the parish with largest family size - St. Ann - is not the one with the lowest educational status, there is a near perfect negative correlation between the two variables. The situation in 1960 was similar, with once more the urban parishes showing the lowest fertility and the highest educational attainment. St. Ann is no longer the parish with the largest completed family size, having experienced in the intercensal period a substantial reduction in fertility of 15%. The highest family size value is that for St. Elizabeth, a parish which in marked contrast to all the others has show virtually no change in completed fertility between 1943 and 1960, and which at both dates occupied the lowest point on the educational scale.
Whittaker's (1980) research, using more recent data also established a negative relationship between increased education and declining fertility. Table 5.1 which follows presents the mean number of children born according to educational level and by union status.

Table 5.1: Mean Number of Children ever born by Union Status and Educational Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union Status</th>
<th>No Education</th>
<th>Primary 4 Years or Less</th>
<th>Primary 4 Years &amp; More</th>
<th>Secondary or Higher Educ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-Law</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The mean number of children born to women that were married showed variations between those with no education and women with education. Although the distinction between the no education and primary and secondary levels is minimal in terms of number of births, a sharp decline is noticeable for those with higher education for all union types.

Women in common-law union with four years or less of primary education had a mean number of 6.2 births; then there was a dramatic decline as the level of education increased. The mean number of children born to women with no education and in visiting relationship was 5.0, a value much higher than the mean number of births among women in married (4.5) and common-law (4.1) relationships with no education.
Labour Force Participation

An established consensus now exists on the direct negative relationship between female labour force participation and fertility, before other variables are controlled. Ample empirical evidence is readily available in both developed and developing countries which supports the principal that fertility is lower for working than non-working women, with variations appearing once other variables such as area of residence, race, religion, education and occupation for example are taken into account.

Researchers have tried to assess the accuracy of this relationship by controlling for different exogenous factors either statistically or through their research design. However, the evidence is contradictory. Numerous studies verify that a significant negative relationship remains after controlling for various exogenous variables. Kupinsky (1977) identifies studies in which the relationship remained after the following variables were controlled: fecundity status, age, marital status, duration or age at marriage, socioeconomic status, financial need and religion. Other studies show that the relationship is greatly attenuated after controlling for some variables or that the relationship holds for some sub-groups and not for others. For example, in the United States the relationship was stronger among White than Black women who mainly entered the labour force because of economic need (Clifford & Tobin 1977). In the developing world the relationship is observed to be stronger for urban areas or non-agricultural occupants (Jaffe & Azumi 1960; Gendell 1967; Stycos & Weller 1967; Miro & Martens 1968; Gendell et al 1970; Minkler 1970; Pinelli 1971; Goldstein 1972).

Although in general the relationship is stronger among higher social status groups - where women are probably better educated and have higher status jobs (Ridley 1969, Weller 1969; Sweet 1970; Pinelli 1971; Safilios-Rotschild 1972), Chaudhury (1978) found that in Bangladesh it was the lower social status groups who showed the stronger relationship. Hass (1972) found that the relationship between employment and fertility varied among seven Latin American cities which were covered in his study and concluded that this was apparently due to different levels of development and differing social structures.

Several other writers have echoed this latter finding as
characteristic of their research. Although agreement exists on an inverse relationship between women's work and fertility, there is an absence of consensus on the exact nature of this relationship. The diversity of situations in different societies and the consequent influence of differing variables account for variations in findings.

Aside from variability in the negative relationship, a further dimension to the issue is the direction of causality. Although most researchers argue that the dominant direction is from employment to fertility, some have found results to contradict these arguments. They maintain that family size and age of children are more important in determining whether a woman will enter the labour force. However, in developing countries where a large proportion of working women are usually in the labour force because of economic necessity, it is highly probable that their achieved fertility would partly determine the need to enter the labour force. This argument is particularly germane in the Jamaican context where the levels of poverty are an encouraging factor for female employment.

Female participation in the labour force does not preclude however, the possibility that employment will not influence the woman's future fertility. The course of causality may also be subject to change over a period of time. In more traditional contexts where female employment is not the norm, labour force participation by women may be primarily influenced by fertility or economic need. As female employment becomes more generally accepted, that participation will increasingly become a variable influencing fertility.

The relationship between employment and fertility has been formulated into a series of hypotheses within at least three academic disciplines. Although psychologists and economists have theorized on this issue it is the sociological perspective on the subject which will be discussed here.

For the sociologist, the principal mechanism through which participation affects fertility is role conflict. This conflict exist both in terms of demands for the woman's time and energy as well as in terms of her role of wife and her role of mother (Jaffe & Azumi 1960; Gendell et al 1970; Stycos and Weller 1967; Weller 1968; Hass 1972). The fundamental premise here is that the two roles, work and mother-wife place competing demands and in order to maintain an equilibrium, the
obligations of one or the other must be reduced. However, the conflict in terms of time will not arise if the woman works at or near home or if cheap or free child care is easily available.

In developing countries conflict in time allocation is a variable reducing fertility that will assume importance only after occupations which produce such demands are held by a significant proportion of women. Generally, this is not the norm and it would be necessary to have increased social acceptance of the non-domestic occupational role accompanied with increased availability of such work to women before any strong effect on fertility would result (Hass 1974). Researchers have also pointed out that in addition, birth control should be accepted and the technology made available for fertility to decline (Stycos & Weller 1967; Minkler 1970). However, as Kupinsky (1977) points out, although role conflict may be a significant mechanism in this relationship there is a general paucity of sufficient empirical evidence and a great deal of the theory has so far been based on inference.

Another important hypothesis regarding the influence of labour force participation on fertility is the sex-role orientation of the woman herself. In this situation the focus is on the woman's self approval of her own orientation and attitude towards working as opposed to the attitudes or approval of others. Researchers have generally found that the more "modern" is the woman's sex-role orientation, the more likely is she to prefer to work and to view work as an alternative to motherhood. By contrast, the traditional sex-role orientation would emphasise the role of the woman as mother and homemaker and would approve of work only under economic need. The influence of this is that role modern women will tend to have lower fertility than role traditional women. Within the Jamaican context, this hypothesis may offer insights into an interpretation of findings for the different sub-groups of populations for example the educated versus the less educated and the urban versus the rural.

The third set of hypotheses proposed by sociologists centre on the result of the worker role of the woman on fertility reducing mechanisms. Hypotheses which have been tested include:
a) That the working woman is more likely to come into contact with rational attitudes toward family size and spacing and more
likely to know about and use efficient contraception than non workers.
b) That the length of work experience is directly related to commitment to the worker role. This however, does not distinguish between varied types of motivation for working, such as economic need or personal preference.
c) That the more gratifying and rewarding is the job and the more committed the woman is to it, the more likely it is that she will have lower fertility than if she had a low status, low paying and undependable job. Most of the stereotypically female jobs are low status and where they coincide with high turnover and ease of re-entering the labour force, commitment to working continuously will be low and working could be compatible with child-bearing. This general principle implies that fertility would be affected if women work because they prefer to do so, than if work was engaged in solely for economic reasons.

Safilios-Rothschild (1977) emphasises that the greater proportion of women who are working in developing countries do so because it is an obligation since it is economically necessary and is demanded of them, not because they have chosen to work. Henry & Wilson (1975) have substantiated this argument in the Jamaican situation. In this kind of situation, many of the effects of working, predicated on the basis that work is equal to emancipation of women do not hold. On the contrary, woman may work because they have a large family with insufficient income. Much work has been done on the measurement of work commitment and its effect on fertility and generally findings support the hypothesis that women who are more committed to their jobs as careers or who have planned their future around work are more likely to efficiently control their fertility.

Labour Force Participation and Fertility in Jamaica

According to Powell (1976) the data show that 60% of all childless women are economically active. This participation rate is significantly higher than that for women with children.
The participation rate of the latter group is 28%, a difference of 32% from working women who have no children. This difference is in keeping with expectations if one accepts the argument that responsibilities of child-rearing infringe upon the possibility of women to work and as such restrict them to either marginal or no involvement in economic activity.

Participation rates at all ages remain higher for childless women with the greatest differential between the two falling in the age group 25-29 years (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Age Specific Activity Rates for Men and Women With and Without Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE WITH CHILDREN</th>
<th>FEMALE WITHOUT CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: D. Powell, Female Labour Participation and Fertility: An Exploratory Study of Jamaican Women Social and Economic Studies Vol. 25 No. 3 1976 Published by I.S.E.R. University of the West Indies

The peak activity rate (73%) for childless women is in the age group 25-29 followed by 72.4% for those 20-24 years. The lowest level of participation is recorded for women 40-44, then approaching the end of their fertile years. Younger women show evidence of greater economic activity, with a tendency towards a greater concentration in the labour force at about age 20. The participation rate was higher for women 20-24 than those in the younger group 15-19.
Women with children reach their peak performance in terms of labour force participation much earlier than childless women and so the earlier decline may be an indication of withdrawal from the labour force due to child care responsibility. It is interesting to note too that the increase in participation rates after the 15-19 age range is six times greater for childless than for women with children. This is suggestive that motherhood and attendant child care could be a deterrent to female labour force participation. The influence of age is however, a recognizable variable and as such, as Powell indicates, it is unwise to view the previous observation as a categorical statement.

Table 5.3 identifies activity rates according to size of family and age. Here participation rates decrease as family size increases. The variations observable with the interplay of age and size of family are instructive. As parity increases, the age at which peak economic activity is attained also increases. As a result of this, for 1 parity women the peak occurs in the age group 25-29, for 2-3 parity at 30-34, for 4-5 at age 35-39 and for 6+ parity the peak falls in the interval 40-44. It appears that large numbers of children result in lower participation rates among women and that increased age also acts as a depressant.

However, the variations in the table lead to the inference of the presence of yet another variable, that is age of children. It is apparent that there is a stronger tendency towards higher levels of participation among older women with high parities than is the case with the younger counterparts. In contrast to this, among lower parity women the younger ones, except possibly those under 20, tend to be more actively engaged in work outside the home. A possible rationale for this phenomenon among older, higher parity women is that children present are more probably less dependent on close maternal supervision. The offspring of younger high parity women would need more supervision thus acting as a restraint on work involvement.

Abdullah & Singh (1984) also confirm the findings that labour force participation is significantly associated with a lower level of fertility. They report a consistent upward progression in fertility levels of current, past and never workers. Women in visiting unions constituted the only exception to this general rule. Another significant
Table 5.3: Age Specific Activity Rates for Women with Children by size of family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>1 CHILD</th>
<th>2-3 CHILDREN</th>
<th>4-5 CHILDREN</th>
<th>6+ CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


characteristic observed was that the mean number of children ever born was noticeably lower among women who worked before the first birth than among those who did not. The worked/did not work before first birth differentials were more significant among current workers than among past workers. Another important finding was that the level of initial fertility i.e. the numbers of children born within the first five years of union was substantially lower among women who worked before first birth than among those who did not. Furthermore, the mean number of children declined as the number of years worked before that birth increased.

With regard to fertility according to occupational status, agricultural workers have had by far the highest level of cumulative fertility, their mean number of pregnancies being nearly one third again as high as that of the group with the second highest mean - unskilled workers. Professional and clerical workers had the lowest mean number of pregnancies. Women employed by family members have had 25% more pregnancies than self-employed women and the fertility of this latter group exceeds that of non family employees by 6%. Among non farm workers, there was little difference in means between women who
work at home and those who work away from home.

A further interesting finding was that the proportion of women currently in a union and fecund who wanted no more children and who were current users of an efficient contraceptive method was very much higher among current workers than among non workers. This difference was consistently maintained whatever the personal characteristics of the women; and in most sub-groups the relative differential was high. Among ever workers, the level of contraceptive use was highest among professional women, followed by sales and service workers, manual and agricultural workers in that order.

In conclusion, the data has revealed that several features of labour force participation among Jamaican women are consistent with a lower fertility. These findings tend to support the hypothesis that labour force participation will result in lower fertility. However, the data also provide some support for the contrary hypothesis that women work as an economic imperative resulting from their high fertility. The fact that women who begin to work only after the first birth tend to have higher fertility than those who worked before and sometimes higher than those who have never worked lends credence to the second hypothesis.

Union Status and Fertility

Historical and contemporary evidence has emphasised the pivotal role of variations in marriage behaviour in accounting for changes in fertility. In certain respects, during the initial stages of the demographic transition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the decline in fertility levels was associated with variations in nuptiality characterised by a change from early marriage and high fertility to postponement of marriage and high proportions of never married (Hajnal 1965; Sklar 1974). Research in the lesser developed countries also proved that the postponement of marriage and a shift in the proportions ever married towards higher ages have contributed in large measure to the decline in fertility levels (Cho & Retherford 1970; Fernando 1976; Hull & Hull 1977; Smith 1981).

However, problems in the definition of marriage render generalisations on the relationship between nuptiality and fertility difficult and can often give rise to oversimplifications (Caldwell et al 1980). This is particularly
germane to the cases of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean where marriage does not necessarily indicate the initiation of regular sexual relationships and in the majority of cases, represents the final stage in a series of earlier relationships. Within this context marriage usually serves to cement unions long in existence (Aryee & Gaisie 1979; Van de Walle 1968; Roberts 1955).

The existence of a variety of cohabitation patterns within the Caribbean has a number of important implications for fertility. One of the more obvious consequences of the diverse mating systems is the high rates of illegitimacy that predominate. In fact illegitimacy rates in some Caribbean territories have long been the highest in the world and a greater number of births occur outside rather than within marriage. Given this situation demographers investigating the relationship between union status and fertility have constructed specialized typologies to measure exposure to the risk of child-bearing among women. The most common of these typologies employed differentiates between 1) legal marriage 2) common law or consensual unions in which a man and a woman live together without being legally married to one another 3) visiting unions in which a couple do not live together but have a more or less regular sexual relationship 4) single, separated or out of union status which denotes that a woman has previously been in a union. A final status possibility is never-in-a-union.

The prevalence of these cohabitation unions inn the Caribbean is indicated for example in the World Fertility Survey (1979) data for Jamaica which shows that 51% of all women in a union were currently in a consensual union (29% in common law and 22% in visiting and 32% were in married unions. This distribution varies by age with the highest percentage in consensual unions occurring in the 15-19 age group (see Table 5.4).

Literature on the issue of the relationship between union status and fertility has been characterised by several competing theories. Using statistical data collected during the 1940's and 1950's the consensus among several researchers (Blake 1961; Roberts 1955; Stycos & Back 1964) was that the observed age composition by union status actually served as a fertility depressant because a large number of women were in union types exhibiting fertility rates lower than that of legal
Table 5.4: Percent Distribution of all Women ever in a Union according to Current Union Status & Current Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NO. OF WOMEN</th>
<th>MARRIED %</th>
<th>COMMON LAW %</th>
<th>VISITING %</th>
<th>SINGLE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,765</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Marriage and partly because a significant proportion of women were not at risk as a result of a fairly long waiting period between successive partnerships. According to this school of thought, fertility rates would increase considerably (Blake estimated by 30%) if partnership dissolution ceased completely and if women in common law or visiting unions were to marry.

An interesting challenge to this position was tendered by Marino (1970) from the perspective that it was an invalid generalisation from the individual to the societal level and despite the fact that faithful monogamy would result in higher fertility among married women, it would undoubtedly depress overall fertility in many West Indian societies because there was a shortage of men; the present system served to spread scarce men around and raised effective exposure above levels that would exist in strict monogamy.

The fundamental conceptual problem with these early studies is the use of the current union status to represent the individuals' marital history. The findings that marriage does not necessarily indicate the beginning of the exposure to risk of child-bearing and that the predominant mating pattern is a
progression towards more stable unions, considerably complicated the analysis of the effects of current union status on fertility (Van de Walle 1968; Roberts 1975; Burch 1982). Viewed from this perspective, legal marriage represents the end stage of a process rather than a status and the fertility of married women is the cumulative result of the reproductive behaviour of earlier unions. Consequently, the use of current status partially accounts for the higher fertility observed for women in legal marriage.

Further challenges to the established position of the 1940’s and 1950’s regarding the fertility depressing effects of mating patterns began to emerge from research done in the 1960’s and 1970’s. Results of a small survey of men by Lightbourne (1970) suggested that the more widespread use of contraceptives as compared with the 1940’s and 1950’s had initiated a new era where couples began to contracept once achieving desired family size. Male respondents who had no children or only one child with their wife or common law partner wanted more children or wanted to cease at two or three. Additionally, this desire for several children of the present union was independent of the number of children the woman had borne for other men and of the children fathered with other women. The fact too that high levels of contraceptive use prevailed among respondents who wanted their spouses to cease child-bearing, appeared to suggest that women who stayed with one partner throughout their reproductive years would adopt contraception once they achieved their desired family size and bear fewer children than those who were in a succession of partnerships in which children were desired.

Consistent with this finding, the results of a much larger survey by Ebanks et al (1974) among Barbadian women, revealed that their fertility too increased with the number of partners. Research done by Leridon & Charbit (1981) in Martinique and Guadeloupe found that in consensual unions, instability (more partners) led to higher fertility during the period when the female partner is actually exposed.

More recent demographic research within Jamaica has again pointed to the increasing fertility associated with the consensual union cohabitation pattern. Lightbourne & Singh (1982) found that the relationship between union status and fertility has changed over time and that although married women were the most fertile in the 1950’s and 1960’s, by the
the 1970’s common law unions have become the more fertile group both in terms of within union rates as well as current union status. Working with World Fertility Survey retrospective data Lightbourne (1984) states that the data clearly imply that entry to new partnerships tend to stimulate women into having children that they would not otherwise have had. The problem with this approach however, is the limitation imposed by the use of selected demographic variables without taking into account other factors such as changes in duration among union types, changes in age at entering into different union types and other factors that could alter the amount of change explained by each union type.

In an attempt to overcome limitations inherent in previous approaches, Boland (1983) re-examined the relationship between union status and fertility employing a more comprehensive theoretical framework consisting of both proximate and intermediate variables. The net result of this research is that common law unions again exhibited the highest fertility.

The growing consensus that unstable mating is ceasing to play its previously documented role as a fertility depressant has important implications. The fact that union status is a crucial determinant of fertility implies that the total fertility of a population is clearly determined by the distribution of union types in the population. By implication an increase in the proportion entering marriage as first union could reduce fertility levels while the reverse would occur if there were a rise in proportions selecting common law as their first union.

Finally, where policy is concerned, an important consideration is whether union status can be manipulated to influence fertility changes. Jamaica does not possess a nuptiality policy. Boland (1983) however, suggests one possible mechanism to influence conjugal behaviour. An important finding in her research is that proportional distribution of first union statuses can be achieved through the manipulation of socioeconomic factors. Boland estimates that an additional five years of schooling in the population would be accompanied by a substantial rise in the proportion choosing marriage as their first union and a significant decline in numbers opting to initiate child-bearing in common law unions. Boland estimates that the net effect would be a reduction in fertility by
approximately 14%.

Conclusion

This chapter has placed population growth in its sociological context. It has described the different family forms prevailing in Jamaican society. This typology consists of marriage and the nuclear family; common law/consensual unions; and female headed households. The point was made that marriage is the norm among the upper and middle class strata while the other two family forms are predominant among the lower class stratum which constitutes the target group for the campaign. The various socio-historic theories explaining this traditional form of family organisation among the lower class have been discussed. These theories explaining family structure were traced back to the retentionist school, the legacy of slavery school and the approach stressing socioeconomic factors. The various family forms traditional among the lower class as opposed to the nuclear family which is more specific to the middle and upper classes is critical background to an understanding of the images of the family presented in the population control media campaign. These images will be described in a later chapter of the thesis.

The chapter also discussed three issues concerning the Jamaican working class woman which are relevant to an understanding of the magnitude of the task of population control. These three issues are sexuality, motherhood and contraception. It was demonstrated from sociological research that there is an early initiation into sexual activity among working class females as a result of which teenage pregnancies abound. It was also stressed that knowledge of reproductive processes and menstruation are low. Because of the known association between higher degrees of menstrual knowledge and higher contraceptive use (Roberts & Sinclair 1978), it was argued that a major omission of the Population Policy was the promotion of elementary courses on reproduction in schools. The discussion on the cultural construction of motherhood pointed to the great cultural expectation placed on women to enter the child-bearing/rearing career. Attention was directed to the fact that the working class woman derives an enhanced sense of self identity and status through mothering. Information on contraceptive knowledge and practice shows that although awareness of family planning methods is high the actual practice of contraception is low.
The chapter discussed three socioeconomic variables known to influence fertility in Jamaica. Education is known to have a negative correlation with fertility which means that as educational level increases the number of children women have decreases. Studies on the effect of union status on fertility in Jamaican have shown that common law unions exhibit the highest fertility. Where labour force participation is concerned, the data reveal that several features of this type of participation are consistent with a lower fertility.

This chapter has shown how fertility, and as a consequence population growth is defined by several cultural and socioeconomic forces. The inescapable fact that fertility is rooted in a broad environment of factors further reinforces the complex nature of the task of limiting family size and consequently population growth. It also brings into clearer focus questions on the efficacy of using a media strategy to bring about the required changes in fertility to realise the desired demographic goal of a two child family.

The preceding two chapters have attempted to provide an overview of the economic and sociological issues which have a bearing on the population control initiative intending to introduce replacement fertility. The discussion now turns to an assessment of the efficacy or appropriateness of the tools used to assist in achieving this policy objective — the mass media.
The task of delivering the message of replacement fertility was unquestioningly assigned to the Mass Media by the National Family Planning Board. However, the decision to employ the press and broadcasting facilities to assist in Governmental initiatives in population control implicitly ascribes an onerous status to the mass media – that of tools in the development process and as a mediating link between policy maker and citizen.

In this regard however, it must be emphasized that media are societal institutions having acquired a stable form, structure and set of functions and related audience expectations. By implication the Media do not operate in isolation or in a vacuum, but are linked with society at several different levels. Firstly, these links are rooted in the particular history of the society and are therefore a product and a reflection of that history and may very well have had a significant role in it.

A second important link is that of the mediating role media plays between the ordinary citizens of society and an apparently remote and inaccessible world of events, opinions and power. This link is forged by the provision of information. The principal versions of functionalist theory identify yet a third link in the specific assumption that media are necessary to the continuity of a social system characteristic of modern industrial or information based societies.

Yet another important link between media and society – one that is of particular relevance to the media thrust in Jamaica’s population control initiatives – is expressed in how media ought to or are expected to operate. Referred to as normative theory, this theoretical link concerns itself with how media ought to operate if specific social values are to be achieved and promoted. The importance of this
theory resides in the fact that it contributes to the shaping of media institutions as well as exerts influence on societal expectations of the media. Although each society will have a distinctive version of normative theory, there are differing sets of principles that classify different national media systems. Siebert et al (1956) made the first attempt at major theories of the press— the fourfold classification of Authoritarian, Free Press, Social Responsibility and Soviet Media theories are accepted classifications. However, other theoretical categories have emerged such as McQuails (1987) Development and Democratic - participant theories.

The relevance of the normative theoretical posture of the mass media to Jamaica's population control programme becomes self evident when considering the role media is expected to perform as an actor in development in delivering the message of replacement fertility. The implied status of the media in this regard raises the question whether the media are acting in a role that is consistent with their normal sphere of performance. To what degree too do they ordinarily function and are accustomed to functioning as a tool in the development process? Approached from a different perspective the question could also be asked, to what extent does the Jamaican mass media function in a manner identifiable with a development theory of the media?

A response to this latter question constitutes the primary research objective for this chapter. An informed answer to this question is not purely academic. Its importance lies revealingly in just how supportive in terms of ethos and orientation, the mass media are an environment for the development thrust of the replacement fertility programme. An understanding of the normative theoretical position of the mass media is also crucial for an assessment of any elements that may prove dysfunctional to the development based role the media are being cast in as well as to the specified goals of the campaign.

As McQuail (1987) states, diverse sources, the most recent source of ideas being the MacBride et al Report
(1980), have contributed to the emerging body of opinion and prescription on what constitutes a development theory of the media. For the purposes of this chapter however, the following principles extracted from McQuail (1987:121) will be used as research criteria to assess the development related posture of press and broadcasting in Jamaica. These principles are concerned specifically with mass media content, a deliberate tactic to examine the information and symbolic environment of the replacement fertility campaign:

1. Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy.
2. Media should give priority in their content to the national culture and language.
3. Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.
4. Media should give priority in news to local development related information as well as to information from rural areas.

This latter criterion has been included in an effort to determine media consciousness of development issues at a national level as well as to a non-urban centred approach to news and information. This is seen as both relevant and important since the majority of Jamaica's population, like many other Third world countries, is rural.

It is instructive to point out, however, that the implementation of a development related media as a viable, operative entity, has already been attempted in Jamaica. This initiative, employing a specially set up radio station - Radio Central in May 1982 - was a novel facet to a US$15 million Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP) agreement signed between the Government of Jamaica and the United States Agency for International Development (US/AID) in 1977 to undertake the rehabilitation of two districts in the mountainous central region of the island.

The overall goal of this IRDP was to "improve the standard of living of small hillside farmers in rural
Jamaica". Its specific aims were to increase agricultural production, control soil erosion and to strengthen the capability of the Ministry of Agriculture's (MOA) "human resources". These overall and specific goals naturally shaped the objectives of the Radio station's output. Consistent with the development support function of Radio Central, the radio programmes produced were done so jointly by an expert in the particular subject area (i.e. nutrition, family planning etc.), a scriptwriter as well as a social researcher who had spent time with the target groups and understood their language, norms and values.

Another area in which the method of systematic message design was both novel and laudable was in the presentation of local news. Jamaica English is spoken by the majority of Jamaicans and predominates in most spheres of social and informal interaction. Standard English - the official language of Jamaica- is the language of the Jamaican intelligentsia. It is also the language of the electronic media; only commercial advertisements and radio or TV serials depicting existence in working class contexts use Jamaican English. The decision of Radio Central, therefore to use Jamaican English in local news was both controversial and bold. Through typical audience research it was established, however, that Jamaican English was the preferred language of listeners in the IRDP coverage area.

Radio Central was unfortunately however, besieged with many problems (Brown and Moyston 1983) not least of which was its economic viability. The limitless relevance of this experiment however, in development media is evidenced in several respects. Firstly, the apparent success of Radio, Central's programming and audience response to the station¹, is indicative that there is a strong community felt need, appreciation and acceptance of the type of programmes and approaches offered by the station. Secondly, as a pioneering

¹Brown and Moyston (1983:116) note that the station, at the time of writing the report, was receiving 600 letters per month.
venture it has highlighted and left for posterity the problems, not the least of which are institutional in nature, which beset a media thrust of this type. It is informative in this regard to note the other media institutions response to this media initiative. The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) for example, was never totally convinced of its viability and regarded it as remote and academic. Attitudes such as this reflect more on mainstream media conventionalism and underscore the further relevance of this type of initiative. As a media organisation set up and operating with specified developmental objectives its particular programme format and audience centred approach provide an eloquent and informative contrast to the systematized approaches evidenced in press and broadcasting content which will be discussed further.

HISTORY AND OWNERSHIP STRUCTURE OF THE PRESS AND BROADCAST MEDIA.

In order to arrive at a fuller appreciation of the extent of a development oriented approach in the mass media, it is important to address initially the issues of both the ownership structure and the history of the media as they both make an impact on their institutional functions and output. Although the emphasis in this chapter is on press and broadcast facilities it is of interest to note that communications is big business in Jamaica and that the Government alone relies on a vast network of entities. In an audit of Government of Jamaica communications agencies for example Smith (1989) estimated that there are six overseas public relations consulting agencies, 50-60 ministries, departments, and statutory bodies within house public relations units, 10 - 15 local public relations firms and individuals and 7-8 advertising agencies. To this list must be added the Jamaica Information service, JAMPPRESS—the official news agency of the government— and the Cultural Production Training Center (CPTC), a self financing government production house.

2 Interview with past Station Manager
Public broadcasting in Jamaica began in 1940 with the handing over to the colonial Government of the private station VP5PZ which had been established a year earlier by Mr. John F. Grinan "to keep the mercantile community of Jamaica informed as regards food prices". The station then broadcast from 5:00 to 7:00 pm daily and its annual subvention came from the treasury.

The station was renamed ZQI, and for a decade it broadcast from a single transmitter in Kingston for four hours per day. Its news was taken from the daily newspaper - the Daily Gleaner, and was supplemented by the BBC World News. Its humour and drama were taken from the BBC and commercial library transcriptions, the music played was from commercial gramophone records, and its local programmes consisted of a few talks, the occasional drama and official announcements.

In 1949 the station was sold to the Rediffusion Group in the United Kingdom, and a year later in 1950 Radio Jamaica, a commercial am radio station was established. The new station initiated an expansion of coverage, programming and facilities. A programme format was developed using the popular mix of disc Jockey shows, love serials, game shows, news, talks and features. The format and approach were essentially North American, as were the principal radio personalities. In fact, Radio Jamaica was a misnomer; it was not utilising much local materials, neither was it contributing in any significant measure to Jamaican culture or to development.

Rediffusion of England originally owned 70 percent of RJR's share, 28 percent was owned by other foreign investors and only 2 percent by Jamaicans. In 1977 the government acquired majority interest in the company but stated that it

3 John Lent "Third World Mass Media and their Search for Modernity" Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press 1977 p.64
did not want to acquire the station and appointed an interim board to set up guidelines for the transference of ownership to workers and organization with a mass representative base. This took place in early 1980, and 50.1 percent of shares were transferred to such organisations as trade unions, teachers and nurses associations, cooperatives, building societies and church associations. Government retained 25.1 percent of shares while 24.8 percent went to R.J.R. workers. Not all shares were taken by the first group, and the Jamaica Development bank (which underwrote the share issue) retains these until they are taken.

During the middle fifties however, against the background of Radio Jamaica's deficient initiatives in broadcasting, the Jamaican Government, which had by then achieved full internal Cabinet self government, commissioned the President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Dunton, to put forward a proposal on a public broadcasting organisation. The 1956 Dunton Report recommended the establishment of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, funded jointly by advertising revenue and the public through government. The following extract from a Ministry Paper presented in Parliament on January 31, 1958 by Norman Manley, then Chief Minister and Minister of Development in the Jamaican Government, clearly articulates prevailing government thinking and intention regarding broadcasting ownership.

"There are definite limitations to the service that can be rendered by a privately owned broadcasting company operating primarily as a profitable enterprise and depending entirely on commercial revenue to finance its operations. Further, special pressures operating in the Jamaican context reinforce and accentuate this tendency with the result that the present broadcasting facilities do not and cannot meet the special needs of the people of Jamaica in the fields of

self expression, culture, information and entertainment. It is also clear that, unless specific measures are taken to guide the development and use of broadcasting in such a way as to maximise its contribution to the fulfilment of Jamaica's needs and aspirations, the natural commercial pressures may result in its being developed along lines detrimental to those interests."

The Dunton Report proposed the initial establishment of am radio along similar lines to Radio Jamaica and eventually the establishment of Television as well. The Jamaica Broadcasting Law of 1958 granted J$600,000 for setting up the station, and provision was made for the Legislature to pay off the loan from time to time out of General Revenue. The JBC was therefore established with the clear intention of direct public funding. This was endorsed by the then Premier Norman Manley in his budget speech of 1961.

"........... the best thinking people all over the world suggest you cannot have a first-class broadcasting service which relies upon commercial revenue ...........".

JBC began its radio transmissions as an am station in June 1959 and television began in August 1963. However, throughout the Corporations history it has been starved of direct public funding from general revenue which was recommended in the Dunton Report, sanctioned in Parliament and accepted in principle in Government statements between 1959 and 1962.

In real terms however, there has been an underlying conflict between objectives and finance in the corporation's history. The Dunton Report recommended that JBC provide the following:

1. Island - wide coverage of high quality
2. Programmes of Jamaican origin
3. Programmes of high quality
4. Programmes for information, instructions and entertainment
5. Programmes of proper balance.
On assuming office in 1972, Prime Minister Michael Manley elaborated quite clearly on these objectives in the following statements that:

1. The JBC become one of the critical outlets for the (Jamaican) artistic world and so be less dependent on canned programmes.
2. The JBC become a great centre for the dissemination of impartial news within the laws of libel, the codes of decency and the principles of impartiality.
3. The JBC become a focus for intellectual fervour where controversial matters are discussed without fear or favour.
4. The JBC develop programmes to help listeners and viewers with simple everyday problems.

However, as Whylie (1975) says, to realise these goals whilst being totally dependent on commercial revenue, is to use a Jamaican expression, like using a basket to carry water. Whylie (1975) points out that several times in JBC’s history, the emphasis has shifted from trying to meet the objectives to trying to balance the budget. These shifts have produced consequent changes in management, financial, programmes and development policy. The net result has been an operating deficiency and accumulated capital debt. By 1979, with Jamaica’s worsening economic climate resulting from both external and internal factors, the JBC had a deficit of over half a million U.S. dollars. Radio Jamaica Limited however, continued to make a profit.

When the government changed by electoral choice in 1980, the newly elected Prime Minister, Edward Seaga also became Minister of Information and Culture. The government had already made its media policy clear in its election manifesto:

"Jamaicans have always exhibited strong preference for the programmes and publications of the private media...(whose) views enjoy much greater support than those of the (government) media which are considered heavily biased in favour of government policies and programmes."
The manifesto concluded with the statement that "the JLP supports the free media and its right to operate freely in the manner guaranteed by the constitution of Jamaica". This was in effect a signal for an unfettered press in Jamaica.

Once in office, the new JLP directorate began to focus attention on the broadcasting structure with a view to implementing certain changes. A principal concern of the JLP in the early 80's was the tidying up of the media which had become partisan and participants in the heated political and ideological debates of the 1970's. One of the government's first actions was in November 1980 to fire 13 of the 16 staffers of the JBC newsroom alleging ideological partisanship in the reporting of news and public affairs. The affiliate union of the PNP - the National Workers Union (NWU) which held bargaining rights for the JBC workers since 1963, filed a court suit against the new JLP government on the grounds that the dismissals were procedurally illegal. JBC settled out of court at a cost of J$1/2 million.

Consistent with the objective of restoring impartiality to broadcasting institutions a Broadcasting commission was established with the mandate of preventing the government of the day from using the electronic media as a party political tool. By 1984 the Government was looking at models for the divestment of the JBC. After examining possible options it was decided that JBC am would be sold but the FM station (which had been set up in 1974) would be transformed using considerably more local music, public information, educational and cultural programmes. The television station was also to be sold but with a licence for government to broadcast in a block of prime time in the form of a specially established public broadcasting entity. This body, given formal identity and government action in a Ministry Paper in 1987 was to assume responsibility for providing information in the public interest in such areas as public affairs, culture, sports and education.

5Ministry Paper No. 39: Divestment of the Electronic Media
However, as Governments change so does policy and when the PNP assumed office in 1989 there was a major shift of policy away from the plans of media divestment. The newly elected Prime Minister, Mr. Michael Manley, announced that JBC was to be retained as a national entity as well as JBC AM and FM. In a statement issued from Jamaica House in July 1989 the Prime Minister said:

"We have taken steps to ensure that JBC-TV and Radio become truly National entities, free from partisan control or manipulation. We propose to offer to commercial interest a TV channel and another islandwide radio station."^6

The Government proposed that the public broadcasting entity planned by the previous Administration would be absorbed into JBC proper "to contribute to developing and enhancing cultural programmes, public awareness and growth."^7 To this end it was proposed to provide the JBC with a modest subsidy specially for this purpose. To date this subsidy has not been provided.

The former JBC Radio Central which operated from Manchester started up operations as the privately run Island Broadcasting Services in August 1989, under the name of KLAS FM. The other government run regional stations JBC Radio, West operating out of Montego Bay and Radio North East which transmitted from Ocho Rios were also sold to private companies. Western Broadcasting Services acquired Radio West and began broadcasting under the name of Radio Waves for a period of four hours daily in November 1989. Radio North East has been taken over by Grove Broadcasting Limited and test transmissions were scheduled to commence in May 1990.

It will be interesting to observe how these stations, together with another islandwide station which was expected

^6Quoted from the Daily Gleaner newspaper, July 17,1989 p.1
^7op.cit.
to come on stream later that year, will affect radio listenership patterns. Traditionally, Radio Jamaica Ltd. and the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation have competed for the patronage of the public and advertisers. In 1969 RJR commanded 67% of the radio audience compared with JBC’s 33%. Twenty years later, in the 1989 all media survey, their respective positions remained unchanged. Despite some positive fluctuations in its position JBC has not provided any severe challenge to RJR’s market dominance. JBC’s most significant year was in 1979 when it enjoyed 40 percent of the overall radio audience. This situation did not prevail however, since in the following year, JBC became so politicized in the eyes of the media public that when the next radio survey was done early in 1981 JBC had lost more of the market share than it had gained in 1979.

Significant growth has, however, taken place in the potential audience to Radio. The potential audience is defined in the All Media survey as any person who claims to have listened at all during the broadcast day. In 1969, that figure was 735,000 persons. By 1989, the figure had risen to 1.2 million. Whilst this reflects a 76 percent growth in audience potential the actual audience to any 15 minute segment has only rarely approximated the potential. In 1969, the largest single audience was at 6:00 am, a maximum of 278,000 or 38 percent the overall potential. In 1989 the highest audience was 858,000 or 71.5%. This means that theoretically there is an unrealised audience potential of some 500,000 persons. The advent of the new radio stations could either capture segments of this potential audience or witness the growing fragmentation of the importance of each medium as radio competition intensifies.

Similar to the growth in the radio audience, Jamaica’s television audience has grown considerably since 1967. The potential audience in that year was estimated at 90,000 islandwide with 67 percent of this in Kingston and the Corporate Area. In the 1989 survey the figure for the potential audience was estimated at 894,000 persons with Kingston and the Corporate Area again being the dominant
191

region. This increase is close to 90\% percent and far outstrips the growth in radio listenership.

In 1989 the actual audience never exceeded 300,000 at any one time slot. In fact, it is an issue of concern that JBC TV's audience has not demonstrated growth commensurate with the growth in audience potential. The following figures for peak audience during years when surveys were done make the point clearly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Peak Audience</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>188,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>320,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>303,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>320,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>291,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>298,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>293,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: All Media Survey 1989

Since the 1986 peak of 320,000 the audience has fluctuated negatively to its 1989 figure of 293,000. Peaks in the audience have occurred at two main time segments: during the news and during the viewing of one key soap opera or drama.

The decline in television audience is indicative of the fact that television has not consistently offered programmes of significant appeal to maintain audiences. The threat to television is very real because although estimates put the current number of sets islandwide at 462,000, many of these sets rarely, if ever remain tuned into JBC T.V. Significant numbers of these sets are served by an expanding VCR market, estimated at close to 200,000 sets or by an increasing satellite dish market which is now estimated to consist of 14,000 units islandwide. It will be interesting to observe how a second television channel, scheduled to start later this year will alter in any significant way television
viewing patterns.

**BROADCASTING AND DEVELOPMENT DURING THE 1980’S**

Within the movement towards divestment and the JLP government’s decision to set up a separate public broadcasting entity one notable commission was apparent. The perceived overriding imperative to make the media economically viable and self-sufficient perhaps led to the failure to seize the opportunity, in setting up the new broadcasting body, to formulate specific development oriented policy, objectives and guidelines for its organisational role, as well as for providing new directions for the wider media. This appears an obvious omission firstly, because attention was being focused on the media during the 80’s as development tools in the population control thrust, as well as in the health related AIDS and Drug Abuse campaigns. Secondly, at a time when the country’s development progress was of critical national interest and attempts were being made to harness existing resources with specific development goals., it seems a matter of unwarranted neglect that no policy statements on any aspect of the media in development were ever issued or pursued. It was blatantly obvious that little thought was invested in addressing the issue of how the media can be expected to perform in development. With no identifiable development policy framework or guidelines media operations were left unconditionally to the devices and laws of their free market economic environment.

**THE PRESS IN JAMAICA**

The Jamaican press has had a long history dating as far back as 1717 when the weekly Courant was first published. With this publication, the island became the first British Colony in the West Indies to establish a newspaper. Several other newspapers were published during the next century but none survived for any considerable period and were usually pamphlets with limited news items pertaining to events in
England and runaway slaves.

In 1834 however, the Gleaner, a privately run newspaper was established. Although appearing initially as a weekly, it eventually became the island's first daily newspaper and today has maintained the institutional position of being an influential opinion maker in the market place of information. Ownership of the newspaper was originally concentrated in the hands of the De Cordova family—wealthy Jamaican merchants who retained control until 1897 when shares were offered to the public. Current ownership of the Gleaner Company however, resides in the hands of members of Jamaica’s capitalist elite. This dominant group, according to Reid (1977), consists of twenty-one families who account for over half of all corporate directorships and 70 percent of corporate chairmen. Five of these families have controlling interests in the Gleaner Company Ltd.

The company currently publishes the Sunday Gleaner, the Star - a daily tabloid which is known for its sensational style, the Weekend Star, the Tourist Guide, the Children’s Own, the Gleaner Annual and an overseas publication called The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner. The Gleaner Company and the Western Mirror, which together produce a biweekly paper are corporately owned.

The genesis of the press, particularly the Gleaner in Jamaica’s colonial and slave history is instructive for an understanding of its institutional character. Its heritage is not only revealing of where it is coming from but also of the present day socio-political orientations and functions. Within this context it must be remembered that together with other structures of colonialism newspapers were founded for a market that represented the upper class buying power. It made no economic sense to start a newspaper for the lower class which had neither the purchasing power nor the literacy level to support the medium. Aside from this, very little communication existed or was necessary between the ruling elite and the local population which consisted principally of slaves.
Consistent with this historical tradition newspapers in general remain the source of news and information principally for the middle and upper income Jamaicans who comprise the majority of the islands literate population. Looking at readership figure in relation to total population over the age of 10 - the basis for calculation used in the All Media Survey - this survey shows that in 1989 the Daily Gleaner had a daily readership of 381,000 which means that 22.95 % persons or roughly 1 out of every 4 persons in the population read the newspaper. Readership figures for the Star and the Weekend Star are 329,000 and 349,000 respectively.

This readership level has been achieved against the background of relatively low circulation figures. The Sunday Gleaner for example can have a maximum circulation of 95,000 but in 1989 it had a readership of 409,000. The implication of this figure is that for the paper to achieve readership levels of 400,000 there is a significant readers - per-copy factor. This point is of even greater significance considering that the Gleaner on an average day reaches no more than 14% of the total households in the island.

It is interesting to note the definition of readership employed by the All Media Survey, given prevailing low literacy levels in the society. Justification for the figures used to determine readership is based on the rationalisation that although many persons cannot 'read' they do look at the newspaper in some depth examining pictures and generally comprehending advertising messages. This thinking is probably based more on conjecture than on verifiable data. It must be remembered that illiteracy is not an absolute state but exists to varying degrees and may also exist at the level and in a form known as pictorial illiteracy (Funglesang 1978). Coupled with this, it is a basic principle of the communication process that where information is provided in symbolic form this can be meaningful to the audience only if they have experiences corresponding to the symbol. To state, therefore, that individuals who cannot read, in its strictest
sense, are comprehending the visuals they are exposed to is an uncritical and daring assumption. Actual readership of the newspaper in terms of a comprehension of the written and visual symbols used is probably significantly lower.

Apart from servicing the information needs of the educated and more affluent members of society the Gleaner has evolved as Nettleford (1978:134) says, as an intensely Jamaican institution but one which has found itself through its history moving against the popular spirit. Obviously, as a function of its historically elitist origins together with its ownership concentration in established economic interest groups, the Gleaner has remained both an entrenched part and legitimizing force of the status quo. Its political orientations are therefore right of centre and the Company's policy statement is specific:

"Gleaner policy is founded in the philosophy that human progress springs from the effort and enterprise of individuals exerted singly or in groups; and in the conviction that there is no system of Government or human relationship which provides any effective and satisfactory substitute for the hard work and ingenuity of individuals competitively applied."

The conservative stance of the Gleaner was given full expression in its strong criticisms of the PNP Government when it declared a policy of democratic socialism in 1974. Cuthbert (1976) documents some of the articles, columns and editorials projecting anti socialist messages and points out that in February 1976 for example, of the politically oriented editorial page letters, over 90% were anti socialist. In Sharp contrast with this position, Stephens and Stephens (1986) note that the Gleaner remained the most valuable asset in the JLP's political campaign in the run-up to the 1980 elections. It continued to give wide coverage to statements by the Opposition Leader and his Party as well as wage its own propaganda campaign in the editorials and through tendentious headlines, pictures and articles.
The escalation of tensions between the Gleaner and the PNP Government reached a climax when Prime Minister Manley led a march on its premises on September 24, 1979. The demonstration was an expression of the ruling party's objection to the Gleaner and its critical stance. A few weeks after this incident the PNP initiated a meeting between a deputation of twelve persons from the PNP and the Gleaner Company Board of Directors. According to the Gleaner's Managing Director, Oliver Clarke, the PNP accused the Gleaner of "giving respectability to rumours of a partisan stance and of breaching the ethical practices of Journalism. "For their part, the Gleaner discussed instances and issues which it deemed threatening of its future operations. Despite assurances by the PNP that the Gleaner's concerns were unfounded, Clarke concluded his report on the meeting, with the statement that "there now exists a concerted and well organised programme designed to - even by the most moderate interpretation - influence the activities of the Gleaner Company and its publications." The rift between the Gleaner and the PNP became an issue of historical fact, however, when the JLP won the elections in 1980. The new government's favour of the private ownership of the press in effect gave official sanctioning to the activities of the Gleaner.

The current financial status of the Gleaner Company is strong with continuous growth and profit recorded during the 1980's. This position was not always the case. During the economic struggles of the 1970's the company showed a net loss from 1977 - 1979 after recording a very small profit in 1976. In sharp contrast to this position, the 1980's saw its greatly improving financial standing. This is reflected in the figures for the net profit attributable to Gleaner stockholders which show this profit as increasing from $1,828 million in 1984; to $1,902 million in 1985; to $2,682 million in 1986; to $12,036 million in 1987 and to $15,091 million in 1988.9

Gleaner Company Limited Annual Report 1988

9
In the last two decades by two rival newspapers. In 1973 the Jamaica Daily News began publication as a private morning tabloid by Communications Corporation of Jamaica. Forty percent of the shares were owned by two local companies, National Continental Corporation and Desnoes & Geddes. Public subscription provided the additional financing. The Daily News however did not dent the Gleaner’s circulation figures and was not purchased in lieu of the Gleaner but along with it. After experiencing severe financial problems the Company went into receivership in 1978 and finally closed the following year.

On July 23, 1988, the Jamaica Record hit the streets of Jamaica describing itself as the newspaper "where freedom speaks". Unlike the Daily News, the Record has not tried to emulate formats and styles of the Gleaner but has sought to create its own particular, journalistic style. The Record has endeavoured to build up an image of exposing wrong doing and injustice and has not been reticent in challenging the establishment. One critic, 10 sees this effort as really a clever marketing strategy, responding to the pro-establishment image of the Gleaner as the paper tries to secure a part of the readership market.

Its in-depth and investigative thrust is particularly evidenced in its Sunday edition which has addressed such issues as "Blacks in a multiracial Society", The Auditor General’s Report 1987/88; "Proper Environmental Control needed; "The Transport Sector; "Places of Safety" and "Women suffering in the hands of Security Firms." In fact the investigative efforts at exposing societal ills have been so far reaching that several skirmishes between newspaper reporters and the police have occurred. 11

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10 Carl Stone "Media Competition" Daily Gleaner newspaper, September 4, 1989 p.8

11 An article titled "Harassment of Record reporters continues" which appeared in the Record on July 17, 1989, states how a Record photographer took pictures of a policeman beating a man who he had stopped to search on a busy downtown street. The reporter and photographer subsequently had a cassette tape confiscated and their camera demanded by the (Footnote continued)
The Jamaica Record Company Limited has made its biggest impact on society, however, in the publication of its weekend tabloid the "Enquirer", which first appeared on November 4, 1988. The Enquirer has gained notoriety for its consistent use of lurid headlines, daring photography and the peddling of stories about sex. The continuing public outcry has been concerned less with its sensational journalism than with its affront to public morality and common decency. It has been accused of the "trafficking of obscenity, lewdness indecency and decay" and one critic, in assessing its impact said that "like fluorocarbon on the ozone layer the Enquirer is eroding our social and psychological protection from the worst of us and the worst in us".

Despite the moral outrage that the Enquirer has provoked, the 1989 All Media survey showed that it is Jamaica's most popular publication commanding a readership of 507,000. The Enquirer stands as an exemplary product of a basic law of the capitalist market place which stipulates that anything that sells is worth producing.

With a readership of 127,000 for the Jamaica Record and 155,000 for the Sunday Record, these papers together with the Enquirer have enlarged newspaper readership rather than penetrated the Gleaner and Star readership. Like its predecessor the Daily News, the Record is usually purchased along with the Gleaner instead of in lieu of it. No audited circulation figures were available either for the Record or

(continued)

police. The news article states that the incident was apparently the third confrontation between the police and the Record reporters in that week.

Yet another incident involving police was reported in the Record on August 21, 1989. Policemen seized and ripped to pieces a reporter's notes and threatened him with bodily harm. The incident happened after a news team surprised two policemen illegally removing zinc and other building materials from a business place in Kingston.

12 Desmond Henry "The Peddling of Porn" Daily Gleaner newspaper, August 4, 1989 p.8

13 Lekham Semaj "Sex and the Weekend Enquirer, Jamaica Record newspaper, June 23, 1989 p.12
the Enquirer as it is impossible to arrive at a figure for the readership - per copy factor.

The Jamaica Record is also owned and controlled by private financial interests. However, the company has experienced serious financial problems since its inception. It went into receivership for a brief period in December 1989 and made the headlines in the other news media in March 1990 when it was unable to pay on time the salaries of its staff. Reliable sources within the company say that it lost some J$14 million in the first 18 months of operation. The Company currently owes J$10 million to the Canadian supplier of news print, a situation which forces the organisation to seek alternative services of newsprint periodically.

THE ADVERTISING FACTOR

Underpinning the primary activities of the Jamaican mass Media, is the financial support provided by the island’s advertising industry. The industry forms an integral part in the island’s economy and has demonstrated tremendous growth during the 1980’s.

This is in considerable contrast to the industry’s status during the 1970’s when it experienced a decline. The industry’s earnings grew from a figure of 8 million in 1971 to 15 million in 1975. However, at the height of Jamaica’s economic misfortunes in the late 1970’s earnings dropped to a low of 11.7 million in 1977 and improved only marginally to a figure of 12.5 million in 1978.

At the beginning of the 1980’s there were only twelve agencies registered with the advertising Association of Jamaica (A.A.J) but by the close of the decade this number had increased to twenty. The clear majority of these advertising agencies are locally owned. Only one of the...
agencies, McCann Erickson Limited - which was assigned the job to conduct the National Family Planning Board's advertising campaign - is a totally owned United States Company. Two other agencies have minor overseas equity holdings and another has shares owned by other Caribbean advertising agencies. The majority of advertising agencies do however, have some linkage with external agencies, usually in the sphere of formal management agreements or as associates, which is the case with one local agency and Saatchi and Saatchi.

The growth of the advertising sector is clearly exemplified in the fact that by 1988 it had generated revenue totalling $167,017,461. Of this figure, 43.83 % went to the Gleaner Company Limited, 26.70 % went to R.J.R. and J.B.C. Radio and 17.68 % to J.B.C. Television. The remaining advertising revenue was divided up between bill boards, annual publications and magazines and finally the screen medium which each took 4.27 %, 7.33 % and 0.14 % respectively.  

The industry is generally a reliable barometer of the economic climate and so, the registered growth reflects changes in the economic environment. The competitiveness within the Jamaican economy created by the import liberalisation and structural adjustment policies of the previous JLP government precipitated a vast increase in the demand for advertising and marketing services. It is actually out of this economic situation that larger advertising financing has been created to support the advent of new media ventures and the ensuing competition.

The Broadcasting and Radio Re-Diffusion Law stipulates that the "advertising matter in any period of sixty consecutive minutes may be but shall not, exceed twelve minutes." Given the media's dependence on advertising the volume of advertising present in media output is a reliable

\[15\] These figures were provided by the Media Association of Jamaica
index of each media house's financial status. At RJR AM for example, advertising patterns are fairly consistent during off season period - times other than christmas, Easter and the Independence holidays. On Saturdays to Wednesday between 5:00 am and 9:00 AM all twelve minutes of advertising time are sold from mid-day up until 8:00 PM, in each hour 10 out of the 12 minutes is accounted for. On Thursdays and Fridays the period of full advertising booking extends to 7:00 PM. Between 8:00 PM and 1:00 AM the average time taken up by advertisement is approximately 6 minutes per hour. The advertising rate drops to zero between 1:00 AM and 5:00 AM.16

The advertising volume for JBC AM Radio however, is by no means as large. The advertising log for Monday January 29,1990 shows, for example, that in the nine hour block between 5:00 AM and 2:00 PM, which allows for 108 minutes of advertising, only 21 minutes and 55 seconds or 20.29 % of time was used. In eight hours of time between 2:00 PM and 10:00 PM out of total available advertising time of 96 minutes, 13 minutes and 45 seconds or 14.32 % time available was used. Between 10:00 PM and midnight only 30 seconds of advertisements were recorded, representing a figure of .62% of available time.

KLAS FM’s advertising log for the same day presents a similar picture. In the nine hours between 5:00 am and 2:00 pm, with a total of 108 minutes allowed for advertising only 22 minutes or 20.37 % of time was used. Between 2:00 pm and 10:00 of the 96 minutes available only 8 minutes or 8.3 % of time was used. Between 10:00pm and midnight only a 10 second time signal was recorded.

For JBC TV, the advertising log reveals that between 6:30 am, when transmission starts, until 9:00 am when it closes, 13 minutes and five seconds or 43.5 % of advertising time is used. Between 4:00 pm - when transmission commences...
again – and 8:00, 10 minutes or 20.83% of time is used.

Where the Gleaner and Record are concerned, for the week 28th January to 3rd February the average space taken in advertising was 54.21% and 25.86% respectively. For the Gleaner, the highest percentage of advertisements recorded was 65.82% and the lowest was 42.29%. The corresponding figures for the Record were 29.59% and 22.06%.

It is not surprising that the Gleaner commands a larger percentage of the advertising market given its long standing institutional position. In fact the privileged position enjoyed by the Gleaner has meant, according to its Advertising Manager during an interview with the researcher, that the Company can exert an influence on its clients rather than bowing to their demands. The reverse situation prevails at the Jamaica Record where inside sources claimed that there have been instances where certain clients only placed advertising in supplements on the condition that some public relations support was given to their business or product. There was also an instance where an important client – a large corporate organisation – withdrew its advertising support in protest against an investigative article, appearing in the newspaper, which reflected on the quality control standards of one of its subsidiary companies.

Of considerable significance, is however, the fact that the proportion of advertising time is so similar between JBC AM and the recently established KLAS FM. If this is indicative of the average distribution of advertising time on each station then it reflects negatively on JBC’s market strategy over the years in trying to secure a niche in the market in the manner that RJR has. Whether the advertising support achieved by KLAS FM has been acquired by clever market strategies which have carved into JBC’s market or the increased market for advertising services, the situation has clearly indicated that a new media competitiveness has begun which hopefully should inspire an improvement in the media product.
JBC television's monopoly on television advertising is expected to end later this year when a licence for a new television station will be issued. Like JBC radio, the television service will have to create more aggressive marketing strategies in the face of new competition.

ADVERTISING AND DEVELOPMENT

Advertising in Jamaica, like advertising in all market economies, has functional value not only as an economic necessity but also as a social process (Murdock and Janus 1985). Viewed from this perspective, advertising has long been recognised, for example, as seeking to promote a transnationalization of consumption and the creation of a new consumer culture. The political consideration generated by this fact revolves around such questions as what kind of Third World development is promoted by advertising which focuses on consumption, external change and individual advancement?

This question of advertising as dysfunctional to development is equally germane to the discussion of the commercial media's use as a tool to disseminate the message of replacement fertility. It becomes an issue of practical concern when considering whether the advertising environment might in any fashion undermine or prove in conflict with the images or messages of the replacement fertility advertising campaign. In its narrowest sense, the campaign is designed to encourage the adoption of the two child family norm by highlighting its advantages. However, this message is constructed on the foundation of an image of woman as exercising control of her sexual behaviour. It would be instructive, therefore, to assess whether there are any elements in the advertising environment which could be directly or indirectly contradicting this fundamental message of sexual responsibility.

In 1980, a content analysis was undertaken of all advertisements appearing on JBC TV for a one week period (Royale 1981). The primary objective of the study was to
evaluate the portrayal of women using a clearly defined list of role categories for the females appearing in the ads. The results of the study revealed that the most frequent role of the female was that of "sex-object/ decoration", even the second most frequent role of woman as "housewife/wife/mother", was also characterised by sexual overtones. The portrayal of a woman as a sex object was based on her image as a sexual siren or as a narcissistic female who uses an arsenal of beauty products and aids to attract male approval and admiration. The use of female body as a decoration and as an attention getting device in effect, deprecates female self esteem by ignoring other aspects of the female personality and potential and by creating a false sense of values.

Although this study was carried out in 1980 it was within only two years that the replacement fertility campaign commenced. It is fair to state that within that time frame very little would have changed regarding the portrayal of women in television advertising. What this means in effect is that the advertising campaign, based as it is on an image of woman as behaving seriously and responsibly with her sexuality, has been launched into a visual environment where contradicting female images are the norm. In this regard, it is a self-evident fact that the advertising milieu has proved itself dysfunctional to a fundamental theme of the replacement fertility campaign.

It must be recognised, however, that the portrayal of women in this manner is not strictly confined to the Jamaican mass media. Research (Ceulemans and Fauconnier 1979) offers ample cross-cultural proof of the contention that women's role in life as defined by advertising is to attract a man by means of her appealing appearance. The evidence also indicates that one of woman's prime roles in advertising to sell products is to function as a decorative and sexual object. What is of immeasurable significance is the fact that the fundamental concept of woman's role, behind these dominant images has remained unaltered over the past decades. This is indicative that advertising, as a broad reflection of
a changing social climate, is not committed to changing woman's image. Indeed, when measured as an index of social process in this regard advertising is not to be perceived in the forefront of social development. Its impact on social change is restraining rather than progressive (Flick 1977) and only for the purpose of increased efficiency does advertising embrace change (Millum 1975).

Given these dimensions to advertising inherent contradictions become apparent in its use as a vehicle for expressions in the replacement fertility campaign. The question that inevitably emerges is how can a form of social communication, known to be an inhibitor of change in its conceptualization of woman, be efficaciously used as an agent of change to positively influence the self-image of woman that advertising traditionally seeks to exclude?

THE CONTROL OF ADVERTISING

This issue illustrates the inevitable consequence of a commercially based mass media which by virtue of its very dependence on advertising support gives that sector the latitude to function almost exclusively according to its own rules and regulations. The indirect autonomy therefore ascribed to the advertising sector by its financial control of the mass media raises the crucial issue of its public accountability. It also indicates the need for the laying down of specific guidelines, by the government, within the advertising industry to discourage the dissemination of images and messages which contradict or undermine in any way the goals of the replacement fertility campaign or any other development related mass media campaign.

A code of advertising practice does in fact exist in Jamaica. It is based upon the British code of advertising practice as well as the International Code of Advertising Practice prepared by the International Chamber of Commerce, which is accepted worldwide as a basis for domestic systems of self regulation. It was first released in June 1976 and was amended in November 1984. It is administered by the
Advertising Council of Jamaica which consists of representatives from the Media Association of Jamaica Limited, the Advertising Agencies Association of Jamaica Limited, the Advertisers Association of Jamaica, the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica Limited and the National Consumers League.

As a code of practice, its scope is strictly commercial in nature and only makes brief reference to advertisements by Government departments and agencies mainly in terms of their exception to certain restrictions of the Code. No where is there provision for the protection of Government or development-related advertising interventions from the possible conflicting or undermining messages of the general advertising environment.

As a framework for advertising practice it forms the basis for arbitration where there is a conflict of interest with the business community or the general public but there is no scope for possible conflict of interest with government related interests. What is in effect indicated by this omission is that accountability, as specified by the Codes exists purely as a privilege for the wider public. By implication, government, as an institutional entity and as a purveyor of development related information in advertising form, has no recourse under the provisions of the Code.

MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

It would be instructive at this stage to offer some preliminary conclusions on the development orientations of the mass media based on the preceding discussion of its ownership structure. Given the institutional framework of the JBC which is operating, essentially on commercial lines, and the radio and print media which are owned by private economic interest groups, and given that all media are dependent on advertising for profit, several salient points emerge.

Firstly, there is a direct link in theory between
economic ownership and the dissemination of messages which legitimize the status quo and affirm the value of a class structured society. This position has been supported by research (for example Bagdikian 1983) which has demonstrated a correlation between conservative orientations in the content of media and in ownership structure which is concentrated in the hands of capitalist entrepreneurs. To conclude however, that conservative oriented media content and content designed to provide development related information are mutually exclusive would be an oversimplification of the issue. At best this combination may appear incongruous, given the commercial objectives of privately owned media; at the worst such an alliance would be problematic in situations where the development related information is perceived as threatening to the very status quo that the media are an entrenched part of.

Equally true of the nexus between economic ownership and the dissemination of information is that by virtue of the items accepted or rejected, the agenda of information so defined by media owners ultimately reflects their interests, biases and preferences. In such instances media which operate in the interests, of a minority can only be dysfunctional to the development process. Allied to this question of media ownership is the further issue that its economic and consequent class control imply that all Jamaicans do not have equal access to the media. The reality of the distribution of power within the society means that the media will reflect those who do possess the power to secure this access. In this way, as Hall (1975: 143) says, the media "reproduce the structure of domination/subordination which elsewhere characterises the system".

Another implication of the private ownership of the means of producing information is that like any other industry engaged in the production of goods and services, its ultimate objective is that of realising a profit. The fundamental economic imperative means that information is primarily conceived of and produced as a commodity for the
marketplace. Its development related function as a resource can only therefore be allocated, at best, secondary consideration.

Given its commercial objectives and ethos the Jamaican media, like mass media in other capitalist societies, has therefore an important functional role in the market economy. As Brown (1976:47) says the myth that rationalises their raison d'etre is that they serve the public interest by providing relevant news, information and community service. To some extent, this is certainly the case. However, as primarily a money making institution a corollary of the financial motivations is that in a bid to achieve optimum profit the model that must underpin the communication process is one which is ‘top downwards’ oriented as media must produce information and programmes on the basis of what will ultimately attract the advertising dollar. Thus the logic of "source – message – channel – receiver – effects", a simplistic perception of the communication process pervades all the structures of communication.

In such a scenario, where the ramifications of the private ownership of the media are so far reaching, the issue of how far media operate within a framework of a development theory is to the some extent rendered a non-debate. The degree to which this is in reality the case can be more completely addressed by an examination of media content according to the guidelines specified at the outset of this chapter.

1. Extent to which media carries out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy:

The licences issued to the broadcast media specify that their programme schedules should allow for eight hours of free air time each week for government broadcasts. This air time is used by the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) to disseminate information about the Government policies and programmes, and about the activities of its various
ministries and public sector agencies.

The JIS is a fully functioning publicity and production house with facilities for skills in radio and television production, printing, public relations, graphic arts and photography. Apart from informing the public about government activity, it also provides information which is seen as useful to the public in the areas of health, education, social services laws and regulations and economic activities. The agency also informs the overseas public through Information Attaches in Jamaica's foreign missions about the policies of the Government and developments in Jamaica which are of relevance.

The JIS is also serviced by JAMPRESS, a limited liability company, which acts as the official news agency for the Jamaican Government. It gathers information and disseminates news releases and features nationally and internationally on government's policies, programmes and projects as well as private sector programmes which support government policies. The agency also gathers and disseminates news and features on non-government national development programmes as long as these do not conflict with government policies. According to its terms of reference, JAMPRESS must always be supportive of each Ministry's policies, programmes and projects. It maintains a mailing list of more than 100 organisations locally and overseas.

An important arm of the JIS is the Public Affairs Department which prepares and carries out public education programmes to promote understanding of government policies and projects. On request from a ministry or another public agency, the staff will research a subject, including public attitudes in so far as they may be ascertained, and recommend a course of action to help gain public acceptance. Examples of public education programmes are: Ant-Litter, Income Tax Reform, Urban Transportation - improving behaviour, AIDS/PACE/Basic Schools, Administrative reform, Enumeration, Introduction of milk powder Sachets, Salt Fluoridation, foster care.
The following radio and TV schedules provide an indication of the type and frequency of programmes offered by the JIS.  

### RADIO SCHEDULE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>BROADCAST</th>
<th>TIME &amp; STATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica Magazine</td>
<td>Government news &amp; popular features</td>
<td>30 mins</td>
<td>Mon-Fri</td>
<td>JBC/RJR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling Farmers</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5 mins</td>
<td>Mon-Fri</td>
<td>RJR/JBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-One Coco</td>
<td>Consumer tips for stretching the budget</td>
<td>5 mins</td>
<td>Mon-Fri</td>
<td>JBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma B’s Family</td>
<td>Radio Drama Serial with government &amp; information woven in</td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>Sat &amp; Tuesday</td>
<td>RJR/JBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s Your Health</td>
<td>Health &amp; Medicine</td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>Sat-Sun</td>
<td>RJR/JBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You and the Law</td>
<td>Explanation of Laws</td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>Sat-Sun</td>
<td>RJR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 The following schedules were made available to the researcher during an interview with the Director of Programmes for the JIS.
Although the JIS does in theory act as a machinery to assist government in the execution of its policies and other development initiatives by the provisions of relevant information, several factors in reality constrain the effectiveness of this crucial function.

Firstly, during the 1980’s under the JLP administration there was never any clear directive as to how the JIS was to complement the role of government. Aside from its accepted institutional functions, no guidelines to harness and direct its potential as an information resource base in the development process were specified by the government. The directions that the organisation should take were left to the ‘gut instincts’ of managers and producers. However, this neglect of crucial guidelines for such an important arm of government, whether by design or through default, appears as yet, another characteristic example of the political regimes failure to address the issue of the role media can and should
play in development. It was only in the last two years of the administration's office - between 1987-89, that the Prime Minister personally established parameters of how the JIS should work in tandem with the government.

A second factor constraining the potential of the JIS is the existing logic of "source-message-channel-receiver-effects" which also runs through other structures of mass communication. As a consequence, information so provided is source oriented and based on a communication model that is top-downwards. No surveys are conducted to assess what type of information the public needs or wants. Information has been produced on the basis of letters that people send to JIS. In fact, as one past radio producer said, producers had no idea of the type of audience they were reaching. Listenership figures to its radio programmes - approximately 1 1/2 million weekly, according to JIS - are based on the All Media survey. The reliability of this figure is suspect however, when considering that "One-One-Coco", for example is placed on air during a time slot, which is known to have high listenership because the ever popular radio serial dramas are featured at that time period. Are people only 'hearing' as opposed to truly 'listening' to the programme because they are primarily tuning in to listen to the radio serials? For those who do actually listen, is the information viewed as useful? There are questions that only qualitative research can address if the JIS is to provide information in the public interest and not based solely on what government or organisational structures believe the information needs of its public are.

Being an arm of the government, it is not surprising that another factor affecting the performance of the JIS has been government interference at certain times, especially during local or general election periods and at points when the I.M.F. and its negotiations with the country were current there was apparently direct pressure on the type of perspective that JIS should adopt in its information dissemination. Interference, in the form of biases was also evident in certain news releases. With regard to those
relating to community development, the information was in general more a reflection on ministers or members of Parliament and what they were doing for a community or constituency.

2. Priority In Media Content To The National Culture and Language.

CULTURE

For the purpose of this section the term National Culture will be translated in its strictest sense to mean local music, drama, art and dance. The most popular music form by far in Jamaica is 'Reggae'. Its promotion on the local radio stations is obvious even to the most casual listener. But just how far this music is promoted compared with foreign popular music is another issue.

The programmes Director for RJR am states that on average, an equal percentage of local and foreign music is played. This is not the case, however, for the FM station where the overall daily average of local music is approximately 30% with a maximum of 50% and a minimum of 10% in any one programme.

The local music distribution is of differing proportions on JBC am radio. The station is currently trying to develop personality radio, i.e. developing each major programme segment around a particular radio personality. This format is part of a commercial thrust to increase more advertising revenue. AS a consequence of this too, the programmes are geared more towards the playing of hit music whether local or foreign. The following is a list of the main weekday programmes on the station with a percentage breakdown of the music.18

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18 The percentage breakdowns for the radio programming were provided by the Director of Programmes of the respective radio stations during an interview.
"Tony Young Show" : 60% foreign - 40% local
"Barry Gordon Show" : 50% foreign - 50% local
"Marlene" : 70% foreign - 30% local
"That Johnson Woman" : 70% foreign - 30% local
"Tony Parry Show" : 70% foreign - 30% local
"Beverly & Carlington" : 70% foreign - 30% local

The daily mean for both foreign and local music on JBC am is therefore 65% and 35% respectively. The statistics for JBC FM do not differ greatly from those for RJR FM; on this station approximately 60% of music is foreign compared with a total of 40% classified as Caribbean.

On Klas FM the main programmes and their foreign to local music percentages are as follows:

"Sunnyside" - 50% foreign - 50% local
"Tapestry" - 70% foreign - 30% local
"Inside Track" - 60% foreign - 40% local
"Different Drummer" - 100% foreign Jazz music

The average local music content for the station’s main programmes is only 30%. Between 10:30 pm and 5 am a total of 90% of the music is foreign.

Where drama is concerned, both RJR and JBC feature radio serial dramas. Apart from the JIS produced MaB’s family, RJR’s morning story, aired each weekday, is a foreign fifteen minutes production. A ten minute local serial is, however, aired three mornings each week. JBC features each weekday two fifteen minutes locally produced radio dramas.

The production of local drama as well as dance programmes on JBC TV is equally as limited. Each weekday morning, the station broadcast a local five minute comedy "Lime Tree Lane" which is repeated during the evening transmission. Just recently, it has commenced the broadcast of a local half hour comedy serial," Titus", aired once per week. Where the promotion of dance is concerned, a five minute children’s educational programme "World of Dance"
which is aired twice a week sometimes features national dance forms.

In general, programmes in the broadcast media and articles in the press which critique or discuss local theatre, drama, music art and dance are noticeably limited. Neither Klas nor RJR am or FM feature a programme specifically produced as a forum for the exposure or critique of the arts. JBC am however, produces on the fourth Sunday of every month a half hour programme "The Lively Arts" which is a commentary on local art, drama, dance and music. A 5-minute theatre critique programme "critique 90" is also featured each weekday evening on the station. JBC TV airs once a week a magazine programme, "Seen", which is a commentary on various aspects of Jamaican life. It regularly features any recent happenings on the local cultural scene, in particular art.

This type of cultural exposure is somewhat better represented in the print media. Both the "Gleaner" and the "Record" feature daily Entertainment and "Arts & Entertainment" pages respectively. In the Sunday editions of the papers more space, and in the case of the "Gleaner" an entire section "Arts & Leisure", is devoted to entertainment and matters relating to the Arts. A content analysis of the articles appearing on these pages for the two week period between January 28, 1990 and February 10, 1990 revealed that 40.36% of these articles appearing in the "Gleaner" and 55.10% featured in the "Record" were directly related to information, analyses and commentaries on aspects of local music, drama, art and dance.

**LANGUAGE**

The issue of language use in the Jamaican mass media is particularly germane because of the complexities inherent in the local linguistic environment. Previous mention has already been made of the coexistence of both standard and non standard English Language forms in the country. It has already been noted, too, that standard English remains the
official language of the country as well as the language of the educated and social elite. At the other end of the social spectrum, the non-standard form - referred to here as creole - remains the language of the mass of the population and therefore qualifies as the island’s national language.

Creole emerged during the island’s colonial past as a product of the linguistic contact between the African slaves working on the sugar plantations and the English plantocracy. The language form evolving out of this contact created a linguistic continuum beginning with Jamaican creole, then passing through rather imprecisely separated stages characterised by the appearance of progressively more standard English forms and concurrently by the progressive elimination of basic creole forms (Alleyne 1963:25). The contemporary situation remains fundamentally the same although some changes have occurred in the relative proportion of people who might be said to belong to particular language ability groups. What has remained constant in the language continuum, however, is that mutual intelligibility decreases in proportion to increase in separating distance in the continuum with the occurrence of zero intelligibility at the two poles of separation.

Standard English remains the norm as the language of communication in the broadcast and print media although there is very often the need to deviate from this. For example, working class comedies, radio drama, gossip columns as well as direct quotations from persons interviewed, often involve some form of creole. However, the predominant use of English in the media, given prevailing creole usage, would suggest some barrier to the effective communication by the media.

This in fact was one of the results of an intelligibility test done on radio news items conducted by Smalling (1983). Using two groups one consisting of university students and the other composed of beginning students from an adult literacy class, Smalling tested understanding of the news items in the area of lexico-semantics and syntax. The university student group had
scores which ranged from 56.25% to 93.15% with a mean score of 70%. The fact that the difference between the mean score and the highest score attained is as much as 23.15% is revealing of a low level of intelligibility even among this group. The other group of students, considered representative of the monolingual creole speaking section of the population, scored 43.55% less than the highest score achieved in the text of 93.15% (Smalling 1983;46-49). With 43.55% as a base figure, Smalling further points out that of the 115 minutes of news broadcast by RJR—the radio station which produced the news items—50.8 minutes could be classified as wasted communication. In an entire year, of the 365 days of broadcast time, 699.6 hours would be lost. Calculating this as a percentage of what it cost RJR in 1983 to produce news broadcast this would represent a loss of J$217,750.00

The fundamental point that standard English is a barrier to effective communication in the mass media has been further confirmed by a recent study on the efforts of hurricane Gilbert which hit the islands in 1988. The findings of a research project conducted by the Department of Linguistics and use of English at the University of the West Indies revealed that many Jamaicans were confused as to what the communications from the meteorological office meant. The research took the form of interviews of people in several areas of the island about what they understood from the public communication on the radio and television about what would happen as the hurricane struck.

As a result of this study, a handbook for teaching the officers at the meteorological office, the office of Disaster Preparedness (ODP) and persons in the broadcast media to write, read aloud and use correct and appropriate creole terms, has been devised.

It will be interesting to observe not only public reaction to this but also whether this will foster an informed awareness to prevailing exclusion of creole speakers from mainstream media. The consequences of this language
initiative will no doubt be varied. Optimistically, it could witness the introduction of a systematic approach to find out from creole speakers, given viable alternatives, what their language preferences are. One fact is, however, assured, which is that the example of Radio Central's attempts in this area remain a historical reminder that the challenge to any such efforts by the linguistic status quo will be intense.

3. Extent to which media give priority in news and information to:

a) Other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically

b) Local development as well as to rural areas.

A content analysis was done of a two-week period of output in the press and broadcast media between January 28, 1990 to February 10, 1990. The first objective was to assess the extent to which news about other Caribbean and Third World countries is made available.

In the analysis of the daily major news broadcast in the electronic media and news items in the press the Gleaner had the highest average of Caribbean Regional news with a percentage of 8.72%, RJR, KLAS, JBC TV, JBC radio and the Record had percentages of 8.33%, 4.51%, 4.29%, 3.23 and 2.05% respectively. In all cases except for that of the Gleaner, the number of news stories about other third World Countries was higher than that recorded for other Caribbean countries. The Gleaner had a percentage of 6.44%; JBC Radio 9.68%; RJR 9.38%, KLAS 7.52%, JBC TV 6.13% and the Record 4.55%

These figures appear even lower, and point to the obvious lack of priority to news relating to other Caribbean and Third World countries, when compared with the percentage of foreign news carried. In the broadcast media, JBC radio had the highest percentage of 14.52%. This means that JBC radio carried more than four times more foreign than regional news and almost twice the amount of foreign news than news
from other Third World countries.

The foreign news percentage of 12.27%, broadcast by JBC TV, represents exactly twice the amount of Third World news (6.13%) and marginally less than three times the news from the Region (4.29%). RJR’s 19 percentage of 9.90 foreign news creates a more even distribution of news considering that Third World and Regional news constituted 9.38% and 8.33% of the sample respectively. The news profile is similar for KLAS which had a slightly lower foreign news percentage of 6.77% compared with Third World news which amounted to 7.52%. Foreign news however, was still higher in content than the 4.51% of regional news aired.

In the print media the disproportions between Regional and Third World and Foreign news items are even more glaring. In the Gleaner, the foreign news percentage is 17.61% which is slightly more than double the news percentage from the Caribbean region and slightly less than triple the news percentage from other Third World countries. Where the Record is concerned the Foreign news is 11.17% which is approximately six times more than regional news content (2.05%) and almost triple the quantity of other Third World news.

In order to assess the second objective—the extent to which information (as distinct from news) about other Caribbean and Third World countries is promoted the programme schedules for the broadcast media were consulted. No consistent programmes were noted about other Third World countries although JBC TV does broadcast programmes of this nature on an ad hoc basis. Klas FM is the only radio station with a specific programme on events and happenings in the Caribbean. However, it is interesting to note that this fifteen minute programme, aired each weekday, is a BBC production. Appearing twice monthly on JBC TV is a half-hour

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19 RJR has a five minute Caribbean news programme daily drawing from CANA radio news. This means that the daily average of Regional news is higher.
programme "Caribscope", a magazine production on different Caribbean territories which are members of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU). The programme only commenced in 1988 and is produced and coordinated by the CBU. Its significance lies in the fact that, like the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) which started in 1976, Caribscope and its companion information based feature Caribvision, mark new initiatives to foster greater inter-regional communication exchanges.

What is lamentable, however, is that although each radio station broadcasts for a full twenty four hours daily giving a combined broadcast time of seventy two hours daily, only fifteen minutes or 0.34 % of air time is devoted to structured programmes and information on other Caribbean countries. Similarly too, the television station which broadcasts for approximately eleven hours daily or one hundred and fifty four hours (154) in a two week period, only has a half-hour in the two week period or 0.32 % of broadcast time which features our Caribbean neighbours.

The two-week sample of daily newspapers did not reveal any features or information based articles on the Caribbean or Third World countries except for a three day series on Nelson Mandela and his political philosophies which appeared in the Jamaica Record.

**Local Development News and News from Rural Areas**

The issue of media's focus on development news raises the unresolved question among communications about the exact meaning of the concept. One scholar, Ogan (1982:5-6), has explained that the Journalistic approach inherent in development news seeks to highlight news "that reflected social relevance and underlined a sense of commitment of Asian Journalists to economic development in the broadest sense of the term"}

Consistent with this definition, the news items categorised in the content analysis as development news were those which
dealt with or were related to matters concerning the country's economic and social spheres in terms of plans, problems, progress or development. The following four categories and their respective sub-categories were taken from the Social and Economic Survey, an annual development review, as coding schedule for the analysis:

1) Macro Economy
a) National Income
b) Balance of payment
c) External Trade
d) Inflation
e) Money & Banking
f) Fiscal Policy

II Sectoral Performance
a) Agriculture
b) Mining & Quarrying
c) Energy
d) Manufacturing
e) Construction & Installation
f) Public Utilities Communication & Transport
g) Tourism
h) Transfer & Development of Technology

III Manpower
   Population
   Labour Force & Employment

IV Human Development & Welfare
   Education
   Health
   Social Security
   Overseas Development letter

The content analysis was strictly of a quantitative nature and did not seek to address the issues whether the news items were critical of development plans and their execution, or acted as a mouth piece for government propaganda, or whether the journalism indicated an
adversarial relationship with the government.

The percentages for local development news were lowest among the print medium. Of the two quality dailies, the Gleaner had the lowest score of 11.97%. The Record had the higher percentage of 17.16%. These low figures are consistent however, with a study of development news in the Indian press by Hague (1986) who found that development news occupied less than 11% of news space. The implication of this is that the country’s two quality newspapers consider industrial action, crime and the speeches of politicians as mere newsworthy and significant than what is happening in the areas of employment, labour, welfare, housing and agriculture.

In the broadcast media the representation of development news is greatly improved and in all cases the percentage is more than twice the amount appearing in the Gleaner. Klas FM had the highest percentage of 33.06. JBC TV, JBC Radio and RJR had percentages of 29.45, 26.61 and 24.47 respectively. The figure for JBC TV is consistent with a study done by Embden (1988) which showed that 27% of JBC television news content could be classified as development news.

Although the percentage of development news is higher in the broadcast than the print media, percentages for both are lower than the amount found in Latin America and the Caribbean. Research conducted by Ogan and Fair (1984) revealed percentages of 40.4 and 34.8 in 1982 and 1983 respectively. In a study of regional news agencies, Ogan (1985) found that the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and Interlink News services had a development news content of 24.5% and 42.9% respectively in their services.

What the preceding research establishes is that the Jamaica print media, and in particular the Gleaner newspaper, are well below the Regional percentage for development news. The broadcast media, however, could be said to contain a comparatively reasonable percentage.
The number of news items pertaining to rural events present in the media is exceptionally low in all instances. The highest percentages were again found in the broadcast media. JBC radio had the highest percentage of 7.26, Klas, RJR and JBC TV had percentages of 4.51, 3.65 and 1.84 respectively. The Gleaner had a percentage of 2.93 and the Record 1.91. What these statistics establish is that the news in all media in Jamaica is urban centred. It is inconceivable to think that with 51.3% of Jamaica’s population classified as rural, that only an average of 3.68% of total news items were based on rural events.

Conclusion

Development as a process of qualitative change involving, on one dimension, the contributing input of societal institutions, is occurring in Jamaica without the maximisation of the country’s principal information and communication resource - the mass media. By virtue of their private ownership, commercially based operations and their dependence on advertising support, the media structures do not provide an institutional framework conducive to developmental orientations in the media product. It is, therefore, questionable whether the media can, given prevailing patterns of ownership and control, be efficaciously used as tools in the development process. In fact, the contemporary mass media system is a prophetic fulfilment of the former Prime Minister Norman Manley’s concerns, at the birth of broadcasting in Jamaica, that a commercially run media could not meet the specific needs of a developing society. The emerging post-independence media structures have tended to remain closer to institutional sources and to centres of power in society rather than to their future audiences.

An exemplary manifestation of this is that none of the media houses conduct audience research to evaluate audience response to their product or to assess what the media public would ask for in terms of output. The implication of this is that the media system is top downwards oriented and the
communication process underpinning the relationship with its audience is based on a simple Laswellian sender - channel-message- receiver model. Such a perception of the communication process ignores several important aspects of human communication; firstly, the occurrence of feedback and the associated non-linearity of communication, and secondly, the selective understanding of the heterogeneous media public. Given these two influencing factors, the effect of communication is therefore a matter of negotiation and cannot always be predicted. As a consequence, the prevailing media system in effect requires the development of audience sensitive approaches to its communication initiatives. The noticeable absence of such an approach and all its ramifications within the Jamaican mass media raise questions regarding its positive prognosis for effective use as tools in the development process. Just how the Jamaican mass media have been used to help achieve the development goal of replacement fertility is the subject of the following chapter.
CHAPTER 7

MYTH AND IDEOLOGY IN
"TWO IS BETTER THAN TOO MANY"

Introduction

The origins of family planning in Jamaica go as far back as 1938 when May Farquharson and Amy Bailey founded the Birth Control League - a purely voluntary organisation. The League eventually rented small premises in Kingston and on the 5th May, 1939 the very first acceptor was recorded. The Birth Control League eventually developed into the Family Planning League but due to problems such as financial difficulties and loss of personnel it eventually folded in the 1950's. In 1959 the Jamaica Family Planning Association (J.F.P.A.) was formed out of the voluntary organisations existing since 1939. From those early years and well into the 1960's the J.F.P.A., by then an affiliate of International Planned Parenthood Federation played the principal role in the delivery of family planning services and in establishing the credibility of family planning. The J.F.P.A. is still in operation as a non-governmental organisation whose activities complement the efforts of the N.F.P.B. Government family planning services were initiated in a few hospitals in 1964. In June 1966 a Family Planning Unit was established under the Ministry of Health to give a greater sense of direction to family planning activities and to co-operate with non governmental agencies working in the field.

The involvement of the mass media in family planning communication dates back to the late 1960's. Bold statements such as "You don't have to get pregnant!" "Wise girls don't get caught!" "What kind of man are you!" "Stop here! Plan your family and better your life!" began appearing in the media and on gigantic billboards in 1969 throughout the island.

The campaign was designed by the McCann Erickson's
advertising agency's Kingston office under the auspices of the National Family Planning Board (N.F.P.B.). In 1967 the N.F.P.B. was established in an effort to facilitate the transition from individual and small scale government efforts in family planning to extensive programming at the national level. The N.F.P.B. was subsequently made a statutory body by the promulgation of the National Family Planning Act in August 1970 which empowered the Board "to prepare, carry out and promote the carrying out of family and population planning programmes in Jamaica, and to act as the principal agency for government for the allocation of financial assistance or grants to other bodies or persons engaged in the field of family and population planning in Jamaica.

In 1969 the N.F.P.B. formed an advisory committee for its public information programme and the local McCann Erickson was commissioned to prepare a mass media campaign. The N.F.P.B. indicated to the Agency that the main problems that the campaign should address were: ignorance of the benefits of family planning to the nation, the family, and the individual; misconceptions that its practice can be harmful, less pleasurable, and contrary to the laws of God; unfavourable male attitudes; unfavourable superstitious beliefs; and unfounded beliefs that advocacy of family planning stems from a racist plot against the Negro race.¹

The campaign proposed by the advertising agency in 1969 was therefore based on these objectives: to communicate with the majority of the men and women in Jamaica but particularly with the young women in the age group from 15 to 30 years; to bring about awareness that there is a family planning programme on an island wide basis, and that it is in the best interests of the individual and the nation as a whole; to convince 90% of this audience that family planning is beneficial to the individual, the family and the nation; to

motivate 30% of those who are convinced that family planning is beneficial to visit family planning clinics; to bring about general awareness of the locations, opening and closing hours of clinics; and to double the present annual number of first time visits to the clinics (Trowbridge 1972:171).

In 1982 there was however, a shift in emphasis in the N.F.P.B.'s communication strategy from strictly an awareness and acceptance of family planning. Consequent to the implementation of a Ministry Paper in 1982 – "Expansion of Family Planning Programme" the N.F.P.B. was given a mandate to concentrate on a number of areas including public information and communication on all aspects of family planning including family life education. The aforementioned legislation together with the Government's National Population Policy defined one of the N.F.P.B.'s new programme objectives as communicating the message of replacement fertility. The N.F.P.B. specified this objective in the following terms:

"The two-child family hinges on the premise that not only must children be planned for in terms of their care etc., by their parents, but that the nation's capacity to provide all the resources necessary for the growth and development of the child must also be considered" (Rattary, 1985).

In an effort to help realise this objective a mass media campaign was launched in 1982 with an advertising programme designed to introduce the two-child family concept and to motivate its application to Jamaican family life. The N.F.P.B. recruited the service of the American owned Advertising Agency, McCann Erickson Limited, to be

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2 An ex-Board member of the N.F.P.B. stated in an informal interview that the presentation by McCann Erickson was not necessarily the best among those submitted for consideration by the various Advertising Agencies invited to bid for the contract to produce the campaign. However, because the funding for the campaign was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.) there was a general agreement among the Board members that since McCann Erickson was American owned, this agency should be given the contract. This in effect means that development aid given to (Footnote continued)
responsible for the planning, design and execution of the campaign.

Between 1982 and 1988 three different mixed media (i.e. television, radio, newspaper) campaigns were employed to highlight the advantages of the two-child family using the slogan "Two is better than too many". The advertising theme was adapted for distribution through the media - television, radio, press as well as magazines, billboards and posters. This research however, concerns itself only with the dissemination of the campaign through the mainstream broadcast and newspaper media since one of the objectives of the thesis is the appropriateness of the mass media for the task of propagating the message of replacement fertility. This chapter looks primarily at the expectations for the mass media campaign as a tool to assist in the development process and in restricting the country's population growth.

The explicit level of expectations will be discussed based on interviews, regarding this issue, held with policy makers and campaign planners at the government's Population Unit, National Family Planning Board and the Advertising Agency. However, it was theorised that these expectations for the campaign could be as much implied by the images and messages of the campaign as they were explicitly stated by the policy makers and campaign planners involved. In an attempt to decipher these implicit expectations and assumptions a semiotic (or semiological) deconstruction of the three advertising commercials will be presented. It is argued here that a semiotic analysis is an insightful technique to discern the mythic structure of the advertising campaign. The inherent myth unveils both the latent messages and meanings encoded in the commercials as well as the prescriptive functions of the advertising campaign. It is on these dual bases that extrapolations about the campaign's
role in population control and development can be arrived at. The semiotic analysis and implicit assumptions will be initially discussed since the commercials are first described for the reader's orientation.

A Note on Myth and Ideology

Myth, as Kellner (1982:133) elaborates, essentially provides stories which dramatize society's values, ideals and way of life. They also traditionally integrate individuals into the social order and celebrate dominant values. In recent years the mythic dimension of television has become the context, for many media researchers, to understand television's influence on individual attitudes and behaviours (Real 1989; Silverstone 1981; Williamson 1978; Leymore 1975). Since television more than any other mass medium today, provides mythologies that occupy fundamental roles in expressing and representing human conditions, social realities, and ideologies, the semiotic analysis of "Two is Better than Too Many" will be conducted on the television version of the campaign.

Television with its narrative structures and conventional formulas provides a symbolic environment for the articulation of meaning through myth. Implicit in this is the notion that communication as a social product is not neutral in character but becomes a vehicle for ideologies, value systems, constructs of reality and interpretative biases. The mechanics underpinning this process are an issue unto themselves and will be addressed in relation to the campaign at a later stage. The first objective of this chapter is to interpret the latent content - i.e. the myths embedded in the narrative structure of the family planning advertisements. The investigative analysis will be guided by the questions of firstly, what is the mythic function of the campaign and secondly whose value system and perception of reality does the campaign reflect? The response to these questions has implications on several levels for an understanding of the campaign's potential efficacy.
The Function of Myth and Ideology in
"Two Is Better Than Too Many"

On a practical plane the particular ideology and value systems which contextualize the main message of the campaign must be legitimized constructs among the target group for effective communication to occur. Where information is provided in symbolic form this can be meaningful to the audience only if they have experiences corresponding to the symbol. Quite simply, the repertoires of experiences between sender and receiver must overlap for communication to take place. This is of critical value for as Hall (1973:2) points out the symbolic form of the message has a privilege in the communication exchange and that moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding' although only 'relatively autonomous' in relation to the communication process as a whole, are determinant moments. All too often the decoding of messages by the audience or public does not coincide with the encoding by the media practitioner, and frequently this is due to the fact that the world of experience, and the world view of encoder and decoder do not coincide to the required degree. This point is of particular relevance to those societies which are stratified and fragmented, which they all tend to be to varying degrees.

On another level, the ideology and value systems embedded in the campaign's myths provides implicit prescriptions on the role the media is expected to perform in the developmental process. Employing the media to assist in fulfilling the developmental goal of population control ascribes it the status of an actor in the development. Just what this role is, is as much implied by the meaning articulated through the campaign's myths as it was explicitly stated by the policy makers involved in the campaign's conception and delivery. It is the degree of congruence or variance between these two levels of expectations and assumptions that constitutes the analytical framework to asses the campaign's potential efficacy.
Semiological/Structural Theories in the Identification of Myth

The identification of the myth inherent in the text of the family planning commercial constitutes the starting point of the analysis. The semiological/structural approach will be the investigative tool used to unearth the buried meaning in the commercial's text. Semiology (or Semiotics) encompasses structuralism\(^3\) as it seeks to explore the nature of sign systems which regulate complex, latent and culturally dependent meanings of texts.

Two distinct types of structural analysis exists as analytical tools. The first, as exemplified in Propp's (1973) Morphology of the Folktale describes the structural or formal organization of a text following the chronological order of the linear sequence of elements in the text. This is termed "syntagmic" structural analysis borrowing from the notion of syntax in the study of language. The second type of structural analysis seeks to describe the pattern, based upon an a priori binary principle of opposition, which underlies the text. Elements are extracted from the syntagmatic structure and are grouped into analytical schema called "paradigmatic" patterns or organizations. The fundamental difference between these two approaches as Levi-Strauss (1967) contends is that essentially the linear sequential syntagmic structure deals with apparent or manifest content, whereas the paradigmatic structure concerns itself with the more important latent content and the identification of mythologies.

For this reason this paper will stress the binary oppositions of paradigmatic analysis as a heuristic device.

\(^3\) In contemporary social sciences the term structuralism is applied to various bodies of theory among which there are important differences. Nearly all the thinkers representing the diverse strands of structuralism — Levi-Strauss in anthropology, Roland Barthes in literary criticism, Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis and Michael Foucault in the history of the sciences share a common heritage in the work of Ferdinand Saussure in the field of linguistics.
The semiological and structuralist theories of Barthes (1972) and Levi-Strauss (1967) provide instructive theoretical frames within which to analyse and interpret the mythologies and their particular function. Levi-Strauss's structuralist theory of myth provides tools for showing how a certain type of social myth resolves central social-cultural contradictions. For him, "mythical thought always progresses from awareness of oppositions towards their resolution" (1967:221), myths, therefore, articulate oppositions and bring about their resolution.

However, for Barthes (1972) mythologies suppress social conditions and legitimize existing society so that it appears to be devoid of social tensions and problems. The symbolic constructs used idealize prevailing social conditions. In Barthes famous example (1972:116-118) the picture of a black soldier in a French army uniform saluting the flag signifies the French Empire, the loyalty of colonial regimes to Mother France, the integration of blacks into the empire and the honour of the military. Mythologies coalesce into a series of pure images devoid of history or contradiction suppressing, in Barthes example, the anti-colonialist struggles against France, racism and black oppression, military crime, etc. Mythologies thus become ahistorical idealizations that ascribe legitimacy to their subjects. Barthes suggests that any object can be absorbed into a mythology thereby transforming it into purified image by investing in it a socially sanctioned meaning that reproduces ideology. Mythologies perform a dual function: they are descriptive in the sense that they point out objects and events, and they are also prescriptive from the perspective that they impose certain attitudes and values. Mythologies thus become the symbolic forum for the articulation of ideologies. By implication therefore the identification of myths and their inherent ideologies presupposes a thorough knowledge of the original culture. As Burgelin (1972:317) states "the mass media clearly do not form a complete culture on their own ........... but simply a fraction of such a system which is, of necessity, the culture to which they belong."
From the structuralist perspective, a corollary of the cultural context of myth is the denial that the world of social and cultural 'reality', the message and the receiver, all involve the same basic system of meanings. Social reality consists of several, more or less discrete universes of meaning each needing individual explanation. The audience also exists in separate groupings each possessing their own unique tendencies for attributing meaning. The varying interpretive frameworks of the heterogeneous audience are referred to in semiological jargon as codes. They are highly complex patterns of associations learned in a given society and culture which allow individuals to interpret signs and symbols in the media and social reality. Extrapolating from this it becomes self-evident that misunderstandings can arise in the interpretation of the media texts. As Umberto Eco (1972:106) writes, "the aberrant decoding ........... is the rule in the mass media." This is the inevitable consequence as people bring different codes to a given message and thus interpret it in different ways. As Eco (1972:15) states:

"Codes and subcodes are applied to the message in the light of a general framework of cultural references, which constitutes the receivers patrimony of knowledge: his ideological, ethical, religious standpoints, his psychological attitudes, his tastes, his value systems etc."

The significance of this point in relation to the mass media campaign lies in the fact that the transmitters of the campaign's message, because of their social class, educational level, political ideologies, world view and ethos, do not share the same codes as their audiences, who differ from the transmitters in all the above respects and who interpret the message they receive from their own perspectives. The degree of coincidence of the campaign's meaning - at both manifest and latent levels - and the interpretive meaning constitute a reliable index of its success in conceptualization and effective communication.
"Two Is Better Than Too Many"

What follows constitutes a syntagmatic description of the three commercials designed to encourage replacement fertility which were disseminated through the media during the period 1982 to 1988. Although as stated previously, a syntagmatic structural analysis will not be attempted here, nevertheless, significant details in the commercials' syntagms will be noted because signs at the denotative, manifest level can also become, at the secondary latent level, signifiers of a myth.

In the first advertisement, the setting is a middle class household where Bev Brown, her husband and two children are sitting. In the background a vase filled with colourful flowers sits on a table besides a staircase. There is a knock on the front door. Bev Brown opens the door to reveal a shabbily dressed woman of similar age standing in the darkness of the night with a baby in her arms and three other small children by her side. The beggar woman initiates the conversation:

"How 'dy do mam, a beggin sometin fa mi four children"
"Judy, Judy Smith!" comes the surprised reply.
"You know me!" retorts Judy.
"Judy Smith the maths brains from primary school who use to help me" exclaims Bev.
"Oh, you are Bev Brown" is her embarrassed reply.
"Yes, I am Johnson now", answers Bev as she proudly fingers her wedding band.
"That’s nice" comes the feeble reply, "Your two kids?" she queries.
"Just what I planned to have" says Bev.
"Just what you plan to have" mumbles Judy sadly.
Bev starts to say emotionally:
"But Judy how you could .........." but stops and hands her some money. Judy accepts and walks off into the night with

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4 The middle class setting is defined by the signs of the staircase, the ornate vase and the new, modern furniture.
her offsprings. As she does this, a voice over says: "One planned for two, the other had too many without a plan. Take family planning in your life seriously. Plan your children and, when you do plan, have only two. Two is better than too many."

In advertisement number two, the opening scenario is a one-room household. Clothes are hanging on a makeshift clothesline across the room. Only a few pieces of obviously old furniture occupy the room. A woman and three children are sleeping in a double bed – the only bed in the room. Another child wakes the woman from her sleep. The shot cuts to her feeding her children with some porridge in plastic bowls. At this point she puts her hand to her head in an action of despair as she starts talking to herself and expresses concern about not having enough food for her family. The scene changes to show her in a shop where she contemplates despairingly food that she cannot afford to buy. The shot changes to her standing as a black silhouette in the doorway of a bar watching as the man, who has fathered some or all of her children, puts his arm around another woman. The scene then returns to the household and as she waves goodbye, baby in arms, to the other children going to school she starts reflecting and the shot changes to a frame of Bev Brown and her two children from the first advertisement. She contemplates to herself how much better off Bev Brown is with her two children. The commercial closes with the announcer encouraging to "Give them a Fair Share." The familiar slogan, "Two is better than too many", is also featured.

The final advertisement commences with a stark black background. A woman holding a baby stands surrounded by three other children. The baby starts crying and all of the other children start demanding something ranging from water to lunch money, all at the same time. Amid the chorus of screams and demands the woman grows increasingly frustrated and shouts at the children in an effort to quiet them. The scene then changes to show a man and woman, and two children sitting quietly on a settee. The couple smile as they watch their children reading. The commercial ends with the
announcer reminding the public of the demands that children can make. The slogans "Family Planning Works. Let it Work for You" and "Two is Better than Too Many" appear.

The Paradigmatic Analysis

The following paradigmatic analysis involves searching for the patterns of oppositions that are buried in the commercial's texts and generate meaning. The quest for binary or polar oppositions stems from the fact that meaning is based upon establishing relationships, with the most important one in the production of meaning being that of oppositions. From this point of view, structuralists have adopted Jakobson's (1971) position that binary opposition is a fundamental operation of the human mind which is basic to the production of meaning.

In the foregoing three commercial texts there are systematic and interrelated sets of oppositions that can be elicited. The central opposition, however, in all three advertisements is the two-child family versus the four-child family. It is around this polar opposition that the following oppositions in Figure 1.1 revolve.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two children</th>
<th>Four children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bev Brown</td>
<td>Judy Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning of family</td>
<td>Absence of family planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercising control of life</td>
<td>Lack of exercising control over life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material success</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td>Female headed family structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Non-marital union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monogamy</td>
<td>Unfaithfulness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal presence</td>
<td>Paternal absence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atypical family structure</td>
<td>Traditional family structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contentment</td>
<td>Distress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Ignorance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1: Polar oppositions in the Family Planning Commercials

Immeasurable significance exists also in the manner in which METONYM transmits meaning within the advertisements and becomes instrumental in articulating their mythology. In
metonym a relationship is suggested that is based on association, a common form of metonym is synecdoche in which a part stands for a whole or vice versa. This, of course, implies the existence of codes among the audience which enable them to make the accurate connections to interpret metonymic communication.

The shot of Brown’s household with its stairwell and floral arrangement in the advertisements one and two, together with the shot of the attractive settee in the third advertisement, become metonymy for comfortable, middle class housing and security. Paradigmatic analysis, however, renders these shots foils to Smith’s poverty and deprivation as expressed in the metonymy of her homelessness in advertisement one, her impoverished household conditions in advertisement two, and her lack of material possessions in the final commercial.

Likewise, Smith’s actions of holding her baby in commercials one and three, and feeding her children in commercial two are metonymy for motherhood and its accompanying spectrum of maternal activities. However, at the latent level of significance this metonym loses its iconic specificity of reference and acquires its meaning from the culturally located myth that motherhood can, in the wrong set of conditions, be demanding, creating financial liabilities as well as numerous emotional stresses. The paradigmatic structures of the commercials contrast this with the metonymy of Brown’s maternal condition – i.e. composure and a noticeable lack of domestic labour in commercials one and two, and activities of pleasure in commercial three as she watches her children read. The metonym at a deeper level of significance is dependent for its meaning on the culturally accepted myth of motherhood, in the right context, as a rewarding role women find natural and which, therefore, does not stretch them beyond their emotional capacities. Interestingly, this myth reflects strong social class positions in Brown’s iconic maternal conditions as the maternal status of middle class women which enables them to hire domestic labour to assist them in or relieve them of
chores involved in child rearing.

Again in the realm of metonym, the use of darkness becomes a powerful element at work in the commercials' mythology. In the first commercial the opening scene is shot from Brown's perspective so that as she opens the door Smith and her children are revealed standing in the darkness of night. At the end of the commercial they all walk off into the darkness. In the latent order of myth the darkness is a symbol of ignorance equated with the traditional value system which allows for high fertility, and the implied consequences of poverty and deprivation. Similar significance can be applied to the portrayal of Smith as a black silhouette in the second advertisement. The metonymic darkness used here typecasts her again as a victim of her value system. Darkness is again featured as a metonym in the final commercial in shots of the woman and her four children to convey the current theme of ignorance, emanating from a specific value system, as well as its negative consequences.

The Myth "Two Is Better Than Too Many"

The portrayal of Bev Brown and Judy Smith is not simply information - it is a participatory element in the restricted codes of a historically based mythology. The question to be addressed is not whether this portrayal is true or not - at least Judy Smith is all too real a figure, her social and material condition typifies the plight of so many Jamaican women. The question is what these cases generalize to, mythically and iconically.

Extrapolating from the paradigmatic analysis the images and messages of the commercials coalesce into a mythology that assumes direct correlation between the nuclear family and the two-child norm and social and material success. This is articulated through a complex of symbols within the advertisement and together constitute the descriptive element of the mythology. The prescriptive function of myth is given expression in the icons of Brown and Smith. Their characterization establishes a social ideal to which people
should aspire in the figure of Brown who is portrayed as advantaged and successful. By contrast, Smith represents the individual who needs to change in order to achieve Brown's social success. Presented as disadvantaged she becomes a sign of a particular value system pertaining to fertility which requires change, as suggested by the advertisement, if she is to obtain Brown's privileged status. As an icon therefore, Smith becomes the static visual representation of a myth that sees a particular class defined value system with its characteristic family structure and its numeric fertility preferences as a prime lever in the creation of poverty. Within Barthes's framework, this myth, with its 'blame the victim' innuendoes, is an ahistorical interpretation of forces in Jamaica's political and social history which collectively shaped the material condition and traditional familial structure of the campaign's target group.

But does the commercial, and its incumbent myth, as a designed social force "resolve cultural conflicts and contradictions" in the way that Levi-Strauss described myth's structural power? Or does it "suppress contradictions and idealize exiting conditions" in the way that Roland Barthes identifies myth's masking powers?

The response lies revealingly in an identification of whose ideology is given expression in the commercial's myth. The tight functional relationship between syntagmatic and paradigmatic structures in the commercial's myth produces an ideological formation that legitimizes marriage and monogamy, the nuclear family with its characteristic patriarchal presence. From a sociological perspective these norms are atypical to the social class to which the campaign is directed and instead more realistically belong to the middle class milieu. In the realm of mythology this value system is located within supporting middle class constructs generated by the use of metonym.

The latent legitimization of middle class positions produces a conformist compromise whose principal ideological function is to convince subordinate groups that they should
conform to the rules of a particular social class. In this way the mythology functions as Barthes suggests by naturalizing events or institutions by endowing their existence with a natural justification - as if it were natural and right to adhere to a certain value system. From Barthes position, the commercial mythology fulfils the functional role of myth in reducing the complexity of a situation to a purified form of images and words which merely reproduce the dominant ideology and way of life.5

For Barthes, mythologies affect a certain harmonization with existing society. They reduce reality to fixed images, stereotypes and institutions. They display approved actions as occurring within an established structure and show what happens if an individual strays from the path. This is typically exemplified in Smith’s unhappy fate which she is portrayed as responsible for by not adhering to certain prescriptive social values and attitudes demonstrated by Brown’s character. Further, mythologies package reality into informational images that extol what is right by forbidding what is not.

The mythical plot of the commercials contain practical rules for survival embedded in, and reinforcing dominant institutions and social practices. These dominant elements are expressed in the legitimization of the middle class lifestyle and its values. These are implicitly revered as the guidelines for success and happiness. In this manner the inherent mythologies have become agencies of symbolic socialization and control. They demonstrate how society works by dramatizing its norms and values. They have also become part of a general system of messages which cultivates prevailing outlooks and regulates social relationships. This system of messages, and their story telling functions, serves

5 In an important passage Barthes (1972:143) writes: "Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact."
to make people perceive as real and normal and right that which fits the established order.

The Origins of The Dominant Ideology

The pervasiveness of the ideological content of the commercials prompt questions concerning the reasons behind its preponderance. A partial explanation lies in the response to the question "What was the main message of the campaign?" which was asked to policy makers and campaign planners in a total of eight interviews at the Population Unit, the National Family Planning Board and the Advertising Agency.

There was a clear consensus in the responses that not only was the message saying or intending to say that women should have two children but this was consistently qualified with statements that the message meant that this family size was a guarantee of better economic circumstances. Comments were forwarded such as: "the campaign shows the advantages of small families as compared to the disadvantages of large families"(Executive Director, N.F.P.B.); "if you have two children it will mean a better life for you with economic rewards"(Acting Deputy Executive Director, N.F.P.B.) ; "the smaller the family the more there is to go around" (Parish Liaison Officer, N.F.P.B.) ; "the images are saying that you will have a better standard of living with two children"(Assistant Director for Information, Education and Communication N.F.P.B.) ; "it (the small family) will ensure you a better quality of life"(Consultant Statistician/Demographer, Population Unit) ; "the benefits of a two child family are economic as people will be better off"(Acting Director, Population Unit) ; "have the number of children that you can provide for" (Economist/Demographer, Population Unit).

The prescriptive resonance in these statements betray certain assumptions which are questionable. To suggest, for example, that small families have advantages and that large families can only be defined in terms of disadvantages is a one sided interpretation displaying a subjective value
judgement. It erroneously implies the existence of one set of standards which can be employed to measure "advantage" and "disadvantage". These standards were obviously those of the policy makers and campaign planners, standards which were used as the tools to construct the message. In saying too, that people should have the number of children they can provide for fails to recognise the sociological fact of Jamaican life that many individuals have the number of children that they believe will provide for them in their old age. To offer also the platitude that small families mean "that there will be more to go around" assumes that there is enough to "go around" in the first place. The desperate poverty levels among the working class (discussed in chapter 4) dismisses this assumptions quite conclusively. These conditions which have placed a premium on children as economic assets, a fact which was highlighted in chapter 5, creates expectations upon offspring to ease the burdens of their family circumstances through some form of economic contribution. These realities of the family dynamic are totally obscured by statements which superficially see less numbers of children equalling more financial security. On another level too, such perceptions deflect attention away from those features of the socioeconomic system which support the persistent poverty.

A consistent contradiction in the interviews was the respondent's views on the relationship between the small family norm and material advantage and their opinions on the causes of poverty among the working class. Although the interviewees generally voiced the view that having two children was some guarantee of better economic circumstances they were well aware of the social and economic roots of poverty thwarting economic advancement. This is illustrated in the following answers to a question asked on their views about the causes of poverty among the lower socioeconomic group: "It (poverty) is rooted in our social history......there is a lack of access to education, people don't have resources to qualify themselves......because of racism there is a sense of hopelessness" (Acting Executive Director, N.F.P.B.); "Lack of education, lack of political
will to put in proper infrastructure to develop people's ability. Lack of health" (Assistant Director I.E.& C. for N.F.P.B.); "Opportunity for work is limited...." (Acting Executive Deputy Director, N.F.P.B.); "No jobs" (Consultant Demographer, Population Unit); "The wealth of the country is controlled by minority white or socially white ethnic groups, limited resources are controlled by the masses" (Acting Director, Population Unit); "Insufficient development in the rural areas, housing, education and health are a sore point" (Demographer/Economist, Population Unit). What these comments suggest is that although on one level the policy makers and campaign planners were aware of the social and economic causes explaining the endemic poverty, they were on another level unwittingly or unthinkingly "blaming the victim" by implying that having a small family would improve automatically an individual’s economic future.

These very socioeconomic forces were also implicitly discounted in the numerous statements by the interviewees that the two child family would not only secure a better quality of life for the individuals involved but the economic well being of the nation as a whole. But in extrapolating from the personal to macrolevel ramifications of family planning the implication is that population control, beginning with restricted fertility at the individual plane, is a panacea for the country's economic woes. This in effect fails to recognise the dialectical relationship between population and socioeconomic development and implies that fertility is a primary underpinning of the country's underdeveloped status.

These notions are symmetrical with the definitions of the role of population control contained in the National Population Policy discussed in chapter 4. It was stressed here that the Policy in essence reflected the government's political philosophy which served to construct an ideological definition of the population problem that located high fertility as a root cause of economic underdevelopment. The blame the victim innuendos inherent in this political philosophy, the Population Policy and the campaign
planners/policy makers interviewed, signal a tacit intellectual alliance among this power elite which has to an arguable degree, shaped the ideological content of the campaign.

The identification of the commercial's ideology as emanating from a specific site within society raises the difficult question of the degree and manner in which the interests of the dominant class influence media content among the other forms of popular culture. Contemporary social theorists such as Bennett (1986) suggest that Gramsci's concept of hegemony offers a solid basis for addressing the relations between cultural and economic and political processes. In essence hegemony means "moral and philosophical leadership" (Bocock 1986:11). It is a concept used by Gramsci to examine the precise political, cultural and ideological forms through which a particular class is able to establish its leadership in any given society. Although hegemony is cast as initially dependent on the "nucleus of economic activity" it also bears the additional dimension of "intellectual and moral leadership" and the diverse ways in which this leadership has been historically established. It is the introduction of these analytical constructs to the complex areas of culture and ideology which help separate hegemony from orthodox forms of Marxist analysis which emphasised the primacy of economic factors.

Where ideological forms are concerned hegemony theory concentrates less on the economic and structural determinants of a class based ideology. Instead it places more of a stress on ideology itself, the forms of its expression, its ways of signification and the mechanisms by which it survives and flourishes with the apparent consent of its victims - mainly the working class - and succeeds in filtering into and

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7 Op. cit. pgs.57-58
influencing their consciousness. In Gramsci's perception, the interests of the ruling class must contend with the contradicting class cultures and values emanating from the subordinate classes. Ruling class hegemony is effective to the extent that it is articulated to and incorporates such divergences. In this way members of the subordinate classes do not encounter ruling class interests directly but instead in a negotiated version of ruling-class culture and ideology. However, ideology in the form of a biased version of reality and a representation of class relationships or, in the words of Althusser (1971) "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence", is not dominant in the sense of being imposed forcefully by ruling classes, but is a pervasive cultural influence which serves to interpret reality in a covert but consistent manner.

In an application of hegemony theory to an understanding of the ideological content of the media emphasis has been placed on the notion that dominant or 'preferred' meanings (Hall 1973) are embedded by producers into media content which influence the audience to obtain a specific pre-selected meaning. Golding and Murdock (1979) argue that decoding of media products reveals messages of capitalist ideology but it is also more essential to see media organisations as producers and distributors of commodities within a late capitalist order.

However, as an interpretative framework for an understanding of how the mass media purveys the ideology of specific groups hegemony theory is not without its critics (Altheide 1984). On a general level its heuristic purposes have been challenged on empirical grounds. In the more specific case of the "Two is better than Too many" commercials, although hegemony theory can be found to account for the commercial's content as reflecting the ideology of a dominant social group, it offers no empirically satisfying explanatory framework of how ruling classes succeeded in achieving this.

Since decisions about media content are made in media
organizations, it is highly probable that explanations will be found there (Cantor, 1982). However, the fact that media organizations are so constrained by pressures, past traditions and conventions, as well as by their own myths and unquestioned assumptions, the superficial explanations offered by the media communicators themselves can not be accepted wholesale. In this regard, the sociology of organizations that produce culture has revealed, for example, the importance of group membership within the media organizations. This membership produces a narrow framework of professionalism that is inhibiting (Tuchman, 1978) and ideologically restricting (Golding, 1977). Studies by Gans (1979) do indicate also a connection between the typical values and outlooks of American newsmakers and their social position.

Where the family planning commercials are concerned it is obvious that although the National Family Planning Board issued the Advertising Agency with certain guidelines, the Agency exercised considerable autonomy in the conceptualization of the advertisements. The birthing of the campaign in the Agency bears significant implications for its development. It can not be overemphasized that advertising as a form of communication is characterised by its own specific conventions, systematized approaches and ethos which together permeate all its images and messages. The immeasurable significance of all this lies in the fact that any latent meaning in the commercials may just be an artefact of the very approaches used to package the intended messages.

Indeed, when one considers the commercials’ promise of an improved standard of living contingent on the adoption of family planning and the two-child norm, there is a strong resonance of typical advertising manipulative strategy which seeks to convince consumers that the product will do something special for them, something magical that will transform their lives. Commercials promise all sorts of things — goods that can make an individual stunningly attractive in an instant, give him power over other people’s affections, cure all illnesses, capture and package nature,
and lift our emotions.

In an interesting essay entitled The Magic System Raymond Williams (1980:185) refers to advertising as a "highly organized and professional system of magical inducements and satisfactions" that coexist strangely with the rest of a highly developed technological society. Verda Leymore (1975:X) argues that advertising works as much as mythology does in primitive societies, by providing simple, anxiety reducing answers to the complex problems of modern life by playing on the deep symbolic structures of the human imagination.

The use of straightforward advertising techniques to communicate the campaign's message warrants critical comment. Firstly, the assumption that approaches considered appropriate in advertising are equally appropriate and can be easily applied to what is essentially family planning education has yet to be validated. The use of these approaches also fail to make allowances for the fact that the processes in relation to communication and influence are not the same in the two different areas.

The unquestioned borrowing of communication models reflects the recurring problem of action before thought which has become the label attached to the conventional mass communication approaches. It is reminiscent of Wiebe's (1951) implication that you could sell brotherhood like you could sell soap. A perception of the profound differences between the two requires little effort.

Could it be that another interpretative approach to an understanding of the campaign's ideology can be found in the media and cultural imperialism thesis? This suggestion is given credibility at two levels, which, according to Boyd-Barrett's (1977) criteria, constitute two modes of media/cultural imperialism. Firstly, it must be remembered that at an institutional level, the Advertising Agency is American owned and final sanctioning power for the campaign's design and implementation within the Agency lay with a North
American. The foreign ownership structure of the Agency provides not only for the repatriation of profit and easy dissemination of American advertising output but at a second level allows for the importation of certain values and practices. This not only refers to overtly stated values, beliefs and codes of behaviour but also less explicit but nonetheless entrenched values and views of "how things should be done". Examples of these practices can be found in assumptions about the appropriateness and influence of each medium as well as assumptions about how an acceptable campaign should be constructed and implemented. The constituent values of the campaign's ideology and message could be viewed as culturally alien to Third World fertility contexts and more relevant to First World countries. These practices and values may well be appropriate to the sociocultural milieu of the Agency's country of origin but to transplant them to another environment arguably represents a recognisable cultural imperialist influence.

In an extension of this argument regarding the application of cultural imperialism as an explanatory model, questions can also be raised concerning the covert political dimension of the campaign. Could it be that there is a latent but indisputable link between the motives of USAID in funding the campaign and the Jamaican campaign planners who sanctioned it? There may have been a point of convergence between the aims of the Aid Agency on the one hand, which had its own agenda in funding the replacement fertility intervention, packaged as it was in an ideological form and on the other hand, the motives of the campaign planners who wanted to appear as if they were working towards the nation's welfare even though they might have had misgivings about the campaign's message. This seems more of a possibility when considering the previously noted comment of an ex-Board member for the N.F.P.B. who stated that the campaign proposal submitted by McCann-Erickson was not necessarily the best among those forwarded but it was accepted because of the tacit agreement among the Board members that since the funding was being provided by USAID the campaign contract should be awarded to an American agency. In this situation
the subtle but nonetheless pervasive influence of American foreign aid secured the compliance of the local Jamaican campaign planners in accepting a campaign not on the criterion of its merit but out of a sense of obligation to the donor country or perhaps out of a fear of a loss of further aid as a consequence if they had not.

How then does one conclusively explain the issue of the campaign's ideological configuration? Three perspectives have been offered here. The first is essentially a variant of Marxist inspired analysis of mass media which seeks to define how the political and economic underpinnings of the society are mobilised through the central concept of hegemony to perpetuate a specific ideology. The empirical inadequacy of the framework has been noted and explanations have been sought in mainstream sociology, looking at the organisation, the conventions and occupational ideologies of the advertising agency. Unlike standard political economy perspectives, the central problem of this approach is the media practitioners professed autonomy and decision making power in attempts to understand how the media worker's efforts are influenced and constrained by the routines of the organisation and occupation. However, it is the very emphasis on these routines and constraints that question the strength of this approach as it fails to acknowledge the private intentions of the media practitioner which may be influenced by the wider political and cultural environment. A cultural imperialist argument was advanced but the problem of using this thesis lies in substantiating it with empirically valid data. There is great difficulty in establishing the true extent to which foreign practices and values have been replicated and the exact nature of the processes by which this has occurred.

The inability of these distinct approaches to satisfactorily explain the complexities of the communication issue in question is arguably reflective to some extent of the dilemma of critical eclecticism in contemporary mass communication research: in the application of a multidisciplinary approach to the study of communication in
efforts to be comprehensive, the totality of the phenomenon is inevitable lost. Communication research may have developed considerably from the quantitative, atheoretical and conventional research stressing media effects characteristic of its founding fathers in the late 1930's to the late 1950's - Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Kurt Lewin and Carl Hovland. However, as Halloran argues it is still very much a field of research and not a discipline, as such it cannot be expected to provide a single theory that will explain everything (1983:270).

The Mass Media and its Role in Development

The discussion on the ideological nature of the commercial's text not only bears relevance to the meaning generated by the campaign and questions on the campaign's ideological origins. It is also germane to an understanding of the media's expected role in development.

Given the development objective of this campaign, that is to assist in curbing population growth, through the adoption of replacement fertility, the advertisement is underpinned by several implicit assumptions on the role that the media can play in development. Several significant points emerge when one considers that the various signs in the commercial's text generate a dichotomy in characterization and lifestyle, emanating from family size norms, which can be classified as modern/middle class versus traditional/poor. Further, the message is also laden with implicitly sanctioned social values which are middle class in orientation.

The system of belief inherent in the campaign regarding the control of fertility defines the media as an actor in the creation of a climate for change by inducing new values, attitudes and modes of fertility behaviour which are favourable to modernization and development. The attitudes and values being disseminated clearly reflect a value system: the middle class lifestyle. It implies that people should possess ideas of better opportunities in life and a belief that these can be realized by individual effort. A corollary
of this is that the locus of change, as certainly suggested by the advertisement, rests within the individual.

What these assumptions betray is the influence of the modernization paradigm on the role of the media in development. The best examples of this paradigm are found in the writings of such development communication scholars as Schramm (1964), Pye (1963) and Lerner (1964). Their theories on the role of the media defined it as pivotal in substituting new norms, attitudes and behaviours for old ones in an effort to initiate and sustain the momentum of development. The fundamental conceptual problem with these early Development Communication theories was the level at which change was envisaged. The locus of control was centred in the individual. Where the media campaign is concerned the inherent individual blame view of the problem of high fertility fails to recognize that the fertility behaviour of individuals is the product of a particular institutional, cultural and economic environment and responds to changes in that environment.

In certain respects the commercials are characterised by strong suggestions of the influence of Lerner’s concept ‘empathy’ and the role media plays in creating empathy in its audience. Lerner’s framework would propose that Brown represents the established social ideal which all women within the child bearing age should aspire towards. This is the effect that Lerner suggests when he states that the media encourages people to "imagine themselves as strange persons in strange situations, places and times" (Lerner, 1958:52). Following Lerner’s thesis through to the next phase, the Judy Smiths’ of the world would eventually develop an increasing desire to live the life of a Bev Brown because a transitional person "..... wants really to see the things he has hitherto ‘seen’ only in his ‘minds’ eye, really to live in the world he has ‘lived’ in only vicariously" (Lerner, 1958:72).

Taking the hypothesis through to its natural conclusion however, that the mass media would be responsible for rapidly increasing expectations which sluggish economies would be
unable to satisfy, would suggest that the advertisement could lead to an exacerbation of the "want: get" ratio and the hypothesized "revolution of rising frustrations" (Lerner, 1963:331). This would be perceived as the inevitable consequence of a media which establishes an inaccurate linear equation between small family size and material success. Within Lerner's framework of analysis this representation or rather misrepresentation would lead to a state of frustration because, "mass media bring new aspirations to people - and then, since the emphatic individual imagination quickly outruns social achievement, it brings ....... frustration" Lerner( 1963:335).

But what of the explicit statements on the role media is expected to perform in development and what the campaign is expected to achieve? What degree of congruence exists between these explicit views and the implied role of the media?

Any thorough discussion on media's specified role is handicapped by the fact that no policy statements or legislation exist which provide clear definition of expectations for the media as an actor in development. The nearest approximation to a legislated position on the issue is found in the Population Policy, but this is both descriptive and restricted to one particular area as is reflected in the following policy statement:

"The National Population Policy as a whole and all its various details should be widely disseminated through the communications media and in the educational system ....... The broadcasting media, radio and television and the press should be supplied with materials (statistical data, research publications etc.) needed for informed discussion of population issues in Jamaica."

In view of the lack of formal policy statements on media's developmental role, one can only construct a theoretical understanding on its perceived function from interviews held with policy makers and personnel involved with the campaign at the Population Unit, N.F.P.B. and the Advertising Agency. What emerges from these interviews is an
interesting mosaic of ideas reflecting different currents of thought on the media in general. There was an overwhelming consensus that the media does have a role to play in national development and that this role is a very important one. There was little agreement, though, as to what this role is exactly. Many of the responses evaded constructive analysis since they revealed an obvious lack of understanding of the capabilities and limitations of the mass media in general, and far more so in the specific area of development. The majority of the views expressed generally fell into either of two distinct schools of thought.

Many of the perceptions cohered more closely into a social responsibility theory about the position of media in society and the activities they should be engaged in. A recurrent view, vague as it is, was that the media should provide information on "aspects of development" and that "it can help to sensitise people to make them aware of Jamaica's path to development" (Acting Deputy Executive Director, N.F.P.B.) These sentiments were also expressed in the view that "media must look at issues and take them up in a responsible way, there must be a crusade with the media" (Parish Liaison Officer, N.F.P.B.).

This functional role was concretised in the view that "the media can advertise health services, family courts and various social supports"(Parish Liaison Officer, N.F.P.B.). The media was also seen in the development process as "...very important especially in imparting knowledge.... about social and economic factors in the society" (Economist/Demographer, Population Unit). This view on the provision of knowledge and information was reinforced by the Advertising Executive responsible for the campaign who said the media's role in development was to assist in "....the cutting down of our population.....by informing the public of the necessity of cutting down population growth". There was also a strong emphasis on the responsibility the media had as a protective link between the government and the people. The opinion was held that "the media should point out areas of weakness in the government and act as a watchdog for the
people" (Executive Director, N.F.P.B.). The mediating function of the media was stressed by one interviewee (Acting Deputy Executive Director, N.F.P.B.) who claimed that "...media is a means of communicating between the policymakers, implementers and the people. Media should provide the opportunity for backwards and forwards linkages in that you have a set of information going in one direction and from the people you have answers, comments and criticisms coming back". These perceptions are grounded in one of the main foundations of social responsibility theory - the assumption that the media do serve essential functions in society, especially in relation to democratic policies and that the media should accept an obligation to fulfil these functions mainly in the sphere of information and the provision of a forum for diverse views.

A second school of thought revolved around an identifiable model of communication on which the perceived role of media was based. For several respondents the media possesses the functional importance of not only imparting knowledge, but also in changing attitudes and behaviour. One interviewee claimed that "People's....opinions and attitudes are formed by media....in all three areas - imparting knowledge, changing attitudes and behaviour it is important. Attitudes...are something that people take up like osmosis" (Assistant Director, Information Education and Communication at the N.F.P.B.). This professed faith in the media was stated by another interviewee "we have all sorts of media programmes that can be used to influence people's attitudes, ideas and knowledge about population issues" (Parish Liaison Officer, N.F.P.B.). In a similar vein, another respondent (Acting Deputy Executive Director, N.F.P.B.) voiced the opinion that "media has alot of power therefore this power must be used to get information to the people".

Implicit in these notions is of course the idea that the effects of information are commensurate with the quantity of its provision by an all powerful media. The importance of this admission is that it signals the persistence of academically outmoded concepts on media's capabilities in
development. A similar faith in the role of the media in national development characterised most of the research and literature on the subject during the 1950's and early 1960's. The relevance of this fact is also important as it indicates the point of convergence between both implicit and explicit assumptions on media's potential achievements in development. The faulty nature of these assumptions have produced a conceptually inadequate theory of media's functional value in development. Such shaky theoretical foundations can only suggest a negative prognosis for any efforts utilizing media to assist in achieving specified developmental objective. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the absence of any clear cut policy guidelines has created, by default, a forum for the making of uninformed decisions where the use of the media in family planning campaigns is concerned.

Consistent with these two strands in perception on media's role in development, the expressed expectations for the media campaign followed two similar trends. There were those interviewees who saw the media campaign as playing a functional role of providing information and creating awareness "(the campaign) can play a powerful role in making people aware that we must control our population growth...and creating awareness of family planning, (that) there are advantages and disadvantages ....it also provides information and creates a level of acceptance" (Acting Deputy Executive Director, N.F.P.B.). Other interviewees saw the campaign as leading to a "wide dissemination of family planning information leading to an informed public" (Economist/Demographer, Population Unit) and "achieving mainly awareness of family planning and population issues, of methods of prevention" (Assistant Director, I.E.& C. at the N.F.P.B.)

But by far the greater majority of the views reflected great optimism in the mass media campaign. One respondent claimed that the campaign already "has lead to a changing of attitude and practice" (Parish Liaison Officer, N.F.P.B.). Other opinions claimed that the campaign can "help in changes
of knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward family planning" (Executive Director, N.F.P.B.) and another interviewee stated that the campaign "will reduce the fertility rate" (Consultant Statistician/Demographer, Population Unit). Yet for others, the campaign was commissioned with the clear adversarial expectation of challenging existing beliefs and values. One interviewee stated the campaign had the "role of (presenting a) counter ideology against the high fertility values of the traditional culture...." and that it "can affect the values, behaviour patterns of the masses...by affecting the values that are conducive to the large family" (Acting Director, Population Unit). Another respondent claimed that the campaign would "change attitudes by exploding myths associated with family planning....media has influenced people's attitudes and behaviour" (Executive Director, N.F.P.B.). The idea of the campaign being an enlightening social intervention was most clearly expressed by the Advertising Executive in charge of the campaign who maintained that it would "introduce new values where child rearing is concerned" and that since high fertility was caused by "a lack of knowledge about birth control plus old wives tales, (the campaign) would inform them (the audience) and effect change".

Inherent in these views are certain assumptions which are identifiable with those present in the dominant paradigm on the role of the media in development. The first of these is the expectation that the media can somehow magically create acceptance of new social values particularly those values which are expected to replace traditional ones. There is also a persistently uncritical view of information as being equated with the potential for effecting change. By extension the campaign is credited with the power of influencing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in direct proportion to the extent of publicity. The operative concern too with those expectations was obviously that of effects which by default neglected the crucial issues of the audience and its particular characteristics affecting reception of the campaign.
Conclusion

This chapter has examined both the implicit and explicit levels of expectations for the mass media as a tool in Jamaica's development and in restricting the country's population growth. An understanding of the latter level of expectations was arrived at through interviews with campaign planners as well as policymakers and the former level was deciphered through a semiotic analysis of the campaign's commercials.

The semiotic deconstruction of the commercials revealed an ideological configuration regarding the relationship between fertility and social and material success. The campaign established a social ideal to be aspired to in the characterisation of Bev Brown who has mothered two children and who has, as a result, achieved social and economic prosperity. By contrast Judy Smith represents the culture bound individual who needs to change her values regarding fertility in order to achieve Brown's success. Smith is presented as impoverished and also responsible for her fate as a result of having four children.

It was argued that the ideology of the campaign's mythic structure legitimized middle class values and revered them as guidelines for success and happiness. The position was also taken that the belief system inherent in the campaign defined the media as an actor in the creation of a climate for change by propagating new fertility related values which are favourable to modernisation and development. It was stated that this role for the media, implied by the campaign's ideological stance betrays the influence of the modernisation paradigm of development communication.

This view on the expected role of the media and the campaign was substantiated through interviews with the campaign planners and policymakers. A majority of the views and opinions expressed in the interviews maintained that the media and the media campaign are capable of creating changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. These assumptions were
labelled as identifiable with those present in the modernisation paradigm on development communication. A second perception on the role of the media and the campaign expressed in the interviews adhered closely to a social responsibility theory about the position of the media in society.

What emerged as a recurring assumption in the interviews was an unquestioning acceptance that the media can "do the job". There was a consequent action before thought evident in the lack of thorough and realistic conceptualisation of the campaign and its expectations. This has been a predominant characteristic of conventional approaches to mass communication and perceptions on the role of the media in the modernisation paradigm. What now remains to be evaluated is just how the advertising campaign’s meaning and ideology, together with its perceived role in effecting developmental based change, have actually fulfilled expectations among the target group.
CHAPTER 8

IS "TWO BETTER THAN TOO MANY?": A REINTERPRETATION OF THE CAMPAIGNS MESSAGE FROM THE AUDIENCE'S PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

From an examination of the campaign at a conceptual and theoretical level which sought to identify implicit and explicit assumptions about the role of the media in development and expectations for the campaign, the discussion now turns to the campaign's success among the audience in delivering the message of replacement fertility. Analyses in the previous chapter highlighted both the intentions of policy-makers and advertising executives in terms of the message that was to be purveyed as well as the universe of meaning that was encoded in the actual message of the advertising campaign. The objective of this chapter is to catalogue the various messages decoded by the audience in order to assess the pervasiveness of perception of the "Two Child Family" theme. Attention will also be directed towards features internal to the campaign design which may have impinged on its efficacy in spreading the replacement fertility message.

The Audience

As a preface to these objectives on the agenda for discussion it is instructive first of all to take a fairly detailed look at relevant demographic details of the audience. Policy makers and organisers of the campaign had consistently defined the audience, in both the interview scenario and documents and briefs, as "women in the fertile age range of 15-49 years of age."

However, an examination of the audience according to age groups as well as urban and rural location, educational levels, occupation, union status and parity is informative for several reasons. Firstly, many of these demographic characteristics will affect not only fertility behaviour, the object of the campaigns influence, but will also bear a direct or indirect association with patterns of media use. The obvious importance of the latter point being that the media were the mechanism selected to spread the campaign's message. The demographic profile that therefore follows provides significantly more
information, critical to an understanding of the target audience, than the one dimensional definition of "women in the fertile age range of 15-49 years of age" used by the organisers of the campaign.

Such a perception of the target group has the effect of defining it, apart from age groups, as a homogenous mass of people who are similar in ideas, beliefs, values, behaviours and material circumstances. It is a view which also tends to depersonalise and instead objectify the audience, thereby in a theoretical sense rendering it passive, inert and unconstrained by social ties and other influencing factors. The emerging image of the target group as an aggregate of undefined individuals strikingly resembles perceptions of citizens described in early mass society theories1 which guided traditional thinking on media effects.

A second important aspect of the failure to recognise the heterogeneity of the audience and which in fact functions as a corollary for media use is the implied notion that all people can be reached at the same time, with the same message and the desired effect will be the same. The mechanistic stimulus - response model inherent in this notion of media influence is closely aligned with the hypodermic model of communication which to a large measure informed early communication campaigns, including family planning campaigns, as well as assumptions on the role of the media in development in the dominant paradigm.

The differentiations within the audience created by the recognition of variables other than age assume relevance and importance because, as previously suggested, it is these very variables2 which will influence the target group’s fertility - the object of the desired social change. When the audience is conceptualised and defined in terms of these variables the

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1 There is an extensive literature on mass society theory for example Mills 1951, 1956; Kornhauser 1959, 1968; Bramson 1961; Bell 1961; Giner 1976).

(Footnotes 2 and 3 appear on the following page).

2 Chapter 5 discussed the influence of the socioeconomic variables union status, education and employment on fertility. Research by Lightbourne (1984) has shown how parity affects ideal and expected family size norms. The influence of urbanisation and rural location on fertility has been documented by Hawthorn (1970) and the United Nations (1983). As the Research Design (Appendix 1) points out the influence of economic status was controlled for in the survey design.
emerging profile is not simply a sterile demographic picture. Instead the audience is contextualised within the framework of those very social and cultural factors which affect the norms and behaviour that the media intervention seeks to address. The audience is therefore not abstracted from its socio-cultural environment but instead, its characterisation is approached critically in the sense that it is evaluated and given identity in terms of those underlying structures or phenomena, distilled here into variables, which help to organise and influence fertility behaviour.

The failure to define the audience beyond the level of "women in the fertile age range of 15–49 years of age", appears as a serious omission for another crucial reason. Research on mass media campaigns has consistently stressed the importance of a carefully defined audience if campaigns are to successfully realise their objectives (Grunig 1989; McGuire 1989, 1985; Eagly 1981; Wells 1975). A major premise of these researches is that communication campaigns will seldom be effective if they are directed to a mass audience, instead campaigns will be most effective if they are designed for specially selected segments or sub groups to avoid unfocussed campaign efforts.

A foundational argument for the recognition of the need to carefully identify audience sub groups is the fact, proved by previous research, that the extent to which a message or information is remembered or has an impact depends on whether this message or information is perceived as personally relevant by the audience (Mendelsohn 1973; Grunig 1989; Atkin et al 1989). The evaluation of the Asian Mother and Baby campaign by Dickinson, Khan and Rocheran (1989) identified the failure of campaign planners to take account of this fact to explain, at least in part, the campaign's lack of impact.

As a consequence of audiences being more inclined to respond to information or messages perceived as personally relevant, this particular group will require different communication strategies and tactics from groups who may be

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3 In recent years, communication scholars representing diverse perspectives have called for new alternative approaches to audience research - Murdock (1989), Rakow (1989), Dervin (1989). While there are differences among these scholars on important details they agree on the need to focus on ways of defining how personal behaviours are linked to the social structures they live in and the messages they attend to.
initially indifferent to the message or information. The fundamental implication of this is the recurring theme of the need for campaign planners to realise that their targets do not represent a monolithic mass.

To extrapolate from these research findings one wonders how personally relevant a "Two Child Family" campaign would be to an audience defined solely as "women in the fertile age range of 15-49 years of age." Undoubtedly the breadth of this age group would include for example women who were already grandmothers, women with more than 2 children already and women who decided to cease child-bearing. Although by virtue of their fertility status the replacement fertility message is clearly irrelevant to them personally, the matriarchal household structure common in Jamaica and which was discussed in Chapter 5, does suggest the probability that these family ties could act as an important interpersonal link in spreading the campaign message. Obviously however, the nature of the message would have to be modified to render it more relevant to their particular fertility status.

As a consequence of this and the ensuing variations identified within the target group and its fertility trends, challenging questions are raised on the efficacy of the message of the media campaign as well as the media strategy itself in terms of their appropriateness to the target group, the media behaviour and information needs of the various sub groups. These are some of the issues to be pursued in the chapter which follows. The discussion of the audience will include an analysis of its composition according to the variables location, education, age, occupation, union status and parity. The independent variables location, education and age will be crosstabulated with each other to see the nature of the interrelationship between them in an effort to provide a more informed picture of the audience. These independent variables will also be used to give a more detailed analysis of the audience in crosstabulations with other variables such as union status and parity (ideal, actual and expected family sizes).
FERTILITY RELATED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

TABLE 1.1: FREQUENCY OF AGE GROUPS AND BREAKDOWN OF AGE GROUPS BY URBAN RURAL LOCATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUPS</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>(108)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>(155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>(111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>(83 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+ (TO 49)</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>(43 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>(500)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGE GROUPS OF SAMPLE BY URBAN/RURAL LOCATION*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35+</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* X²=11.78, DF=4, P<0.01

AS Table 1.1 illustrates, the majority of the women in the sample (31%) were in the age group 20-24. The age group with the second highest percentage (22.2%) of women was the 25-29 age range. This means that 74.8% of the sample consisted of women in the age rage 15-29.

The skewed nature of the sample to the age range, is however, seen as a distinct advantage to the objectives of the survey for the following reason. Women in the age range 15-29 are in their prime child bearing years, consequently the majority of births in Jamaica occur to women in this age group. In 1986, of the 52,513 total due births recorded, 80.02% were to women in the 15-29 age group. Age specific rates are as follows: 15-19=24.48%, 20-24=33.11%, 25-29=22.42%. 4
The above table also demonstrates that of the 74.8% of women who fell into the age range 15-29, the majority, 53.48% were rural and 46.52% were urban. Although the implication is that the rural sample was younger the overall difference between the cumulative percentages is small and the biggest difference in age groups occurs between the 15-19 year old. A total of 26.4% women or approximately 1 out of every four women in the rural sub sample belonged to the 15-19 age group whereas only 16.8% of the urban sample belonged to this age group. In both urban and rural samples, the modal age group was the 20-24 year olds.

Occupation:

**TABLE 1.2: FREQUENCY OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factory Worker</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>(43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Worker</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>(112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higglering (vending)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>(9 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Worker</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>(173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Girl</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>(500)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>UNEMPLOYMENT %</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>UNEMPLOYMENT %</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 Yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>UNEMPLOYMENT %</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 10 response categories identified for the question on occupation, the category with the significantly highest response was for unemployed women. The statistic recorded was 34.6% with 48.6% of women in this group being urban and the remaining 51.4% rural.

This unemployment percentage was slightly higher than the percentage of 29.5%^ recorded as the national statistic for female unemployment in the Jamaican labour force. The higher unemployment rate among the survey sample may be accounted for to some degree by the fact that 21.6% of the women interviewed, or approximately 1 out of every 5 women were pregnant. Many of these women were in advanced states of pregnancy thus

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curtailing the possibility of full-time employment.

In general, the female unemployment rate tends to be variable although slight improvement has taken place in the past decade. Their unemployment rate fell during the past 10 years from 35% to 30% but the percentage of total jobs held by them has remained virtually unchanged at 40%.

In both urban and rural samples, the majority of unemployed women occurred within the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups. Overall unemployment rates for these two age groups were 28.9% and 32.9% respectively. The high rates of unemployment among the younger age groups means that among a principal age range targeted by the campaign (15-29) the cumulative unemployment rate was 37.17%. The implication of these high unemployment rates among women in prime child bearing years is obvious given the known association between female employment and decreased fertility discussed in Chapter 5. However, given the fact that some of these women would be pregnant, it is difficult to assess as Chapter 5 pointed out in which direction the relationship between fertility and unemployment goes i.e are women unemployed because of pregnancy or have they opted for pregnancy because of unemployment. There was a trend in both urban and rural sub-samples for the percent unemployed to decrease as age increased. The lowest level of unemployment recorded was 6.9% which was for the 35+ age group.

**Education Levels**

Only 10 women - 2% of the entire sample - had a total of only 1 to 3 years of education. Fifty four percent (54%) of women had between 4 to 6 years of primary education and 44% had between 7 and 9 years. The urban/rural differences in the latter two instances were insignificant.

A significant percentage of women - 28.4% - or approximately 1 out of every 4 women did not have any secondary education. Of the remaining 71.6% of women who had secondary education, the majority of women 40.4% had 4-5 years of secondary schooling and 31.2% had 1-3 years. The significance of this data on the relatively low educational level prevailing among the survey sample resides primarily in the fact,

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6 Source: P. Knight "What's happening in Female Employment." People Vol. 1 No. 3 Feb. 1990 P.5
discussed in Chapter 5 that cross cultural as well as Jamaican studies have pointed to a decline in fertility as education increases. Conversely, lower educational standards have been proved to be associated with higher fertility.
### TABLE 1.4: EDUCATIONAL STATUS BY URBAN/RURAL LOCATION AND AGE GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No Secondary Education</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs Secondary Education</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs Secondary Education</th>
<th>Base N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Controlled for:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>22.4 (56)</td>
<td>37.6 (94)</td>
<td>40 (100)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>34.4 (86)</td>
<td>24.8 (62)</td>
<td>40.8 (102)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28.4 (142)</td>
<td>31.2 (156)</td>
<td>40.4 (202)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>22.2 (24)</td>
<td>35.2 (38)</td>
<td>42.6 (46)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>20.6 (32)</td>
<td>32.3 (50)</td>
<td>47.1 (73)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>26.1 (29)</td>
<td>25.2 (28)</td>
<td>48.6 (54)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>36.1 (30)</td>
<td>36.1 (30)</td>
<td>27.7 (23)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>62.8 (27)</td>
<td>23.3 (10)</td>
<td>14.0 (6)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28.4 (142)</td>
<td>31.2 (156)</td>
<td>40.4 (202)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* \( \chi^2 = 12.92, \text{df} = 2, p > 0.001 \)

** Kendall's tau = -0.17, p > 0.001 **

As the above table demonstrates, location had a statistically significant relationship with the level of education of the sample. In general urban women were "better educated" i.e. had more years of secondary education than their rural counterparts.

Among urban women, 22.4% of the sample or approximately 1 out of every 5 women did not have secondary education. In contrast to this, more rural women, 34.4% or approximately 1 out of every 3 women did not have secondary schooling. Urban women again emerged as better educated among those with 1-3 years of secondary school while for those women with 4-5 years rural women have the slightly higher percentage of 40.8% compared with 40% among urban women.

The respective age groups of the sample were negatively correlated with educational levels. A clear pattern was evident
in the data. Older women were more likely not to have as many years of education as the younger women. Among the 30-34 years old 1 out of every 3 women had either no secondary education or 1-3 years of secondary schooling. In the 35+ age range the educational standard was even lower. The majority of women in this age group (62.8%) had no secondary education at all, only approximately 1 out of every 4 women (23.3%) had 1-3 years of secondary schooling and a minority (14.0%) had 4-5 years. In sharp contrast to this, in all the other age groups, 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 the greater percentages of women (42.6, 47.1 and 48.6 respectively) had either 4 or 5 years of secondary education.

**Union Status**

As Chapter 5 illustrates, several different types of sexual unions prevail among the Jamaican population and that these in turn constitute a variable influencing fertility trends. It is therefore instructive to look at union status patterns among the sample. Union status also becomes important in discussions, in the following chapters on contraceptive use as it is precisely those women in sexual unions who are at risk of pregnancy.

A total of 92% of the women interviewed were currently in a union. Only a minority of women 12% were married, 39.8% were living together with their partner and 40.2% were engaged in visiting unions.
Union Status

TABLE 1.5 UNION STATUS BY URBAN/RURAL LOCATION EDUCATION AND AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Consensual Unions I.E.</th>
<th>Visiting Unions</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Not in Union</th>
<th>Base N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLING FOR:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>41.6 (104)</td>
<td>39.2 (98)</td>
<td>11.6 (29)</td>
<td>7.6 (19)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>38.0 (95)</td>
<td>41.2 (103)</td>
<td>12.4 (31)</td>
<td>8.4 (21)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39.8 (199)</td>
<td>40.2 (201)</td>
<td>12.0 (60)</td>
<td>8.0 (40)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>42.3 (60)</td>
<td>33.8 (48)</td>
<td>15.5 (22)</td>
<td>8.5 (12)</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>45.5 (71)</td>
<td>40.4 (63)</td>
<td>7.1 (11)</td>
<td>7.1 (11)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>33.7 (68)</td>
<td>44.6 (90)</td>
<td>13.4 (27)</td>
<td>8.4 (17)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39.8 (199)</td>
<td>40.2 (201)</td>
<td>12.0 (60)</td>
<td>8.0 (40)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>25.9 (28)</td>
<td>57.4 (62)</td>
<td>2.8 (3)</td>
<td>13.9 (15)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>45.2 (70)</td>
<td>40.6 (63)</td>
<td>9.0 (14)</td>
<td>5.2 (8)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>53.2 (59)</td>
<td>33.3 (37)</td>
<td>8.1 (9)</td>
<td>5.4 (6)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>36.1 (30)</td>
<td>33.7 (28)</td>
<td>21.7 (18)</td>
<td>8.4 (7)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>27.9 (12)</td>
<td>25.6 (11)</td>
<td>37.2 (16)</td>
<td>9.3 (4)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39.8 (199)</td>
<td>40.2 (201)</td>
<td>12.0 (60)</td>
<td>8.0 (40)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5 shows that the differences in unions status according to urban and rural location were minor. However,
where educational levels of union types are concerned a trend was evident. In examining just those women who were in "consensual" or "visiting" unions firstly, the table indicates that the majority of women with no secondary education (42.3%) and with only 1-3 years of secondary education (45.5%) were involved in consensual unions. The tendency therefore was for those women with fewer years of education to more likely be in this type of union. In contrast to this pattern however, among women with either 4-5 years of secondary education, the majority (44.6%) were more likely to be living apart from their partners. Because of the established relationship between age and education among the survey sample it is most probable that the interrelationship between these variables has influenced the distribution of union types. Given the nature of the data however, it was not possible to assess this relationship and the cumulative contribution of these variables to the observed pattern.

The majority of married women was found among those members of the sample with no secondary education. This is probably explained by the fact that as Table 1.5 shows, marriage was more prevalent among the higher age groups and these groups of women according to Table 1.4 were more likely to have the highest percentage of women without secondary education.

Where union status according to age was concerned, in the youngest age group the tendency was for the majority of women, 37.4%, to live away from their partners while only 25.9% were in a consensual union. The situation changed considerably though for those women in the next two age groups (20-24 and 25-29) which are also the prime child bearing years. In these groups the majority of women were in consensual unions thereby increasing exposure to risk of pregnancy. As Lightbourne & Singh (1982) indicate too this union type now exhibits the highest fertility.

A difference in distribution of union type did exist however, between the two age groups. In the 20-24 group, the differences in percentages between consensual and visiting unions was fairly narrow, 45.2% and 40.6% respectively. However, in the 25-29 age group there was an obvious shift towards consensual unions as the majority - 53.2% were involved in this union type compared with 33.3% who were living apart from their partners.
Another change in union distribution was obvious for the last two age groups. Here again, women in consensual unions constituted the majority but a much smaller one though probably because of the increased percentages of those women who were in marital unions. As the table shows, generally the percentages of married women increased as age increased — among the 15-19 year olds only a minority of 2.8% women were married but among the 35+ age range, the greater percentage of women (37.2%) were in a marital union. This trend in age towards marital union is evidence of the late entry into marriage noted among sociological research discussed in Chapter 5.
## Ideal, Actual and Expected Family Sizes

### TABLE 1.6: FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF IDEAL, ACTUAL AND EXPECTED FAMILY SIZES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDEAL FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>500</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>500</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPECTED FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>500</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 1.7: IDEAL AND EXPECTED FAMILY SIZE BY PARITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARITY*</th>
<th>IDEAL FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.5 (1)</td>
<td>72.3 (47)</td>
<td>12.3 (8)</td>
<td>13.8 (9)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7 (3)</td>
<td>61.3 (68)</td>
<td>14.4 (16)</td>
<td>21.6 (24)</td>
<td>111</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9 (1)</td>
<td>56.6 (64)</td>
<td>17.7 (20)</td>
<td>24.8 (28)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5 (1)</td>
<td>38.5 (25)</td>
<td>27.7 (18)</td>
<td>32.3 (21)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>1.2 (1)</td>
<td>37.3 (31)</td>
<td>12.0 (10)</td>
<td>49.4 (41)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1.6 (7)</td>
<td>53.8 (235)</td>
<td>16.5 (72)</td>
<td>28.1 (123)</td>
<td>437</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARITY**</th>
<th>EXPECTED FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>17.4 (12)</td>
<td>65.2 (45)</td>
<td>13.0 (9)</td>
<td>4.3 (3)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>22.7 (27)</td>
<td>57.1 (68)</td>
<td>8.4 (10)</td>
<td>11.8 (14)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56.0 (70)</td>
<td>32.8 (41)</td>
<td>11.2 (14)</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67.1 (47)</td>
<td>32.9 (23)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0 (107)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>37.3 (183)</td>
<td>21.8(107)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kendall's tau=.20, P<0.001  
** Kendall's tau=.64, P<0.001

Ideal, actual and expected numbers of children are a useful indication of fertility behaviour among the sample group. The relevance and importance of this information is self-evident in the fact that it is precisely family size norms and prevailing fertility behaviour patterns which constitute the object of social change. The frequencies provided in Table 1.6 indicate the family size norms current among the sample group and the closer examination of the relationship between these family size norms and the variables of location, education and age in Tables 1.8-1.10 provide an insight into any patterns or variations in fertility that may exist. 7

---

7 Since the emphasis of the campaign was on the advantages of the two child family compared with family sizes of 4 children, the following analysis will concentrate on the distribution of family sizes of 2 and 4 or more than 4 children.
The most noticeable finding in the data presenting frequencies of family size norms is the discrepancy between ideal number of children and actual and expected numbers of children. Although the greater percentage (47%) of women stated that 2 was the ideal number of children to have, only 25.2% of women actually had 2 children and a higher percentage - 36.8% - expected to have 2. Family sizes of 4 or more children were perceived as the second highest ideal family size by 24.6% of the women. A total of 22% of the sample actually had 4 or more children but 32.2% expected to have this amount. These data indicate a trend where women expressing ideal family sizes of 2 were not likely to achieve this either in terms of actual and expected number of children and women who stated 4 or more children as the ideal were nearer to achieving this in actual family size terms and were also more likely to exceed this number in expected fertility.

Undoubtedly many factors cumulatively influence the disparity between ideal and actual and expected family sizes but it is obvious from Table 1.7 that the numbers of children women had was one of the determinants of ideal numbers of children. The correlation between actual numbers of children and ideal family sizes was evident in the trend that as parity increased the percentages of women who specified 2 as the ideal decreased. Among women who already had 2 children, 56.6% claimed 2 was the ideal, however, the percentages stating 2 dropped to 37.3% among women with 4 or more offspring. The ideal of 2 was actually highest (72.3%) among women with no children at all. The percentages of women specifying 4 or more children also tended to increase as parity increased - only 21.6% of women who had 1 child said 4 or more was the ideal whereas 49.4% of women who actually had 4 or more children stated this was the ideal number to have.

A similar trend was obvious in the relationship between expected numbers of children and actual family sizes. The highest percentage of women expecting to have 2 children (65.2%) was found among nulle parus women. Only 56.0% or slightly more than half of the women who already had 2 children expected to have this amount at the end of their child-bearing career. Generally as parity increased so did the numbers of

---

8 In order to facilitate the statistical testing of the relationship between family size patterns and the various independent variables, the percentages responding "don't know" were excluded from the tables.
This tendency for parity to influence family size norms has been identified in demographic research conducted by Lightbourne (1984) in several Caribbean countries including Jamaica. A conclusion of the research was that the average number of children desired increased with each increase in family size and that parity was clearly the dominant variable in this relationship.

Several reasons have been forwarded to explain the correlation between the number of children living and the number of children desired or expected. Firstly, Lightbourne and MacDonald (1982) have identified what they term underestimation effects, which refer to a tendency of childless women and those with one or two children to systematically underestimate the number of children they will or expect to have. Secondly, as research by Lightbourne (1984:26) reports, where women go on child-bearing after they reach the parity where they want to stop having children, it may be that such women report their current family size as their desired or ideal one either to avoid implying that any of their children are unwanted or that they have failed as family planners. It may also be too that they have genuinely come to want the pregnancies that occurred after the stopping point was reached. Such revisions of desired or ideal family to conform with actual family size are commonly called rationalisation effects.
Family Size Patterns by Location, Education and Age

Table 1.8: Ideal Family Size by Location, Education, Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>2 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>3 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>4+ (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>(118)</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>(117)</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>(235)</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>1 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>2 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>3 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>4+ (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Yrs.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>(110)</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 Yrs.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>(235)</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Age***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>2 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>3 (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>4+ (%)</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>(87)</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>45.3</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>(235)</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Kendall’s tau = -.10, p<0.01**

*** Kendall’s tau = .19, p<0.001

The family sizes are being examined according to these select variables as a background to the discussion, based primarily on these variables, which is presented in the following chapter. This chapter will also offer a justification of why these variables were chosen.
TABLE 1.9: PARITY (ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE) BY LOCATION, EDUCATION, AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION*</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>8.8(22)</td>
<td>24.8 (62)</td>
<td>28.0 (70)</td>
<td>16.4(41)</td>
<td>22.0 (55)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>19.6(49)</td>
<td>23.6 (59)</td>
<td>22.4 (56)</td>
<td>12.4(31)</td>
<td>22.0 (55)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.2(71)</td>
<td>24.2(121)</td>
<td>25.2(126)</td>
<td>14.4(72)</td>
<td>22.0(110)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION**</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed</td>
<td>9.9(14)</td>
<td>16.2 (23)</td>
<td>19.0 (27)</td>
<td>16.2(23)</td>
<td>38.7 (55)</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Yrs.</td>
<td>14.7(23)</td>
<td>19.2 (30)</td>
<td>26.9 (42)</td>
<td>16.0(25)</td>
<td>23.1 (36)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 Yrs.</td>
<td>16.8(34)</td>
<td>33.7 (68)</td>
<td>28.2 (57)</td>
<td>11.9(24)</td>
<td>9.4 (19)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.2(71)</td>
<td>24.2(121)</td>
<td>25.2(126)</td>
<td>14.4(72)</td>
<td>22.0(110)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE***</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>43.5(47)</td>
<td>38.0 (41)</td>
<td>16.7 (18)</td>
<td>1.9 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>9.7(15)</td>
<td>32.9 (51)</td>
<td>36.1 (56)</td>
<td>14.2(22)</td>
<td>7.1 (11)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>6.3 (7)</td>
<td>15.3 (17)</td>
<td>30.6 (34)</td>
<td>18.0(20)</td>
<td>29.7 (33)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>2.4 (2)</td>
<td>12.0 (10)</td>
<td>18.1 (15)</td>
<td>25.3(21)</td>
<td>42.2 (35)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.7 (2)</td>
<td>7.0 (3)</td>
<td>16.3 (7)</td>
<td>72.1 (31)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.2(17)</td>
<td>24.2(121)</td>
<td>25.2(126)</td>
<td>14.4(72)</td>
<td>22.0(110)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2=13.28$, d.f=4, p<0.009
** Kendall's tau=-.26, p<0.001
*** Kendall's tau= .53, p<0.001
TABLE 1.10: EXPECTED FAMILY SIZE BY LOCATION, EDUCATION, AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>4+</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>8.9 (22)</td>
<td>36.2 (89)</td>
<td>23.2 (57)</td>
<td>31.7 (78)</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>7.0 (17)</td>
<td>38.9 (95)</td>
<td>20.1 (49)</td>
<td>34.0 (83)</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>37.6 (184)</td>
<td>21.6 (106)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION**</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs.</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs.</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs.</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs.</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs.</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs.</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs.</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs.</th>
<th>1-3 Yrs.</th>
<th>4-5 Yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>5.1 (7)</td>
<td>35.3 (55)</td>
<td>23.4 (32)</td>
<td>31.4 (49)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>37.6 (184)</td>
<td>21.6 (106)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>8.3 (13)</td>
<td>9.6 (19)</td>
<td>20.4 (28)</td>
<td>25.0 (39)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>37.6 (184)</td>
<td>21.6 (106)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>9.6 (19)</td>
<td>37.6 (184)</td>
<td>21.6 (106)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE***</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>15.2 (16)</td>
<td>43.1 (66)</td>
<td>33.9 (37)</td>
<td>13.4 (11)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>80.0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>8.5 (13)</td>
<td>29.4 (45)</td>
<td>22.9 (25)</td>
<td>22.0 (18)</td>
<td>14.6 (6)</td>
<td>80.0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>2.8 (3)</td>
<td>33.9 (37)</td>
<td>22.0 (18)</td>
<td>78.0 (32)</td>
<td>10.0 (1)</td>
<td>80.0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>7.3 (6)</td>
<td>13.4 (11)</td>
<td>22.0 (18)</td>
<td>78.0 (32)</td>
<td>10.0 (1)</td>
<td>80.0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>4.9 (2)</td>
<td>14.6 (6)</td>
<td>78.0 (32)</td>
<td>10.0 (1)</td>
<td>80.0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8.0 (39)</td>
<td>37.6 (184)</td>
<td>21.6 (106)</td>
<td>32.9 (161)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Kendall’s tau = -.25, p<0.001
*** Kendall’s tau = .40, p<0.001

Location

The differences between urban and rural estimates of ideal numbers of children were relatively minor. The general trend for both groups of women was for the greater percentages (53.2% of urban and 54.4% of rural women) to specify 2 children as the ideal number and then 4 or 4+ as the next ideal number (29.3% and 27.0% respectively).

There was a statistically significant relationship between location and actual family size. Urban women were more likely to have 2 children - 28.0% had 2 compared with 22.4% among rural women and an equal percentage of urban and rural women (22.0%) had 4 or more children. On the other hand rural women were more likely to have no children, 19.6% or nearly 1 out of every 5 rural women were childless compared with only 8.8% of urban women. This is most probably a consequence of the
fact that the rural sub-sample was younger - a total of 26.4% women or approximately 1 out of every 4 women in the rural sub sample belonged to the 15-19 age group which automatically limited the possibility of high parity.

Where expected family size was concerned, rural women were more likely to expect 2 children (38.9%) than their urban counterparts (36.2%) however, this data must be seen in the light of the fact that the rural sub sample consisted of younger women who were more likely to be childless or have one or two children. As the previously discussed research by Lightbourne and MacDonald (1984) pointed out, women of this fertility status will systematically underestimate the number of children they will expect to have. Rural women however, were more likely to expect 4 or more children, 34.0% or approximately 1 out of every 3 women claimed this was their expected family size compared with 31.7% of urban women.

Education

This variable was consistently negatively correlated with ideal, actual and expected family sizes. The general trend was that as education increased the percentages of women specifying family sizes above 2 decreased.

As regards ideal family size, as the number of years of education increased the percentage of women seeing 2 children as the ideal number increased. Women perceiving 2 as the ideal number of children increased from 43.2% among women with no secondary education to 54.6% and 59.5% among women with 1-3 years and 4-5 years of secondary education respectively. The tendency towards lower percentages for family sizes of 2 recorded among women with no secondary education is probably accounted for to some degree by the fact that women with this level of education were also more likely to be in the older age groups and - have higher parity. As Table 1.7 illustrates higher parity was associated with higher ideal family sizes.

The actual numbers of children that women in the sample had were again negatively correlated with education. The greater percentage of women with no secondary education (38.7%) had 4+ children and only 19.0% had 2. The percentage of women with the family size of 4+ dropped to 23.1% among women with 1-3 years of secondary schooling - 26.9% of women at this level had only 2 children. Only a minority of women, 9.4% had 4 or 4+
children among the sample with the highest level of secondary schooling. By contrast 33.7% or approximately 1 out of every 3 of these women had 1 child and 28.2% had 2 children. This trend must be seen in the light of the fact that women with the maximum years of secondary education were more likely to be in the youngest three age groups. Their younger age would therefore act as a constraint on high fertility.

Another trend evident in the Table on actual family size was for the numbers of childless women to increase as education increased. Nulliparous females increased in the three educational levels from 9.9% to 14.7% and finally to 16.8% respectively. This most likely is partly as a result of the above mentioned tendency for women at this highest educational level to be younger.

A parallel trend in family size was evident for expected numbers of children. Among women with no secondary education the greater percentage by far - 51.1% - expected to have 4+ children and 20.4% expected to have 2. As education increased to the next level, the percentage expecting 4+ children dropped to 31.4% and the greater percentage in this group - 35.3% expected to have 2 children. In the sub sample of women having 4-5 years of secondary education, the majority of women, 51.3% said that they expected to have 2 children and only 21.3% or approximately 1 out of 5 women expected to have 4+ children. Similarly to the case of actual family size, the higher expected parity among women with no secondary education may be accounted for to some degree by their older age.

Age

Age was consistently positively correlated with increasing numbers of ideal, actual and expected family sizes. This was distinctly reflected in the pattern evident on ideal family size according to the different age groups. The younger age groups (15-19, 20-24) exhibited a distinct preference for smaller families. A majority of 71.7% and 60.0% in the respective age groups said that 2 children was the ideal number to have.

In contrast, among the remaining 3 age groups (25-29, 30-34, 35+) the percentages of women specifying 2 as the ideal number of children declined from 43.4% to 37.5% and finally to 33.3% respectively. As this occurred the number of women
specifying 4+ children increased by higher percentages compared with the percentage difference recorded for the two younger age groups. Among the two younger age groups for example, 17.2% and 19.3% respectively stated 4+ children as the ideal number. On the other hand, among the three older age groups 36.4%, 45.3% and 43.3% specified 4+ children. Given the already established relationship that actual numbers of children have on ideal family sizes it is most likely that the higher parity among the older age groups influenced their ideal family sizes in favour of 4 or more children.

The emerging picture is that younger women - those below 25 saw 2 children as the ideal whereas women in the older age groups decreasing saw 2 as the ideal and were more likely to specify 4+ children. This finding among older women was also evident in the corresponding data analyses of women with no secondary education. Given the previously noted fact that older women were also more likely not to have secondary education it is difficult to assess just how much each of these independent variables contributed to the pattern observed.

As expected, as age increased so did the actual number of children that women had. As Table 1.9 demonstrates, in the younger age groups the greater percentages among the 15-19 year olds had either no children (43.5%) or 1 child (38.0%) and among the 20-24 year olds 32.9% had 1 child and 36.1% had 2 children. However, in the older age groups, 30-34 and 35+, the numbers having 2 children dropped considerably to 18.1% and 7.0% respectively, and the greater percentage of women had 4 or more children. Among the five age groups, the respective percentages of women having 4+ children increased as follows: 0%, 7.1%, 29.7%, 42.2 and finally 72.1%. A corresponding decline in the percentages of women having 2 children was obvious as age increased from a high of 36.1% in the 20-24 age range to a low of 7% in the 35+ age group.

Expected family size followed a similar trend to actual numbers of children among the sample. Among the 15-19 and 20-24 year olds the majority of women 64.8% and 43.1% respectively stated that they expected to have only 2 children. However, from age 25 upwards an increasing percentage of women stated that they expected to have 4 or more children. As the Table 1.10 illustrates, the percentage of women increased quite significantly from 40.4% in the 25-29 year olds to 57.3% in the 30-34 age group and eventually to 78.0% among the 35+ year
Summary

The findings on ideal, actual and expected family sizes can be summarised as follows. Both urban and rural women were more likely to specify 2 children as the ideal number to have but urban women were slightly more likely to have stated 4+ children as the ideal. This trend however, must be viewed in relation to the fact that urban women constituted the majority of women in the two older age groups where the concentration of family sizes consisting of 4+ children was greatest. Given the correlation between parity and ideal family size, it is probably that what Lightbourne (1984) terms rationalisation effects accounted for the higher percentage of urban women specifying family sizes of 4 or more than 4 children as the ideal which would be in line with their current family size.

Urban women were also more likely than their rural counterparts to actually have 1 or 2 children. This is consistent with research findings by Stycos & Back (1964), Roberts & Sinclair (1978) and Lightbourne (1984) which demonstrated the overall higher fertility of rural women. This tendency was also evident in the higher percentage of rural women to expect to have 4 or more than 4 children.

Rural women however, were more likely to state that they expected to have 2 children. This trend must be interpreted in the light of the fact that approximately 1 out of every 4 rural women were in the 15-19 age group and this age range of women were more likely to have no children or only 1. As research by Lightbourne & MacDonald (1982) pointed out childless women or those with 1 or 2 children tend to systematically underestimate the number of children they will ultimately have. Another factor to be considered too is that only if one is prepared to assume that reproductive expectations are fixed quite early could these results be given much credibility. As recent beginners in their reproductive careers it is more probable that these younger women had incompletely formulated ideas about how many children they would have.

Education was consistently negatively correlated with family size and as the level of education increased the percentages of women specifying family sizes above 2 tended to decrease. This research finding is in line with research
discussed in chapter 5, by Tekse (1967), Roberts (1975) and Whittaker (1980) which all point to a decline in fertility as education increased.

Age was positively correlated with increasing numbers of ideal, actual and expected family sizes. It was also pointed out that a similar pattern in the data was evident for older women and women with no secondary education i.e. they both tended towards higher family sizes. Because of the previously observed fact that older women were less likely to have secondary education it is difficult to assess the contribution of each of these independent variables to the patterns observed in the data.
Awareness of the "Two Child Family" Advertising Campaign and the Various Messages Received

Efforts to assess whether the women being interviewed had actually seen or heard the three replacement fertility campaigns posed certain considerations to the researcher. Firstly, the advertisements were run over a four year period (1983-1987) and the fieldwork was conducted two years after the last campaign had ceased, therefore relying solely on unprompted memory was not a viable option. One possibility was using the storyboards of each commercial designed by the Advertising Agency, however, when attempts were made to obtain them the researcher was informed that they had been thrown away. The final avenue seemed to be taking to the interviews a television and video recorder to play the television commercials, a tape recorder to play the radio advertisements and copies of the newspaper versions. The feasibility of this alternative was questioned however, by the pressing concern that many of the rural women in particular would most likely never have seen technological equipment like video or tape recorders. This fact had to be calculated into the interviewing scenario as a potential distraction but more so as a probable intimidating element making the interview appear contrived and more artificial. This would in turn act as a constraint to a free exchange in the interview.

It is in situations such as this that the wisdom of Western based survey research methodology fails and the researcher faces the tension between conceptions of social science research and the distinctiveness of the social world. The only recourse was a pragmatic inventiveness allowing for justifiable modifications of the method in order to achieve the desired end instead of allowing the method to dictate the research process. It was therefore decided to describe verbally to each of the 500 women interviewed, each of the three individual commercials inserting key lines of the dialogue and emphasising important visual cues in order to assist them recall the commercials. This approach was underlined by a consciousness of possible interviewer bias but a resolution of this issue was found in the recognition that as Hammersely and Atkinson (1983:15) point out the researcher is a part of the social world being studied and cannot avoid having an effect on the social phenomena under investigation. This is simply an existential fact. The question is therefore not whether the interviewer has an effect on the interviewing situation but how
this effect is negotiated.

From the response to this approach used in the pre-testing exercise its suitability to the aims of the survey was established and this method of prompting recall of the commercials was adopted in the survey. Generally, awareness of the three replacement fertility advertisements was high among the survey sample. This in itself is some measure of the efficacy of the mass media strategy used as a mechanism to purvey the "two child family" message. A total of 89.2% of the interviewees said they had heard or seen the first advertisement which was launched in May 1983 and ran for twelve months. A further 52.2% claimed to have seen or heard the second advertisement which was first aired in June 1984 but only ran at intervals during the ensuing twelve months because of financial problems. The final advertisement which ran, also for a twelve month period, from August 1986 was seen or heard by 73.2% of the sample interviewed. The point that the second advertisement ran for less time than the other two may to some measure account for the fact that it had the lowest percentage of awareness.
## Audience's Perception of the Campaign's Message

### TABLE 1.11: PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN WHO SAW AND MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM THE THREE REPLACEMENT FERTILITY ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message</th>
<th>AD 1 % (N)</th>
<th>AD 2 % (N)</th>
<th>AD 3 % (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage seeing each advertisement</td>
<td>89.2 (412)</td>
<td>52.2 (261)</td>
<td>73.2 (366)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MESSAGES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Problems involved in having too many children</td>
<td>7.6 (34)</td>
<td>4.2 (11)</td>
<td>20.8 (76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Don’t have too many children – small families</td>
<td>16.8 (75)</td>
<td>8.8 (23)</td>
<td>12.0 (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Don’t have more children than you can afford</td>
<td>8.7 (39)</td>
<td>8.4 (22)</td>
<td>10.9 (40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Plan your family</td>
<td>22.2 (99)</td>
<td>10.0 (26)</td>
<td>12.8 (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Have only 2 children</td>
<td>19.7 (88)</td>
<td>10.7 (28)</td>
<td>11.5 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Use contraceptives</td>
<td>3.8 (17)</td>
<td>4.2 (11)</td>
<td>3.3 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Have a job/adequate support for your children</td>
<td>.2 (1)</td>
<td>.8 (2)</td>
<td>.5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Get to know your baby’s father well</td>
<td>.4 (2)</td>
<td>11.9 (31)</td>
<td>.8 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Problems created by an unreliable/selfish irresponsible father</td>
<td>.2 (1)</td>
<td>5.4 (14)</td>
<td>1.1 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Make use of educational opportunities</td>
<td>3.1 (14)</td>
<td>1.5 (4)</td>
<td>.8 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Establish a career before child-bearing</td>
<td>1.1 (5)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>.3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Be independent/don’t depend on a man</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1.9 (5)</td>
<td>.5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Space your children</td>
<td>.2 (1)</td>
<td>1.1 (3)</td>
<td>1.4 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Protect your self against pregnancy</td>
<td>1.1 (5)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>.3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Not sure</td>
<td>7.0 (31)</td>
<td>16.9 (44)</td>
<td>12.6 (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Other</td>
<td>9.6 (43)</td>
<td>13.6 (36)</td>
<td>9.8 (36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.11 provides a menu of the various responses recorded when the women interviewed were asked what they thought the main message or messages were in each of the advertisements. In the inventory of messages recorded two conspicuous features warrant special attention. Firstly, many of these messages, although characterised by their own nuance in meaning, relate to the fundamental theme of family planning. The following seven (out of a total of fourteen) messages can all be related to the primary concept of family planning: "Problems involved in having too many children"; "Don't have too many children/have small families"; "Don't have more children than you can afford"; "Plan your family"; "Use contraceptives"; "Space your children" and "Protect yourself against pregnancy".

The second most striking feature of the data is the very low perception of the "two child family" theme. For the first advertisement, 19.7% of the women who claimed to have either seen or heard it said that they had perceived the main message of the campaign. The women were more likely to say that the message was that they should plan their families - 22.2% responded that this was the message they received. Only 8.7% actually specified that the message informed them of the economic difficulties created by having more children than they could afford.

Interpretation of the second advertisement was the vaguest of all three commercials. The highest percentage of women - 16.9% - claimed they were not sure what the principal message of the advertisement was and a further 13.4% decoded a meaning that was essentially so extraneous to the other main messages recorded that they were grouped in the "other" category. It is difficult to pinpoint clearly the exact reasons why interpretation of the particular commercial was so nebulous but it may very well be related to some degree to the facts that firstly, this commercial had the shortest time on air which could have affected consolidation of the message. Secondly, this was the least straight forward thematically of all the commercials since it introduced the additional concept of the irresponsible father and included a few scenes from the first commercial which may have complicated the story line. Only 10.7% of the women who saw/heard this commercial identified the "two child family" theme and 10% stated that it meant that women should plan their families. A total of 8.4%
said the commercial reminded them to only have the number of children they could afford.

Approximately 1 out of every five women (20.8%) who saw or heard the third advertisement said that the message conveyed was one that highlighted the problems involved in having too many children. The idea of planning your family was perceived by 12.8% of the women and only 11.5% identified the replacement fertility theme. A further 10.9% mentioned that the commercial was mainly saying that they should limit the numbers of children they have to what they can afford.

What is overwhelmingly obvious from the data on the messages decoded from each advertisement is that despite the efficacy of the media strategy in creating awareness of the campaign, the campaign fell short of its primary objective of delivering the message of replacement fertility. This fundamental message appears to have been blurred by the wider context of family planning messages perceived by the target group.

In a bid to establish whether any particular features of the audience were identifiable with the perception of the replacement fertility message an investigative analysis was done to assess whether any of the audiences socio-demographic variables were associated with the message. Of all the variables under examination age emerged as the most significant variable associated with the reception of the message.
As Table 1.12 demonstrates age was negatively correlated with perception of the campaign theme and generally as age increased the likelihood of women recognising the message decreased. The greatest concentration of women identifying the "two child family" message occurred among the two youngest age groups where approximately 1 in 3 women (32.4%) and 1 in 4 women (25.8%) respectively said they recognised the message. In the latter three age groups only 21.6%, 15.7% and 18.6 identified the theme.

The significance of this data resides in its suggestion that younger women, in their prime child-bearing years and who were more likely to have only 1 or 2 children, were also more likely to perceive the "two child family" theme. This fact is consistent with communication research findings that the extent to which individuals remember or respond to information is affected by the relevance of that information to their own circumstances (Mendelsohn 1973; Grunig 1989; Atkin et al 1989; Dickinson et al 1989). Given the early initiation into sexual intercourse and motherhood discussed in chapter 5, at the time the first commercial was aired even the youngest age group interviewed would already have been confronting or would be on the verge of confronting their sexuality and the consequent issues of their own fertility and motherhood roles. From this perspective, the relevance of the replacement fertility commercials even among females who were in early adolescence when the campaign began is placed in a socio-cultural context.
This raises the additional question too whether the age range targeted for the campaign should be in fact be lowered to accommodate this group of women.
Significant issues are raised by the fact that so very few women specified that they received the message "Don't have more children than you can afford" which essentially stressed the difficult economic consequences that having children can create. The failure to perceive on a more global level the theme of economic liabilities imposed by high parity is important for two reasons.

Firstly, when policy-makers and campaign planners were interviewed about the intended message there was a clear consensus not only about the replacement fertility theme but this was consistently qualified with the viewpoint that the "two child family" was by definition a sine qua non for material and economic well being. Secondly, the Semiotic analysis of the three advertisements revealed that the latent structure of the message was not only constructed upon this theme but an important constituent of the message was the converse: that too many children i.e. four created a life situation of insufficiency and want, in other words poverty and deprivation. These notions translate into a social value of children, characteristically among the working class, as defined economic liabilities creating material and economic inadequacy, specifically when four (or more than four) exist in a family.

But just how realistic is this ascribed value of children? How does the target group itself value and esteem its own offspring? These questions are not purely academic for if a response to these questions reveals that there is no concurrence in the system of values, pertaining to this issue, between source and receiver then the aberrant decoding of the campaign's message may be put in an illuminating perspective.

When the women interviewed were queried about the value and benefit of children in their lives, although 69.6% and 53.0% respectively claimed that "children were blessings from God" and that they provided "love, happiness and pleasure", a total of 60% or 6 out of every 10 women said that children are

Women were asked the question with prompted alternatives "What are the benefits to you in having children?" At this stage the interview evolved into a discussion as most women spoke about child-bearing and rearing with a confidence and authority which indicated that it was a subject that they were comfortable with and knew well.
an assurance of economic support in old age and 40% said that children provide assistance both domestically and otherwise when they grow old enough. It is important to note that the practical and positive economic value of children ranked higher in percentage terms than the 38.8% recorded for women who claimed that children were valuable for their company. What clearly emerges from this discussion is that among the target group for the campaign, children were not solely valued for the emotional rewards they bring but they were distinctly defined and culturally determined as economic contributors and primary actors within the domestic scenario. In short, they were seen as providing a crucial support system in the network of family relationships and the expectations, not least of which were economic, that were placed upon them.

As concerns the relationship between family size and economic insufficiency for essential wants, the interviewees were asked whether having 4 or more than 4 children was a reason why many women were poor i.e. were in a perpetual state of economic inadequacy and lack of basic needs. The majority of 65.8% said no, 30% responded affirmatively and 4.2% were not sure. In a further exploration of this issue an analysis was done of the responses to this question among women who had either less than 4 children or had 4 and more than 4 children. They were also questioned on what they perceived as the reasons why many women were experiencing situations of deprivation. Tables 1.13 and 1.14 reveal the responses to these questions.
TABLE 1.13: DO YOU THINK THAT HAVING FOUR OR MORE THAN FOUR CHILDREN IS A REASON WHY MANY WOMEN ARE POOR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WOMEN WITH 1-3 CHILDREN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOMEN WITH 4 OR MORE THAN FOUR CHILDREN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 1.14: IF YOU DO NOT THINK THAT HAVING FOUR OR MORE THAN FOUR CHILDREN IS A REASON WHY MANY WOMEN ARE POOR WHAT DO YOU THINK THEN ARE THE REASONS FOR THEIR POVERTY?

| PERCENT |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| WOMEN WITH 1-3 CHILDREN N=319 |
| Don’t Know | 14.7 |
| Unemployment | 36.7 |
| Born into Poverty | 25.2 |
| No education | 27.5 |
| Other | 11.9 |
| WOMEN WITH 4 OR MORE CHILDREN N=110 |
| Don’t know | 25.4 |
| Unemployment | 38.8 |
| Born into Poverty | 29.9 |
| No Education | 22.4 |
| Other | 4.5 |

* Because of multiple responses to the question the percentages do not add up to 100%.

For both groups of women, those with less than 4 and 4 or more children, a majority of 68.3% and 60.9% respectively said that an actual family size of 4 or more children was not a reason causing insufficiency and need. However, Table 1.13 indicates that the majority was slightly lower among women with 4 or more children and they were also more likely to respond affirmatively - 33.6% or approximately 1 out of every 3 of these women said yes.

As regards the reasons interviewees attributed to the poverty experienced by many women, both groups were more likely to specify unemployment as the reason - 36.7% and 38.8% respectively gave this as the cause. Women with less than 4 children were more likely to see poverty as a situation that women were born into and condemned to live in (29.9%).
The apparent failure among the target group to perceive a casual association between high parity and poverty finds some rationalisation in the fluid patterns of childrearing discussed in chapter 5. The informal system among working class Jamaican women allowing for children to be cared for by either kindred or friends constitutes a significant supportive network bonded by reciprocities in accommodation, food sharing, child care and fostering, Powell, Hewitt, Wooming (1978), Powell (1982). This does not deny the fact that financial concerns figure in matters of childrearing, the very existence of these coping mechanisms indicate that provisions of care and other crucial resources are very much an issue. What this does suggest however, is that the economic as well as other considerations of child-bearing are mitigated by a clearly defined supportive cultural nexus. A woman may therefore fulfil societal expectations to enter into her reproductive career with the tacit awareness of supportive alternatives if the need arises for financial or other reasons. Such is the premium on reproductive motivations that the culture has endogenously organised strategies to absorb what other political and social groups have labelled surplus fertility.

It would be reasonable to expect to find evidence of a perceived link among the target group between high parity and poverty in the reasons behind child abandonment in Jamaica. In a study of the circumstances of potential abandoners in the maternity ward of a Jamaican hospital, Brodber (1974:23) concludes that "the apparent poverty of society available to some children... is not necessarily real." The writer reports that even seemingly destitute mothers asked the hospital's research unit to approach their relatives and friends in an effort to find shelter for them and the child indicating that shelter and care were perceived to exist. In relating these particular circumstances to abandonment Brodber makes the point that it is not the issue of destitution, but rather probable disappointment with the preferred source of help, the baby's father, which produces a state of mind predisposing mothers to abandon their child. There are however, as Brodber points out, genuine cases of social destitution which make abandonment the only solution.

The irreducible sociological fact remains that the social value of children and the supportive strategies available question several key assumptions of the replacement fertility initiative. Firstly, the cultural reality challenges the idea
that parity sizes of 4 and above are indeed excess fertility and that secondly, these parity levels act as prime economic liabilities capable of creating situations of poverty.

In further support of this position it was quite evident from discussions with women of the survey sample that there was a clear cultural expectation placed upon motherhood. Women were asked with prompted alternatives "Why do you think it is a good thing for women to have children." At this stage the interview evolved into a dialogue, the researcher was asked repeatedly if she too had children and was chastised on several occasions for being childless. This was a clear example of the social pressure brought to bear on women to begin child-bearing. A total of 22% or approximately 1 out of every 5 women claimed that a woman must "have out her lot", that is, she is predestined to have a certain amount of children and she must continue having children until she just ceases naturally. A further 38.5% said that child-bearing was proof of womanhood, in other words a rite de passage to the status of being socially recognised as a woman, 34.1% claimed that having children was evidence that a woman loved her partner and 37% said they were necessary because of the general assistance and economic support they provide. Only 19.2% of the women interviewed claimed that child-bearing is good because it is a natural part of life bringing joy and happiness.

Given the apparent value and cultural expectations placed on children and motherhood among the target group it was necessary to establish what these women thought about the concept of a two child family. When asked if they thought it was a good thing for a woman to have more than 2 children, the greater percentage of 48.2% responded affirmatively, 42.8% said no it was not good to have more than 2 children and 9% said they did not know.

What is of more significance and relevance however to the aims of the campaign initiative are the reasons why the 48.2% - almost half the sample of women were favourably disposed to families with more than 2 offspring. A total of 22.4% of this group of women said that the reason was simply the pleasures of having several children, 44.4% or almost half the group said that it was good to have more than 2 just in case something happens to one and 35.7% claimed that having several children meant more assistance and economic support.
These responses constructing a rationale for parity sizes above 2 are deeply rooted in the realities of certain socioeconomic factors whose individual and synergistic effects bear an undeniable influence on fertility decisions. Firstly, the target group's concerns about having several children "just in case something happens to one" assume greater significance in view of research findings of a 1990 World Health Organisation (WHO) report on "Health Conditions in the Americas". The report noted that in Jamaica, malnutrition and nutrition related diseases were among the leading causes of mortality and that the increased severity of the problem due to the economic recession in Jamaica was a matter of grave concern.

According to the WHO, a 1985 Health Status survey indicated that only 59 percent, slightly more than half of Jamaica's children under 5 years of age were of normal nutritional status. A total of 32 percent suffered grade 1 malnutrition; 6.9 percent grade II and 1 percent grade III which is the most severe form.

Further evidence of malnutrition among children under the age of 10 is provided by Fox and Ashley (1985) whose results from a 1985 survey indicate that 43.3% of Jamaican children were anaemic. In the Kingston Metropolitan Area, 61% of children had haemoglobin levels below the WHO standard Fox and Ashley (1985:22). The researchers conclude that many children go through a period of acute malnutrition and/or chronic under nutrition.

In relating this nutritional status to infant mortality the 1985 survey results also indicated that the non registration of deaths among children is a very real social problem. Infant death rates calculated from registered births and deaths was 13.0 per thousand in 1984, but Fox and Ashley suggest that this figure should be between 36% and 53% higher, that is, they estimate the true infant mortality rate to be between 17.9 and 19.9 per thousand. In addition they write:

"The impression of a decline in birth rate in recent years is not supported by the results of this survey... Tightening of the registration system in order to monitor..."

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The following data was published in a newspaper article summarising the report titled "Malnutrition - leading cause of death in Jamaican children" The Weekly Gleaner, Tuesday April 16, 1991 P.22.
births and deaths is essential. Without this, the implication on population structure and growth and family planning cannot be properly understood and program planning will be adversely affected (Fox and Ashley 1985: 33-34).

Opinions among the target group about having more than 2 children "in case something happens to one" can therefore be interpreted as valid concerns, at least in part, about the reality of infant mortality. This has far reaching implications for efforts at population control given the known biological and behavioural links between infant mortality and fertility (Bulatao 1984). Essentially the argument is one of an interplay between child and parental security. Where infant and child mortality is high, parents are unlikely to limit child-bearing. Parents want to be sure that a certain number of their offspring survive to adulthood. When parents are convinced that they will be cared for in their old age, the family size may be reduced. Generally, as the likelihood of infant and child survival improves, the parental motivation to have extra children as a guarantee against possible death diminishes. Research by Roberts and Sinclair (1978:139) among Jamaican women regarding the implications of infant mortality state there is a strong indication that family size is in some way associated with the level of mortality within the family. Having more children has also been shown to be a response to low perceived survival levels in Taiwan, China (Heer and Wu 1975; 1978) and Egypt (Rizk et al 1980).

The concern over restricting family sizes to 2 among the survey sample generated by fears of infant mortality have a crucial macro-level importance. Firstly, it challenges the very idea of the existence of surplus fertility given the implied need to compensate for a perceived threat to fertility levels grounded in the reality of significant infant mortality rates. Secondly, this apparent nexus between fertility decisions and infant mortality deflect attention away from the onus of control over fertility ascribed to the target group by the campaign and its planners and instead magnify the responsibility that certain socioeconomic factors have in influencing fertility behaviour.

Research by Pebley et al 1979 however, showed that perceived child survival chances seems to have little influence whether or not a woman desires to have additional children at any parity. The authors do note however, (pg 134) that conclusions must be drawn cautiously given the size and type of the sample.
The primacy of socioeconomic factors in reproductive motivations again features as pivotal to an understanding of the target group’s stated preference for parity levels above 2 because of the recurring reasons of economic support and assistance. To an arguable degree, this data, along with the previously discussed value and benefits of children and the expectations placed on motherhood, appear redundant in the light of the sociological facts discussed in chapter 5. These facts cumulatively defined a similar spectrum of cultural and socioeconomic elements involved in motherhood and child-bearing. In particular the economic utility of children, a prevalent theme among the women interviewed, has already been established by international studies as a crucial issue in child-bearing among the least affluent. Fawcett’s (1974) cross cultural study discussed in Chapter 3 documented data supporting this fact. Bulatao (1984:3) highlights the results of two small studies in Ghana where 60% of parents cited economic and practical help as the chief advantage of having children and even in somewhat more developed countries like Indonesia and the Philippines over 50% still cited this advantage.

In a further exploration of the economic dimension of fertility, research by development demographers (Caldwell 1982, 1978; Wasserstrom 1978; Folbre 1976) has demonstrated a relationship between modes of production and fertility. Many of these approaches are theoretically complex but the debates revolve around the simpler formulation of a demand for labour conditioned by the mode of production exerting a pressure on fertility to either decline or increase. As Folbre (1976:12) writes, "Social values bearing on family size reflect the underlying material factors and have arisen historically because of them". She argues that high fertility persists in many areas because it is economically advantageous to individual families. However, the family loses its integrity as a unit of production through rapid capitalist development as wage labour offers an alternative to family owned, rented or shared crop land. Caldwell (1980) argues in a similar vein and starts from the premise that people behave rationally and that reproductive behaviour in particular is economically rational. In his view there exists essentially two types of societies: one of stable high fertility where there is no net economic gain to the family from lowering fertility and the other society where economic factors imply the undesirability of childbearing. In both instances it is the mode of production of the society
which determines the perceived economic rationality of childbearing. Caldwell (1978) also points out that ultimately the changeover from precapitalist modes of production to capitalist or socialist modes of production will terminate the economic system that benefits from high fertility.

The merit of this approach warrants discussion. Firstly, the concept of the material basis of the society acting as an organising influence on fertility behaviour raises questions on the rationality of a 2 child family given the peculiarities of Jamaica’s economic history. The period of English colonialists in the island (1655-1962) which initiated the institution of slavery crystallised out a society based on a slave plantation mode of production until Emancipation in 1838. Thereafter, there emerged a capitalist mode of production and a coexistent independent peasant mode of production although the latter was ultimately subordinated by the former.

A sociological analysis of how the Jamaican lower class family has functioned within and adapted to the context of these systems has been offered by Patterson (1982). What would have been instructive for an understanding of the demographic feasibility of replacement fertility however, is how these economic systems have defined fertility trends at both synchronic and diachronic levels. To assume that parity levels of 2 are sufficient to constrain population to limits within which the economy can viably function is therefore based on the premise that the economic base or mode of production of the society can support or encourage this fertility level. Whether

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13 In a study of population and development in Mexico, Alba & Potter (1986) suggest that the explanation for the persistence of high fertility in Mexico lies with the particular policy initiatives that defined development during the 1940-70 period. They argue that the dualist development of Mexican agriculture did lead to large scale cultivation and production but it also allowed the accommodation of large proportions of a growing rural population on low level subsistence farming. In these cases the family formed the unit of production and therefore in this environment high fertility did not pose a threat to the family.

14 Beckford (1983:25-29) summaries the key factors in the conflict between plantation and peasantry as entrenchment of plantations on the best available land; inability of small peasant holdings to attract hired labour; limited access of peasant producers to capital and credit compared with plantations. In addition to its influence on peasant resource availability, the plantation also affects certain policy and institutional arrangements which impede development of the peasantry.
this can in fact be substantiated demographically has yet to be proved.

The relationship between the mode of production and fertility again bring into sharp focus the responsibility of economic structures that support fertility behaviour. The pervasiveness of these economic underpinnings have in effect become obscured by diagnoses of the perceived population problem as a problem of unconstrained and by implication constrainable fertility control at the individual level. By extension, the relationship between fertility and the economic base challenges the assumption of excess population where there is poverty or underdevelopment. It implies the necessity to move beyond narrow ideologies of birth control to sounder economic change designed to improve the material circumstances of the poor which will interactively influence fertility.

The complexities of Jamaica’s economic history have not only, as previously suggested, made indelible impressions on the evolution of the country’s material base. The iniquities of slavery as a socioeconomic institution initiated familial patterns that bear striking similarities to certain features inherent in contemporary lower class family structure. For the enslaved Africans, political power and continuity through membership in corporate groups was denied since they were cut off from the legitimizing forces and status of kinship and ancestral lineage. Even continuity through the nuclear family unit was thwarted by the emasculation of the male slave who was prevented from performing his role as father and husband and by the slave owner who had pre-emptive rights to the sexual services of a spouse.

Only the mother-child dyad, the minimum form of kinship could perpetuate a type of continuity through the generations of enslavement. This family form, underpinned by the independence of the Jamaican woman has persisted despite changing socioeconomic conditions, reinforced after slavery by the socio-ecological conditions of the modern capitalized plantation, the realities of peasant farming and the financial insecurities of ghetto life (Patterson 1982:138). To therefore ignore the historical heritage of the mother child relationship (which was evidenced in the lack of research) in attempts to change parity norms is to take an ahistorical view of the proposed social change attempted in encouraging a two child family. The historical context of the Jamaican family structure
can only be interpreted as pseudo history as long as the family is not understood as organically linked to and shaped by these historical forces. Social change at such an individualistic and personal plane, seeking to influence the pivot of historical continuity at the familial level, the mother child relationship, must be tempered by an understanding of and respect for its historical matrix if realistic expectations are to be established regarding the rationality of a two child family.

The nature of the relationship between socioeconomic, cultural and historical forces presented here must however, be qualified by a recognition of a recurring problematic in the social sciences: the level of causal generality employed in the analysis. The dynamic interplay of the above mentioned factors which, it is argued here cumulatively influence the desire for parity levels above two are essentially macrosociological in scope and application. To use them to explain everything microsociologically regarding fertility decisions is unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, such argumentation is fraught with an obvious determinism. Secondly, the fact that 42.8% of the sample dissented with the view that women should have more than two children is evidence of the lack of symmetry between the level of generality of the forces discussed here and the level of generality of the beliefs and views on parity examined.

Quite revealingly, many of the women who voiced disagreement with the idea of having more than two children spontaneously qualified their responses with comments such as "times are hard" or "sometimes it’s just you alone with the children". What these statements in essence imply are insecurity - at the economic level and in terms of male commitment both of which are inextricably linked. But on a deeper level these concerns about financial insecurity betray an apparent contradiction with the expressed value of children as economic assets and actors in the domestic scenario.

This contradiction however, has already been observed in sociological studies on fertility decision making and familial household structure. Brody’s (1974:118) study on contraceptive decisions among Jamaican women notes that although women wished children as insurance against old age, most were well aware of the economic pressures they bring without male support. Patterson (1982:158) corroborates this position by his
observations that no Jamaican working class woman values the role of being burdened with a matricentric household and all have a strong preference for a stable relationship with a responsible man. Brody (1974:119) accounts for the apparent contradiction in the views on child-bearing by what he terms a "psychocultural conflict built into the Jamaican woman because of the high value attached to a) the demonstration of fertility; b) maternal status ...." and the fact that "at the same time a) marriage remains the ideal b) women are conscious of the economic and personal disadvantage of raising children without paternal support and c) they have a marked tendency to distrust their male partners."

The complexity of the conflict between socioeconomic and cultural forces underpinning reproductive motivations and the concerns over economic and paternal support acting as at least a verbalized constraint on high parity among some members of the sample are crucial to an understanding of the viability of altering family size norms. But the adversarial relationship between these two forces influencing fertility decisions is more apparent than real. They share a common heritage, rooted in the multifarious societal forces that mediate fertility. It is precisely these sociologically operative forces and the dynamic balance between them, which through the lack of social scientific research, were neglected in both the understanding of the rationality of a two child family as well as the conceptualization of the campaign message.

One factor emerges as indisputable though among the data discussed here and which is supported by the available literature in chapter 5: the rationality of a two child family must be examined at the macro level, within the wider social and economic environment which conditions fertility decisions. The decontextualised normative statement that "two is better than too many" can only be a politically perpetuated myth, at least to the 48% of the survey sample, as long as there is no alternative to the economic assets of siblings and the cultural premium placed on children and mothering remains unchallenged by new avenues to social identity and status provided by such levers as education and employment.

What these facts collectively signify is that the message of the campaign, constructed as it was upon an ideology of children as economic liabilities and by extension family sizes of four offspring creating situations of poverty, was
underpinned by a value system alien to the world view of the audience. It is precisely this absence of consensus in value systems between source and receivers in the communication process which may have contributed in some measure to thwart perception of the campaign's fundamental theme i.e. limiting family size to two children.

The question therefore to be addressed, one which is prompted by the data discussed above, is how, given the guidelines on campaign design and execution, the message encoded and in particular the dimension relating to the economic consequences of child-bearing, could be in such contradiction to the audience's value system relating to this issue.

The Role of Pretesting and Research

The answer resides partly in the obvious fact that pretesting of each commercial, which is critical to campaign design, was either omitted or conducted in a suspect fashion. It was openly stated in the interview with the Advertising Executive responsible for the "Two Child Family" campaigns that only the first commercial was pretested. The pretesting was conducted by a market research company appointed by the Advertising Agency.

Only a very brief written report was actually available on the form and results of this pretesting exercise. Several features of the pretesting efforts however, cast doubt on the integrity of its function, discussed in chapter 2, in identifying strengths and weaknesses in campaign material done with the intention of revising and improving this material.

The first of these is the fact that the pretesting panel consisted of only eight(8) women. On methodological grounds one wonders how representative the views of eight women could be when the target group consisted of literally thousands of Jamaican women. The extremely narrow gamut of views obtained leading to the subsequent questionability of the exercise was in turn exacerbated by the dual facts that the women were all from urban areas and were in the 17-25 age range. This firstly, undermines credibility of the exercise on the grounds that the perceptions of rural women, who constituted approximately half of the target group, were excluded. Secondly, the representativeness of the panel was further called into
question since the age range for the campaign was specified as 15–49.

The methodological flaws of the pretesting attempts were one issue questioning its efforts but separate and apart from this, a crucial point was what was done or rather not done with the results. It was quite evident from the report that when the women were asked what messages they received from the radio, television and press productions of the first commercial, no one identified the replacement fertility theme, all the messages received were family planning related and some women said they did not understand anything at all.

That the pretesting venture was rendered a self defeating exercise apart from its methodological problems was made obvious by the fact that, despite the results concerning the messages received as well as those not received, the Advertising Executive claimed that only "a few minor words had to be changed." This in effect means that although the Advertising Agency was specifically commissioned to produce an advertising campaign which communicated the two child family message, the results of what the Agency termed a pre-test provided results indicating that the message had not been preceived yet the advertisement was nonetheless launched without significant changes. In addition to this too, the following two replacement fertility advertisements were never pre-tested.

While pretesting is no guarantee of the success of a particular campaign it can certainly contribute to a reduction in the possibility of misunderstanding by the audience thereby increasing the chance of an effective communication. Although part of the evaluation research process in the formative stages of campaign development, pretesting is essentially an audience research based activity. Thus, the meagre attempt at pretesting the first commercial and the failure to pretest the other two advertisements in essence means that the views and opinions of the audience, for whom the campaign was intended, were excluded at a crucial and formative stage of its development. This served in effect to reinforce the fact that the resulting campaign message, purveying as it did a message laden with values cohering into a specific ideology on children and their relationship with poverty, was strictly a product of the campaign planners. Translated into terms of the communication process underpinning the campaign, it was therefore self
evident that the campaign was source oriented, predicated upon
views and beliefs specific to the group conceptualizing the
campaign which in turn were directed towards the audience. In
certain respects the use of the word process to describe the
communicative element is a misnomer as process implies
dynamism. The model reflected in the campaign design from the
perspective of the conceptualization of the message, is if
anything static and top downwards oriented, reliant as it was
solely on the input of the source. In this sense the campaign
has replicated the conceptual and methodological inadequacies
of strategies based on the Modernisation school of
communication and its role in development.

However, the failure at pretesting as an audience
research based activity was symptomatic of a wider research
vacuum in which the campaign was conceived. When the
Advertising Executive was questioned about any evaluative
research that may have been done it was plain that no thorough,
investigative research of a sociological nature was done before
work on the campaign commenced. The wealth of anthropological
and sociological literature on fertility behaviour, the
culturally defined value of children and expectations placed on
motherhood were never consulted. Neither was any research
conducted on the target groups' opinions and attitudes towards
family size norms, the fundamental issue of both the campaign
and the desired social change. This information would have
provided a data base to which the campaign planners could have
responded rather than relying on their assumptions about what
the target group should be concerned with, and what issues the
message should be constructed upon.

The absence of research either at the formative stage of
the campaign or during the pretesting procedure in effect
created a media strategy that was source oriented rather than
client oriented failing to start with the target audience to
adequately define it and assess its opinions, views, needs and
motivations. The failure at adequate formative research of the
audience and pretesting of the message have through default
reinforced the ideology inherent in the campaign's message.
What was obviously required was a multidisciplinary approach to
the campaign initiative, relying on the inputs of disciplines
such as sociology and anthropology in order to provide a more
informed data base on the nature of the problem to be
addressed, that is, high fertility. The perceived problem of
high fertility, the object of social change, was therefore not
defined in terms of its socio-cultural origins but was instead abstracted from this context and defined within the narrow perspectives of the campaign planners.

In this sense, the replacement fertility advertising campaign has replicated the historical tendency of family planning campaigns discussed in Chapter 3 to remain divorced from sociological and anthropological research on the very issues that these campaigns address. In a similar vein, the unilinear, top-downwards oriented communication model intrinsic to the campaign is strikingly reminiscent of the nature of the communicative element in family planning campaigns discussed in Chapter 3 which were directed by the modernisation school of development.

In a certain sense the nature of the campaign's communication model appears as an inevitability given the omnipresence of this model within the mass media structures discussed in Chapter 6. In this regard, the mass media campaign, with its panoply of broadcast material and printed matter providing no scope for dialogue with the audience, is microcosmic of the very mass media structures themselves. This begs the question whether the mass media were the most appropriate communication strategy to employ or at least to be relied on given the cultural and personal sensitivity of fertility. By virtue of the unidirectional character of the communication strategy the concept of replacement fertility appears as an imposition of government policy disguised as an initiative in the national interest by the illusive facade of democratic access generated by the mass media structures.

But far from being conspiratorial the phenomenon betrays at a more general level the atheoretical approach to the communication strategy. There was obviously no clarity among the campaign planners about the nature of communication and how it may be efficaciously used. Although it is clear that there was agreement on the priority of communication through the media, the relationship of these modalities of communication to communication as a social process was left unexplored. This implies the view that each form of communication is "sui generis" a unique phenomenon with no organic linkages with other processes and structures in society. Probably as a result of this atheoretical approach the mass media strategy fell into the trap where communication was reified and endowed with capacities for intervening and motivating a social response on
its own.

The Role of Interpersonal Communication

In a continued pursuit of the theme of how certain principles in the campaign's design and execution may have influenced its efficacy, the discussion now turns to the role played by interpersonal communication. As Chapter 2 highlighted, communication scholars have long realised that reliance on mass media strategies is usually insufficient to realise their desired objectives. As early as 1949, D. Cartwright who wrote "Principles of Mass Persuasion", stressed the importance of combining interpersonal communication with mass media strategies. The history of public information campaigns has also shown (e.g. Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1948; Doob, 1950; Wallack, 1981) mass mediated efforts on their own are unlikely to induce any meaningful change.

The emerging consensus among media campaign planners is that campaigns are best complemented by a network of supportive layers and infrastructure. Interpersonal communication represents one of the crucial elements in this process and family planning communication research (Berelson & Freedman 1964, Takeshita 1966, Freedman & Takeshita 1969) has established the increased effectiveness of media campaigns when combined with interpersonal communication15. Other supportive strategies in the field of population communication discussed in Chapter 3 include for example, the use of traditional/folk media, the promotion of population education in schools and the use of field worker staff. Given the established effectiveness of these approaches, this section aims to assess firstly, any attempts through interpersonal communication to support the "two child family" theme and secondly, any programmatic functions of the N.F.P.B. designed to complement the campaign's message.

Women in the survey sample were asked whether anyone had encouraged them to have only 2 children. A total 55.8% said yes and 44.2% said no. Those women who had responded affirmatively were questioned about the sources encouraging them: the majority of 53% said family members, 33.3% said their partner,

15Beckman(1983) refers to research data which shows that members of the extended family, friends and neighbours, peer groups as well as medical and paramedical personnel can facilitate family planning decisions.
25.4% claimed friends were responsible and a minority of 21.5% said that it was medical staff at the health centre who encouraged them to have only 2 children.

The significant percentage of women claiming to have been told not to exceed parity levels of 2 point to an obvious climate of opinion regarding this family size norm. Whether this is directly attributable to the influence of the mass media campaign could not be ascertained through the survey research method. It is highly probable however, that the campaign made a contribution to some degree in the promotion of this family size norm. It is important to note however, that the majority of primary sources cited were either relatives or friends. They have therefore been identified as crucial modes of personal influence who could quite possibly be incorporated in future campaign efforts.16

It is significant that the percentage of women citing medical staff as the source encouraging them to have only 2 children was the lowest recorded. It would stand to reason that given the close contact that these medical personnel have with women either in family planning or general clinics, that they would have been used by campaign planners as important sources of influence to support the replacement fertility message. This was not the case and was symptomatic of an overall failure to co-ordinate specific supportive programmes designed to complement the theme of the two child family.

Instead the concept appears to have been promoted in a fairly ad hoc manner through existing programmes. A significant number of these programmes were funded through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Subsequent to the signing of the Population and Family Planning Services Project No. 532-0096 in April 1982, USAID provided financial support for 13 sub-projects.17 Of this number six were specifically related to family planning counselling, family life education and the distribution of contraceptives. However,

16 The concept of personal influence has acquired an important research position in the study of mass media effects. The notion of personal influence is quite simply how "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population." (Lazarsfeld et al 1944:151). The original evidence for these ideas was presented in a study of the 1940 US Presidential Election Campaign and by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955). Research by Rosario(1971) has identified some attributes of the opinion leader in the area of family planning.
these projects were aimed mainly at adolescents, and the principle thrust was towards encouraging teenagers to delay becoming sexually active and to postpone child-bearing until they have completed their education. The stress was on developing a healthy self-concept and life coping skills. For those who were already sexually active or were parents they were encouraged to use contraceptives. The strong preventative element was certainly commendable given the high rate of adolescent fertility. However, the wisdom of the consequent de-emphasis of the two child concept is questionable as these very adolescents would undoubtedly enter into child-rearing at some stage in their fertile years. Although still adolescents it is precisely at this crucial stage in their development that the foundations for the small family norm should be laid.

Through its network of training and motivational seminars held in various organisations and schools a singular emphasis was placed on family life education and family planning. In an interview with the N.F.P.B.’s Director for Information, Education and Communication, it was openly stated that the two child concept was not introduced as an explicit topic for discussion but instead remained on the periphery as an implicit aspect of the N.F.P.B.’s goals whenever these were highlighted.

The only exception to this were the motivational seminars held on an ad hoc basis, for principals of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. The purpose of these seminars was to encourage principles to support the Family Life Education Programme implemented by the Ministry of Education with the N.F.P.B.’s support. Among other issues, the N.F.P.B. tried to assist the principals to develop an appreciation for current population trends and their implications. During the period 1983-1987 a total of 578 schools were actually part of a project where population education was infused into various subjects on the school curriculum under the Family Life Education Programme. Here again neither the two child family theme nor the National Population Policy were stressed. The emphasis was instead placed on development of a self concept and contraceptive information. The project terminated in 1987 when the funding provided by USAID expired.

17 This was a direct result of the issuance of a USAID Policy Paper on Population Assistance in 1982. The main thrust of US population assistance is support for voluntary family planning programmes. Further details of the policy are found in "United States Population Assistance Policy" - Population and Development Review 9, No. 1 March 1983:185-192.
Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion of the campaign message from the audience's perspective based on the findings of a social survey. It has also examined features of the campaign design which may have influenced the realisation of its primary goal. The findings of the survey revealed that although there was a high awareness of the three commercials used in the campaign the perception of the two child theme was so low that the campaign was considered a failure in this regard.

It was argued that a contributing factor to the campaign's failure at delivering the replacement fertility theme was the different values attached to children and the two child family which were presented in the campaign images and the value ascribed to children by the target audience. The viability of a two child family was brought into question based on several facts. The first of these was the failure, among a significant proportion of the sample, to agree with the idea of having only two children. This was rationalised on the basis of realistic fears of infant mortality. These fears also questioned the implied notion of the campaign of surplus fertility given the expressed need among the target group to compensate for a perceived threat to fertility by the broader socioeconomic environment. Secondly, it was argued that despite the known association in development demography between the mode of production and fertility, there was no evidence to suggest whether Jamaica's economic base could encourage a two child family. Thirdly, the argument was presented that the approach to the introduction of replacement fertility ignored the historical heritage of the mother child relationship. This has resulted in an ahistorical view of the proposed social change attempted in encouraging the two child family.

The chapter also investigated features of the campaign design which could have contributed to its failure in delivering the two child message. It pointed to an absence of research either at the formative stage of the campaign or during the pretesting procedures. This in effect created a media strategy that was source oriented rather than client oriented. The failure at formative research and pretesting have through default reinforced the ideology inherent in the campaign's message.
Research on the campaign's design also showed that there were no supportive strategies designed to complement the two child theme. However, the survey revealed that there was interpersonal support for the campaign's theme among the target group primarily from relatives and friends. This pointed to a climate of opinion on the replacement fertility theme which the campaign most probably contributed to. However, the failure at providing specific, co-ordinated supportive programmes designed to complement the two child family theme has meant that the entire intervention has been media centred. This most probably is a contributory cause to the low perception level of the replacement fertility message. The general atheoretical approach to the campaign and its media centredness is important for two reasons. Firstly, it brings into question its integrity as a mechanism of social intervention and secondly, these features are also characteristic of communication strategies based on the discredited modernisation paradigm. These points however, relate specifically to the production side of the campaign. Other factors assessing the integrity and efficacy of the campaign relate to those variables, peculiar to the audience which mediate the campaign's influence. It is to an examination of these audience characteristics that the discussion now turns.
CHAPTER 9

THE EFFICACY OF THE "TWO CHILD FAMILY" MASS MEDIA CAMPAIGN AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the "Two Child Family" media campaign to assess its efficacy in delivering the message of replacement fertility. It also raised the issue of the different perception among the target group about the relationship between family size and poverty compared with the ideological definition of this relationship forming the pivot of the campaign message. It was stressed that the divergence in the messages decoded by the audience compared with those messages intended and these actually encoded, could be responsible to some degree for the lack of recognition of the campaign's theme and this discrepancy in views could have been pre-empted by adequate evaluative research.

This chapter further develops the theme of the value and necessity of evaluative audience research, an essential component of the internal design of campaigns discussed in Chapter 2. Through the use of evaluative questions this chapter presents the results of audience based research which had two main objectives. The research sought to identify firstly, those factors specific to the audience's mass media use, which would impinge on the success of the campaign in purveying the message of replacement fertility. Secondly, the research addressed such issues among the audience as: the sources of information on family planning among the target group and the credibility of these sources; levels of contraceptive use as well as information needs on contraception among the target group. These were seen as important issues relevant to the audience which raised questions on the appropriateness of the approach adopted to introduce replacement fertility.

The fact that the campaign was conceived and birthed in a research vacuum was obvious from interviews with policy makers and campaign planners alike and in this respect it suffered from a common malady of many family
planning communication campaigns diagnosed and discussed in Chapter 3. The missing dimension of audience research is in itself an indictment of the campaign and in one sense condemns it without the necessity of trial of its efficacy. However, in attempting to offset the deficit created by the absence of evaluative audience research, the following analysis is presented as a critical interpretation of the audience and how several features inherent to it ultimately mediate the efficacy of the campaign.

The survey research findings reported here are not offered as an end product but rather they are viewed as posing essential questions about the audience in relation to the media strategy. Bourdieu (1984:18) formulates the essence of this relationship when he writes "One has understood nothing by establishing the existence of a correlation between an 'independent' variable and a 'dependent' variable .... the statistical relationship, however precisely it can be determined numerically, remains a pure datum devoid of meaning" until it is interpreted.

The critical interpretation of the audience is approached at two levels. The first involves a detailed examination, in the previous chapter, of the audience in terms of those socio-cultural factors, distilled into variables which influence and determine fertility behaviour. The second level of analysis, which is offered below, attempts to reveal how some of these forces contextualise and act as organising structures for certain audience activities and behaviours which will have a bearing on the efficacy of the media campaign. The nexus between these two levels is by implication the sociological environment of the audience. Any number of the variables employed in the discussion of the audience in the previous chapter could be used in the second level of the analysis which follows. However, the three independent variables location, education and age will be the primary variables informing the following discussion.

Their selection for use is not purely arbitrary. Location was used not only because the survey was conducted on an urban/rural basis but because of the known fact discussed in the previous chapter that
fertility tends to be higher in the rural areas. It was therefore hypothesized that there would also be other differences between the populations which could affect the campaign's efficacy. Education was employed because of its known influence on fertility and because it was hypothesized that it would also influence media behaviour. Age was selected since it was used to originally define the target group for the campaign and the wide spectrum of age groups represented would suggest a corresponding range of views and behaviours affecting the campaign's efficacy. Economic status was not singled out as a specific independent variable in the analysis as this audience feature was controlled for in the research design.

Use of the Mass Media

One of the principal objectives of evaluative research, specifically formative evaluative research, would have been to establish whether a media campaign was an appropriate strategy to reach the target population based on media use patterns. In fact it was obvious from interviews with those involved directly and indirectly with the campaign that it was just assumed that the media could do the job. The following investigation on media use patterns according to location, education and age, attempts to find out just how true this assumption was.\(^1\) In order to assess frequency, people were classified as "daily" users and if they used a medium for either 4 to 6 days weekly or 3 days per week and less, they were categorised as "often" and "not often" users respectively. It is of interest to note that many of the women, particularly in the rural areas, who said they read a newspaper or watched television on a "not often" basis, claimed to do so sometimes once or twice a month.

\(^1\) The analysis was based on crosstabulations of the predicator variables location, education, age and the dependent variables of frequency and hours of media use. It was neither prudent nor meaningful to use three way crosstabulation tables (i.e. controlling for two predicator variables) as the resulting small cell counts thwarted significance testing and could not provide anything but speculative results.
### Table 2.1: Presence of Radio and Television Sets in Households According to Urban Rural Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RADIO</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>94.8 (237)</td>
<td>5.2 (13)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>94.8 (237)</td>
<td>5.2 (13)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94.8 (474)</td>
<td>5.2 (26)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELEVISION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>72.8 (182)</td>
<td>27.2 (68)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>50.8 (127)</td>
<td>49.2 (123)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61.8 (309)</td>
<td>38.2 (191)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2$=25.62, d.f.=1, p<.001

### Table 2.2: Frequency of Radio Listenership, Television Viewing and Newspaper Readership by Urban/Rural Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Daily (%)</th>
<th>Often (%)</th>
<th>Not Often (%)</th>
<th>Never (%)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RADIO</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>56.4 (141)</td>
<td>29.6 (74)</td>
<td>14.0 (35)</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>51.2 (128)</td>
<td>28.8 (72)</td>
<td>20.0 (50)</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53.8 (269)</td>
<td>29.2 (146)</td>
<td>17.0 (85)</td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELEVISION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>43.6 (109)</td>
<td>19.6 (49)</td>
<td>35.2 (88)</td>
<td>1.6 (4)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>28.8 (72)</td>
<td>13.2 (33)</td>
<td>53.6 (134)</td>
<td>4.4 (11)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36.2 (181)</td>
<td>16.4 (82)</td>
<td>44.4 (222)</td>
<td>3.0 (15)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEWSPAPERS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>20.0 (50)</td>
<td>30.0 (75)</td>
<td>45.2 (113)</td>
<td>4.8 (12)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>5.2 (13)</td>
<td>22.0 (55)</td>
<td>64.8 (162)</td>
<td>8.0 (20)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.6 (63)</td>
<td>26.0 (130)</td>
<td>55.0 (275)</td>
<td>6.4 (32)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2$=35.53, d.f.=3, p<.001
From Tables 2.1 and 2.2 several very important points emerge - that radio was the most ubiquitous of all the mass media, its frequency of daily listenership was the highest and that television and newspaper use were essentially urban centred media activities. The distribution of mass media use along urban/rural lines conforms closely with UNESCO's (1980:61) observations that in developing countries, radio is the only medium that can be truly labelled "mass" and by contrast newspaper circulation is low and the reach of television is limited (p.59).

**RADIO**

Only a minority of households in both urban and rural areas - 5.2% in both instances - did not possess a radio. As expected with such high percentages of homes with radios, "daily" listenership was practiced by approximately half of the sample - 53.8%, 29.2% listened "often" and only 17% listened on a "not often" basis. The majority in "daily" listenership was reflected in both urban and rural sub-samples. The combined totals for both "daily" and "often" listenership made radio the most frequently used medium.

The overall urban/rural differences in frequency of radio listenership among the target group were marginal. The main difference occurring was that rural women were more likely to listen to radio on a "not often" basis i.e. 1-3 days per week or less, and for urban women to listen daily.

**TELEVISION**

The presence of television sets in homes according to location was statistically significant and there was a definite tendency for more urban households to possess television sets. For the entire sample as a whole, more than half the homes, 61.8% or approximately 6 out of every 10 homes had a television set however, the clear majority of urban homes, 72.8%, had televisions while only half of the rural homes, 50.8% had sets. The lower percentage of televisions among the rural population is symptomatic of the poorer economic status of rural peoples documented in the Survey of Living Conditions.
It is also reflective of the disparities in access to electricity - the S.L.C. (pg.21) notes that electrification is lowest in rural areas, reaching slightly more than half of the population (53.6%).

Where frequency of television viewing was concerned, the tendency was for women to either watch television on a "daily" (36.2%) or "not often" (44.4%) basis with only a minority (16.4%) watching on an "often" (i.e. 4-6 days weekly) basis. This may well be due to the fact, noted previously, that only 6 out of every 10 homes had television sets which could explain why women watched television daily or they did so irregularly, the assumption being that actually having a television would facilitate frequent viewing and the lack of a set would constrain regular viewing. What is significant however, is the fact that given the number of households with television sets the numbers watching on a daily basis were not commensurate but were instead lower: 61.8% of women said they had televisions at home but only 36.2% said they watched daily. This could not be explained by data generated by the survey.

It was obvious from patterns of frequency that television viewing was principally an urban oriented media activity probably due to the fact that the concentration of sets was higher in urban areas. Among urban viewers, the greater percentage (43.6%) watched television daily, whereas daily watching among the rural sample only amounted to 28.8%. Among the rural sample, more than half (53.6%) watched television for only 1-3 days weekly or less. More rural than urban women never watched television - 4.0% of rural women compared with 1.6% of urban women.

NEWSPAPERS

Generally, newspaper readership was low. Only a minority of 12.6% claimed they read a newspaper "daily" and 26%, or approximately 1 out of every 4 women said they read a paper "often". Slightly more than half the survey sample - 55.0% - or approximately 1 out of every 2 women said that they read a newspaper on a "not often" basis.

There was a statistically significant relationship
between frequency of newspaper readership and urban/rural location. Urban women were more likely to read a newspaper "daily" (20%) or "often" (30%). By contrast only 5.2% of rural women read a newspaper "daily" and 22% read on an "often" basis. Rural women were also more likely never to read the newspaper or read on a "not often" basis. This may be due to the higher poverty levels among the rural sample which may have prohibited the purchase or frequent purchase of newspapers. It could well be too that the circulation of newspapers was not as efficient in the rural areas as it was in the urban areas although there is no available data on circulation along urban/rural lines to substantiate this. The influence of educational level must also be calculated into an understanding of the lower readership levels among rural women. It will be remembered that Chapter 8 demonstrated that the rural sample did not have as many years of secondary education as the urban sample. It may well be that this lower educational standard among rural women proved a constraining factor in newspaper readership.

The general conclusion on mass media use according to urban/rural location is that whereas radio listenership patterns were fairly similar for urban and rural women, urban women had the highest overall frequency of television viewing and newspaper readership. In the latter instance, the relationship between readership and location was statistically significant.
Use of the Media According to Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.3: FREQUENCY OF RADIO LISTENERSHIP TELEVISION VIEWING AND NEWSPAPER READERSHIP BY EDUCATIONAL STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAILY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RADIO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELEVISION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEWSPAPER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2 = 10.90$, d.f. = 4, $p < .02$

** Kendalls Tau-c = .09, $p < .001$

*** Kendalls Tau-c = .09, $p < .001$

Women in the survey sample were grouped educationally into those who did not have any secondary education at all, women who had received one to three years of secondary schooling and those who had attended a secondary school for either four or five years. Education had a statistically significant relationship with the use of each of the mass media and in fact this relationship attained the level of correlation for television viewing and newspaper readership.
RADIO

Where frequency of radio listenership was concerned, at all educational levels, the percentages listening to radio declined consistently from the "daily" to "not often" categories. However, for women with no secondary education, the tendency was for daily listenership to be at its lowest (less than half the sub-sample) and listenership on a "not often" basis to be at its highest in the table. By contrast, among women at both levels of secondary education, more than half of the sub-samples listened to radio daily. The pattern of the data does in fact suggest that the more educated women, i.e. women with secondary education were more likely to listen to the radio on a "daily" basis. This may in fact explain in part why "daily" listening was highest among urban women as they were generally "better educated" i.e. had more years of secondary education than their rural counterparts. Overall, frequency of radio listenership was highest among women with the highest number of years of secondary education. The combined percentage of "daily" and "often" listenership amounted to 87.2% among this group - the highest combined total in the table.

TELEVISION

At all educational levels the majority of women watching television did so on a "not often" basis. The correlation between television viewing and educational level was evidenced in the fact that women with no secondary education were most likely to be the most infrequent of television watchers and as education increased so did the frequency of viewing on a "daily" and "often" basis.

The majority of women with no secondary education - 57.0% only watched television on a "not often" basis. This educational group also constituted the majority of those women who "never" watched television. Daily viewing of T.V. was only practised by approximately 1 out of every 4 women with no secondary education. The infrequent viewing patterns among women in this group must be related to the fact that in the sample as a whole women with no secondary education were more likely to be rural and rural women were less likely than urban women to have television sets at home, a factor which would facilitate more frequent viewing. It is therefore difficult to asses
the independent contribution of the level of education and the implications of urban/rural location to the observed trend.

Television viewing patterns were fairly similar between the two groups of women with secondary education. However, the combined percentages of women at the 4-5 year level who watched "daily" and "often" made them the most frequent television viewers of the entire sample.

NEWSPAPERS

Like television viewing, newspaper readership was correlated with educational level. Generally, as the years of education increased, so did the percentages reading the newspaper on a "daily" and "often" basis and the percentages "never" reading declined. The percentages of "daily" and "often" readership were highest among women with the highest number of years of secondary education. Among this group of women, a combined total of 49% or approximately half the sample read a newspaper either "daily" or "often". On the other hand, women with no secondary education had the lowest combined percentages of women reading "daily" and "often" (26%) as well as the highest percentage of women "never" reading or only reading on a "not often" basis. Here again, the tendency for this group of women to more likely be from the rural areas must be calculated into the interpretation of the data as rurality may affect readership in terms of the increased likelihood of economic inability to purchase newspapers or the ability to do so regularly.

The overall pattern of media use emerging is indicative of a very strong relationship between education and radio listenership, television viewing and newspaper readership. In the former case the association was statistically significant and for the latter two media their use was actually positively correlated with education. The general trend for all three media was for frequency in listening, viewing and reading to increase as education increased. Their use was highest among women with the highest number of years of education and lowest among women with no secondary education. However, the influence of rurality must be seen as also affecting the media patterns observed for women at this latter
Use of the Mass Media According to Age

TABLE 2.4: FREQUENCY OF RADIO LISTNERSHIP, TELEVISION VIEWING AND NEWSPAPER READERSHIP BY AGE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DAILY</th>
<th>OFTEN</th>
<th>NOT OFTEN</th>
<th>NEVER</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADIO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>58.3 (63)</td>
<td>25.9 (28)</td>
<td>15.7 (17)</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>47.1 (73)</td>
<td>36.1 (56)</td>
<td>16.8 (26)</td>
<td></td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>56.8 (63)</td>
<td>27.0 (30)</td>
<td>16.2 (18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>62.7 (52)</td>
<td>24.1 (20)</td>
<td>13.3 (11)</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>41.9 (18)</td>
<td>27.9 (12)</td>
<td>30.3 (13)</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53.8 (269)</td>
<td>29.2 (146)</td>
<td>17.0 (85)</td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>37.0 (40)</td>
<td>19.4 (21)</td>
<td>42.6 (46)</td>
<td>.9 (1)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>36.8 (57)</td>
<td>18.7 (29)</td>
<td>40.6 (63)</td>
<td>3.9 (6)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>35.1 (39)</td>
<td>13.5 (15)</td>
<td>46.8 (52)</td>
<td>4.5 (5)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>39.8 (33)</td>
<td>16.9 (14)</td>
<td>42.2 (35)</td>
<td>1.2 (1)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>27.9 (12)</td>
<td>7.0 (3)</td>
<td>60.5 (26)</td>
<td>4.7 (2)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36.2 (181)</td>
<td>16.4 (82)</td>
<td>44.4 (222)</td>
<td>3.0 (15)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>6.5 (7)</td>
<td>19.4 (21)</td>
<td>63.9 (69)</td>
<td>10.2 (11)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13.3 (21)</td>
<td>26.5 (41)</td>
<td>54.8 (85)</td>
<td>5.2 (8)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>15.3 (17)</td>
<td>26.1 (29)</td>
<td>55.9 (62)</td>
<td>2.7 (3)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>15.7 (13)</td>
<td>33.7 (28)</td>
<td>43.4 (36)</td>
<td>7.2 (6)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>11.6 (5)</td>
<td>25.6 (11)</td>
<td>53.5 (23)</td>
<td>9.3 (4)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.6 (63)</td>
<td>26.0 (130)</td>
<td>55.0 (275)</td>
<td>6.4 (32)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age range for the sample was 15 to 49, which was the same age range used by the campaign planners to define the target group. Respondents in the survey sample were grouped in five year age ranges but in order to reduce the number of age ranges women above the age of 35 were however, grouped in the same category.
Age did not emerge as a statistically significant variable in the patterns of media use found in the survey sample. However, several tendencies in media use were clearly discernable in the survey data according to this variable.

**RADIO**

One such tendency was obvious in radio listenership. Consistent with the finding that the majority of the sample (53.8%) listened to the radio daily, the greater percentage of women in each age group listened to the radio daily. In all age groups too, there was a tendency for listenership to decrease in frequency - the highest percentages were for daily listenership and the lowest percentages were for women who listened on a "not often" basis. Listenership did not vary greatly according to age group.

Highest daily listenership was in the 30-34 age group (62.7%) and lowest daily listenership was in the 35+ age range (41.9%). Overall this latter age group had the lowest frequency of radio listenership and it also had by far the highest percentage (30.2) in the table of women who listened on a "not often basis". By contrast the 30-34 year olds exhibited the highest frequency of radio listenership as the combined percentages of those listening "daily" and "often" were the highest in the table.

Generally, radio listenership for the other three age groups (15-19, 20-24 and 25-29) varied only slightly and was high when considering "daily" and "often" categories jointly. Among the 15-19 and 25-29 year olds more than half the sub-samples (58.3% and 56.8%) listened to radio daily. The percentage in the 20-24 age range listening daily (47.1%) was also very near to constituting half of the sub-sample.

**TELEVISION**

A pattern observed in radio listenership according to age was replicated in television viewing. Daily viewing like radio listenership did not vary considerably according to age group although the highest percentage, 39.8% was found among the 30-34 year olds and the lowest percentage, 27.9% was found among the 35+ age range. Not
only was this pattern exactly similar to radio
listenership trends but the 35+ age range again proved
the age group with the lowest frequency of media use as
the majority of women - 60.5% - in this age range, the
highest in the table (again a replica of radio
listenership trends) only watched television on a "not
often" basis. The 35+ age group of women also possessed
the greatest concentration of women who never watched
television - 4.7%. Again similar to radio listenership
patterns, and in contrast to the 35+ year olds, women in
the 30-34 age group were the most frequent viewers of
television as their combined total for "daily" and
"often" viewing was the highest in the table. Overall
combined viewing was lowest for the 35+ age group.

Generally, the viewing patterns for the other three
age groups (15-19, 20-24, 25-29) varied only marginally.
When considering "daily" and "often" categories together
each age group had quite regular viewers as in both 15-19
and 20-24 year olds the combined percentages of those two
categories represented slightly more than half the
sub-samples (56.4% and 55.5% respectively). Among the
25-29 year olds - the combined percentage of 48.6% almost
represented half the sub-sample as well.

NEWSPAPERS
Consistent with the fact that the majority of the
sample read a newspaper on a "not often" basis, the
highest percentage in all age groups was for the "not
often" category and these percentages represented more
than half of the women in all the age groups except among
the 30-34 year olds. This age group had the highest
overall frequency of readership - percentages for "daily"
(15.7%) and "often" (33.7%) were highest on the table,
and the percentage for readership on a "not often" basis
was lowest - 43.4%.

The age group with the lowest overall frequency of
readership was the 15-19 year olds. They had the highest
percentages for the "never" and "not often" categories
and the lowest percentages for "daily" and "often"
readership. The 35+ year olds constituted the age group
exhibiting the second lowest overall frequency of
newspaper readership. Looking at combined "daily" and
"often" percentages for each of these two age groups only
25.9% - or 1 out of every 4 women among the 15-19 year olds and 37.2% in the 35+ age group read a newspaper with any regularity. The reading patterns of the 20-24 and 25-29 year olds were very close and when looking at combined "daily" and "often" percentages for these age groups again, a total of 40.0% and 41.4% of the sub-samples read a paper regularly.

In general terms, the available data on media use according to age group suggest several important facts. Firstly, radio listenership, television viewing and newspaper readership were most frequent among the 30-34 year olds and with the exception of newspaper readership, percentages for frequency of media use were lowest for the 35+ age range. In the case of newspaper readership, frequency was lowest firstly among the 15-19 year olds and secondly among the 35+ age group. Given the fact discussed in the previous chapter that older women were less likely to have secondary education, it is difficult to assess the contribution of each of these independent variables to the lower media use among older women. Other factors that could possibly explain in part the infrequent media use among the 35+ age range is the higher employment levels and higher parity noted among this age group. Only a total of 6.9% of the 35+ year olds, the lowest unemployment rate among women in the sample, did not have jobs. It may be that the greater tendency of women in this age group to be occupied with some type of employment and to have four or more children considerably reduced the proportion of time they could spend engaged with the media.
The frequency of media use patterns described in the previous section analyses only one level of the media habits of the target group. It is the purpose of this section to study the number of hours spent either listening to radio or viewing television in order to try and define a more precise profile of the target groups electronic media habits. It is also instructive to see whether patterns evident in frequency suggesting high or low use of a medium are confirmed by the number of hours spent actually engaged with that medium.
To facilitate the analysis, the sample was divided into "low", "moderate" and "high" users. Women who listened to the radio or watched television for only 1-2 hours were classified as "low" users of the media. "Moderate" users were those women who listened to the radio from 3-6 hours and who watched television from 3-4 hours and "high" users were women who listened or watched radio and/or television for 7+ and 5+ hours respectively. The higher hours, for radio listenership in both categories were deliberate because of the longer hours that radio broadcasts for. Radio broadcasts for 24 hours daily whereas TV broadcasts for approximately eleven (11) hours on weekdays and eighteen (18) hours on weekends.

The terms "listen" and "watch" were used in their widest sense to describe the media habits of the survey sample. These terms refer to time when there has been aural or visual contact with either the radio or television respectively. The lengthy time used to describe radio listenership patterns must be seen as reflecting one of the idiosyncrasies of the Jamaican media public. Radio is such a pervasive medium that it is not uncommon to find rural women washing clothes in the river while listening to the radio, and executives listening to background 'piped' music from the local radio station which is electronically filtered into their offices while they work. In many of the health centres where the interviews were conducted the clinic staff would leave a radio on for the people present to listen to while they waited for attention.

A different social convention prevailed where television viewing was concerned. Because the presence of television sets was limited among the sample many of the women who did not have sets claimed that they would visit a relative or friend who had one to spend an evening or evenings watching television. Television viewing was therefore recast as a type of social event for some members of the sample which could therefore account for the long hours some women spent with the medium. This habit also explains why even women who stated they did not have a television themselves were still questioned about their viewing patterns. The quantitative categories ("low", "moderate", "high") are used below to describe daily radio and television patronage.
Quantitative Use of Radio and Television According to Location

RADIO

More than half the sample - 53.2% - were "moderate" listeners to radio, approximately 1 out of every 4 women (25.2%) were classified as "low" listeners and approximately 1 out of every 5 women (21.6%) were high listeners. The urban/rural differences were marginal although there was a tendency for slightly more rural women to be "low" listeners. However, in studying this table in conjunction with Table 2.2 on frequency of media use, the general tendency appears to be that rural women were more likely to listen to radio on a "not often" basis and to listen for only 1-2 hours. Conversely, urban women were more likely to listen to radio "daily" and to be classified as "high" listeners.

TELEVISION

Where television viewing was concerned, there was a general tendency for women to either be "moderate" (37%) or "low" (36.6%) viewers of television. Approximately 1 out of every 4 women (26.3%) were classified as high viewers of television. The differences between urban and rural sub-samples were not wide although they were larger than those for radio listenership. Given that the number of households with televisions and frequency of viewing were both lower in rural areas it was not surprising that there was a tendency for more rural viewers to be "low viewers". In fact, the greater percentage of rural viewers - 40.4% watched television for approximately 1-2 hours. This fact combined with frequency of viewing patterns in Table 2.2, indicates that the majority of rural women (53.6%) watched television on a "not often" basis i.e. for about 1-3 days weekly and whenever they did watch the approximate viewing time for the greatest percentage of women (40.4%) was only 1 or 2 hours. Among urban viewers the tendency was for almost half the sub-sample (43.6%) to watch daily and for 37.4% and 32.9% to be "moderate" and "low" viewers respectively. With regard to radio and television use, overall frequency and number of hours engaged with each medium was lowest among the rural sample although the differences in sub-samples were smaller among radio listeners.
Quantitative Use of Radio and Television According to Education

Women were grouped educationally into those women who did not have secondary education, women who had attended a secondary school from one to three years and those who had received four or five years of secondary education.

RADIO

"Moderate" listenership was highest among women with maximum years of education. In fact, the overall numbers of hours spent listening to radio was highest among women at this educational level when looking at "moderate" and "high" percentages together.

Overall listenership in terms of hours was lowest among women with 1-3 years of secondary education. This group had the highest percentage of women only listening for either 1 or 2 hours and the lowest combined percentages for "moderate" and "high" listeners. Exactly half the sub-sample (50%) of women with no secondary education were "moderate" listeners but the highest percentage of "high" listeners was to be found among this educational level. This tendency in radio use differs from the pattern in frequency of radio use according to education, a relationship which was also statistically significant. Here frequency of radio used increased as education increased.

The general picture emerging therefore on radio listenership by education is that for women with maximum years of education, frequency of listenership and number of hours spent listening were highest. At the other end of the educational spectrum, women with no secondary education were more likely to listen on a "not often" basis but be categorised as "high" listeners.

TELEVISION

There was a correlation between the number of hours of television viewing and educational level. Generally as years of education increased so did the percentages classified as "moderate" and "high" viewers. An exact pattern was also evident in Table 2.3 on frequency of television viewing and education where the two variables
were also correlated. The extent of television viewing was lowest among women with no secondary education. The greater percentage of women in this group - 44.1% - only watched for 1-2 hours. The combined total of "moderate" and "high" viewers was also the lowest in the table. The viewing patterns between both secondary educational levels were fairly close. However, women with the maximum years of secondary education formed the highest percentage of women in the table who were classified as "high" viewers.

Overall, the combined percentages of "moderate" and "high" viewers made women with 4-5 years of secondary education the highest viewers of television in terms of hours. This pattern of high television use was also observed in the table on frequency of television viewing where the level of the relationship between the two variables was also correlated. The presence of both patterns strongly suggests that the more educated a woman was the more likely she was to have the highest frequency and numbers of hours of viewing. On the other hand, women with no secondary education were more likely to watch television on a "not often" basis and for the least number of hours in the table. This latter point regarding media use for the women with no secondary education must be related to the previously noted fact that women at this level were also more likely to be rural. Rural location possibly acted as a constraint on frequency and extent of television viewing because of the lower concentration of sets in these areas.

Quantitative Use of Radio and Television According to Age

**RADIO**

In Table 2.4, the differences in the percentages between the age groups were generally quite minimal. When considering the 35+ age range which had the lowest overall frequency of radio use in the sample, Table 2.5 shows that this age group also had the highest percentage (32.6%) of women who said they only listened to the radio for 1-2 hours and they were also least likely of all the women to be classified as "high" listeners. Their overall combined percentages of "moderate" and "high" users were also the lowest in the table.
Frequency of radio listenership was highest among the 30-34 year olds (Table 2.4). However, when looking at overall combined percentages for "moderate" and "high" listeners in Table 2.5, the 20-24 year olds emerged as the women listening for the greatest percentage of hours and the 30-34 year olds was the age group having the second highest percentage. The 20-24 year olds had the highest percentage (25.8%), but only by a narrow margin, of "high" listeners and the 30-34 year olds had the second highest percentage of "high" listeners (24.1%). Women in the former age range were also least likely to be "low listeners".

The listenership patterns for the 15-19 and 25-29 year olds were very similar - more than half of each age group (55.6% and 55.9% respectively) were classified as "moderate" listeners. Although the 35+ age group had the lowest frequency of radio listenership, half of this group (51.2%) were moderate listeners but it also had the highest percentage (32.6%) of "low" listeners and the lowest percentage of "high" listeners thus making it the age group with the lowest overall extent, in terms of hours, of radio listenership. It may well be as previously noted that the lower educational level of this age group may have influenced this trend given the observed relationship between no secondary education and lower media use. Other constraining factors could also have been the higher parity (thereby implying increased responsibility) and higher employment levels among this age group which could leave less time to spend with the media.

TELEVISION

The pattern in the distribution of hours of television viewing was very similar to that of hours spent listening to radio. The extent of television viewing was lowest among the 35+ age range which also had the lowest overall frequency of television use in Table 2.4. Among this group of women, more than half the sample (53.7%) only watched television for approximately 1 or 2 hours. This age range also had the lowest percentage of "moderate" and "high" viewers in the table. Here again, the influences of educational level, higher parity and higher employment must be taken into account.
The 20-24 age group had the highest percentage of "moderate" (39.6) and "high" (31.5) viewers and the highest overall combined percentages for both. Although the 30-34 year olds had the highest overall frequency of television viewing, they constituted the group with the second highest overall percentage of viewing hours. Both these tendencies were similar to the frequency and number of hours engaged in radio listenership.

Where the other age groups were concerned - the 15-19 and 25-29 year olds were very similar in percentage of viewing time when comparing combined percentages of "moderate" and high viewers (60.7% and 62.6% respectively).

DISCUSSION

The previous sections offered an analysis of frequency and extent (in terms of hours for radio and television) among a sample of the target group for the "Two Child Family" media campaign. The salient question to be addressed at this juncture is what these particular details on media use contribute to an understanding of the viability of a media strategy which specifically seeks to influence parity norms. In the response to this question, a fundamental premise is that the target audience is a heterogeneous group, differentiated by many psychological, social and demographic factors which interact and influence fertility norms and other forms of socio/cultural behaviour including media use. As such, it is the aim of this section to examine variations in fertility behaviour evidenced in actual and expected family size according to location, education and age and to assess whether patterns in the use of each medium, according to these variables, justify their use and their respective appropriateness and effectiveness in reaching the audience with the message of replacement fertility.

LOCATION

The urban/rural divide in a Third World country like Jamaica poses particular considerations to media campaign planners. It is a distinction that cannot be ignored given that approximately 51.3% of Jamaica’s population is classified as rural and 37.4% is regarded as urban (Morrissey 1984:117). The significance of the difference
in both populations is universal and in Jamaica it manifests in two related phenomena germane to the potential efficacy of the campaign's objectives.

The first of these is the already referred to distinct difference in material circumstances of urban and rural sub samples. The higher levels of poverty among rural people is documented in the Survey of Living Conditions (1989:17) which notes that among the poorest 20% of the population, 74.6% live in rural areas while less than 4% live in the Kingston area. Similarly, if one looks at the wealthiest 20% of the population, 40% live in the Kingston area; 12% live in other towns and about 38% live in rural areas. The S.L.C. (1989:18) notes that this disparity is almost certainly due, to some degree, to the lower levels of education in rural areas which are associated with lower levels of income. Where educational standards are concerned the S.L.C.(pg. 59) reports that over half of rural children abandon school in grades 7–9 whereas only a little more than a third of children in Kingston do so.

The known association between education and fertility and the fact that pronatalism draws its strongest support from a setting of deprivation and poverty (Birdsall 1980) conspire to produce the second feature of the urban/rural divide in Jamaica which would make an impact upon the campaign's objectives. This is the tendency towards higher fertility among rural women. Research in the early nineteen sixties (Stycos and Back 1964:29) showed that rural women of each parity were more likely than urban women to want additional children. Moreover, among those in both regions who wanted more, rural women preferred a larger number of additional children. More recent research by Lightbourne (1984) indicates that this trend towards higher fertility among rural women has not changed. Lightbourne (1984:45) notes that the residence status variable was highly significant in fertility differentials. Rural women had highest desired family size (4.05), rural born urban residents intermediate (3.75) and urban born urban residents the lowest (3.61). Lightbourne (1984:90) also points out that unwanted fertility is twice as likely among rural residents as among urban born urban residents (25% versus 13%) while rural born urban residents occupy a halfway
position (19%).

The sample of the target group for the survey proved no exception in fertility differentials according to location. The mean number of children for urban and rural women were 2.9 and 3.4 respectively. It is quite likely that the numbers of rural children would have been higher if it were not for the fact that the rural sub-sample was younger than the urban sub-sample. As has been noted previously, a total of 26.4% women or approximately 1 out of every 4 women in the rural sub-sample belonged to the 15-19 age group which automatically pre-empted high parity. The consequence of the youthfulness of the rural survey population is also evidenced in the fact that rural women were approximately twice as likely not to have children compared with the urban group (19.6% of rural women had no children compared with 8.8% among the urban sample).

The tendency for higher parity among the rural sub-sample was reflected in both actual and expected family sizes discussed in the previous chapter. Location had a statistically significant relationship with actual family size - urban women were more likely to have two children than their rural counterparts. Although the difference between the percentages was relatively small (28% of urban women had 2 children compared with 22.4% of rural women) this must be related to the previously mentioned fact that rural women were younger which would naturally skew their parity levels towards smaller numbers of children. Where expected family size was concerned, rural women again exhibited a tendency for higher fertility as they were more likely to expect to have 4 or more children (34% of rural women expected 4 or more children compared with 31.7% of urban women).

The increased propensity for higher fertility among the rural target group identify them as a "high risk" group warranting special attention in the campaign efforts. This being the case the relevant question is whether the frequency and extent of each medium's use is sufficient to justify reliance on them to propagate the message of replacement fertility especially where rural people are concerned.
As previously noted, radio emerged as the most effective medium in terms of the frequency and extent of its use. Although the rural sample tended to be more likely to listen on a "not often" basis and be "low" listeners, and urban women were more likely to listen "daily" and be "high" listeners, the overall percentage differences were minimal and insufficient to elicit concern for radio's use.

More cautious terms have to be used however, when considering the target audience's exposure to the television and newspaper media. It has already been stressed that generally television viewing and newspaper readership were low and mainly urban oriented media activities. The facts that among rural women more than half the sample watched television on a "not often" basis and the greater percentage were "low" viewers; and that the majority of rural women read a newspaper on a "not often" basis and only approximately 1 out of every 4 read either "daily" or "often", prompt concerns that are self-revealing. They give rise to serious apprehensions about reliance on these media to provide sufficient exposure to the fertility campaign among rural women and suggest the need for alternative supportive channels to relay the message.

Another index that may be employed to measure effectiveness of the media and each medium is awareness of each advertisement and reception of the advertisements by medium along urban/rural lines. In the latter instance, the interviewees were asked whether they recalled hearing or seeing each of the advertisements on either radio, television or in the newspaper. Of course, because the campaign ran from 1983 to 1987 and the fieldwork was conducted two years after the last commercial had been released, the interviewees reliance on memory may have led to some error in their response. The data was included however, in the interest of research, to assess whether they confirmed or contributed in any way to an understanding of media use patterns already observed.

Where awareness of each advertisement was concerned Table 2.6 highlights the fact that urban women were more likely to have been aware of each individual
Table 2.6: Women who saw/heard advertisements 1, 2 & 3 according to location and women who saw/heard advertisements 1, 2, & 3 on each medium according to location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>AD1 % (N)</th>
<th>AD2 % (N)</th>
<th>AD3 % (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>93.2 (233)</td>
<td>57.2 (143)</td>
<td>76.4 (191)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>85.2 (213)</td>
<td>47.2 (118)</td>
<td>70.0 (175)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89.2 (446)</td>
<td>52.2 (261)</td>
<td>73.2 (366)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2=8.3$, df=1, $p<0.003$
** $X^2=5.0$, df=1, $p<0.02$

Radio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>AD1 % (N)</th>
<th>AD2 % (N)</th>
<th>AD3 % (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>75.6 (189)</td>
<td>46.0 (115)</td>
<td>58.8 (147)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>81.2 (203)</td>
<td>42.8 (107)</td>
<td>65.2 (163)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78.4 (392)</td>
<td>44.4 (222)</td>
<td>62.0 (310)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2=9.73$, df=3, $p<0.02$
** $X^2=14.50$, df=3, $p<0.002$
*** $X^2=21.25$, df=3, $p<0.001$

Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>AD1 % (N)</th>
<th>AD2 % (N)</th>
<th>AD3 % (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>76.0 (190)</td>
<td>38.8 (97)</td>
<td>58.0 (145)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>65.2 (163)</td>
<td>24.0 (60)</td>
<td>42.0 (105)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70.6 (353)</td>
<td>31.4 (157)</td>
<td>50.0 (250)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2=9.73$, df=3, $p<0.02$
** $X^2=14.50$, df=3, $p<0.002$
*** $X^2=21.25$, df=3, $p<0.001$

Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>AD1 % (N)</th>
<th>AD2 % (N)</th>
<th>AD3 % (N)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>17.6 (44)</td>
<td>6.4 (16)</td>
<td>10.4 (26)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>21.2 (53)</td>
<td>6.4 (16)</td>
<td>5.2 (13)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19.4 (97)</td>
<td>6.4 (32)</td>
<td>7.8 (39)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $X^2=12.42$, df=3, $p<0.006$
** $X^2=7.76$, df=3, $p<0.05$

Advertisement compared with their rural counterparts. The relationship between awareness and location in fact reached the level of statistical significance for advertisements 1 and 2. The higher awareness among the urban women is not surprising given the higher frequency
and extent of media use among this group. The overall percentage difference between the two sub-samples however is not very wide, a reassuring fact given the generally lower media use among rural women.

In assessing the effectiveness of each medium in propagating the campaign message it was evident that radio had the highest reach, followed in second place by television. The percentages of women claiming to have seen the advertisements in the newspaper were extremely low, varying from 6.4% to 19.4%. Of course, it could well be that the frequency with which the advertisements appeared in the newspaper was lowest of all the media. However, given the inaccessibility of data of this nature despite efforts made to secure this information, it is difficult to establish the true reason(s) although certainly the observed low patterns of newspaper readership must be taken into account.

Again urban women were more likely to have heard or seen the advertisements on each medium. In the case of television there was a statistically significant relationship between the viewing of each of the three advertisements and urban location. In only three instances (radio listenership to adverts 1 and 2, newspaper readership of advert 1) did rural responses exceed the urban.

In summary, the overall awareness of the campaign and awareness of each advertisement per medium confirm previously observed patterns that media use is overall higher among urban women and that the medium with the highest reach is radio, followed by television with newspapers having the lowest reach of all. This is also consistent with findings from family planning campaign research, discussed in chapter 3 which highlighted that radio is the most effective medium if judged by its reach and that television and newspapers are essentially urban media with a lower reach potential.

Another observation was that the percentage difference between the urban and rural sub-samples for both awareness of the campaign and awareness through each medium were not very wide. At an initial glance, the suggestion may be that although media use is overall
lower among the rural sample, in the long run this is not unduly obstructive to the reach of the campaign because the percentage differences were not big enough to warrant concern. However, there is one factor that remained unaccounted for in the data, which must be calculated into the reach/awareness of the campaign in order to assess the effectiveness of the media strategy. This is the amount of times that the audience was exposed to the advertising message and how many times it was heard/seen in each medium. Certainly there is some relationship between frequency of exposure to the campaign and cognition/retention of its message. The extent of this relationship is most likely highly individualised, difficult to describe in definitive terms and defying quantification. The essential point is however, that insufficient exposure to the campaign could well be a barrier to a comprehension of its message. There is no reliable method of estimating in retrospect the extent of exposure to the campaign advertisements. However, given the generally lower media use among the rural women, justifiable speculation would suggest that rural women would be less likely to be exposed as frequently to the campaign as their urban counterparts.

This point coupled with the inescapable fact there were women, more rural than urban, who were not exposed to the advertisements highlight the insufficiency of relying completely on a media campaign. This points to the necessity, particularly in rural area, for other channels to be employed in spreading the message of

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2 There are views (Atkin, 1980) that suggest a decisive relationship, stating that the amount of repetition of a specific stimulus generally facilitates learning and as people became more familiar with the stimulus they feel more comfortable and favourable toward it. It must be stressed firstly however, that these are culturally specific results of U.S. research which may not be applicable in other cultural contexts. Secondly, the strong interactive nature between source and receiver implied here betrays the influence of a stimulus/response theory and one could argue that repetition may produce the opposite effect of making people fed up and intolerant of the message. The dividing line between these two effects is probably difficult to discern as thresholds of tolerance are fairly individualised and are affected by a variety of competing stimuli. Another issue affecting the validity of these generalisations is that the results are drawn from interventions seeking to influence behaviours such as the use of seat belts, prevention of forest fires, smoking and alcohol abuse which are fundamentally different to fertility behaviour.
replacement fertility.

**Education**

"The Sociological Context of Reproduction" (Chapter 5) discussed the known relationship between levels of educational achievement and numbers of children. Reference was made to national empirical studies done by Roberts (1975) and Whittaker (1980) which found support for the hypothesis among Jamaican women that females with higher educational levels tend towards smaller families. Research by Lightbourne (1984:16) also identified the fact that the least educated women were seen to have persistently higher proportions wanting more children and the number of unwanted births was dramatically lower among women with secondary education (pg.97).

The documented inverse relationship between the two variables (i.e. as education increases, the number of births decreases) was confirmed among the survey sample of the target audience for this study. For ideal, actual and expected family sizes education was consistently negatively correlated with numbers of children. As expected, the tendency was that as the level of education increased the numbers of children specified by the women interviewed were more likely to be 2 and on the other hand, women with no secondary education were more likely to state 4 or more than 4 children.

The correlative relationship between education and parity (whether ideal, actual or expected), presents a specific audience profile to media campaign planners by identifying women with no secondary education as a high risk sub-group. The immediate question is just how media use patterns according to education correspond with the varying parity norms evident across educational levels. An interesting response to this question provided by the data was that education also had a statistically significant relationship with frequency of radio listenership and was correlated with television and newspaper use and generally frequency of use increased as education increased. A pattern in the hours spent listening/watching radio and television was also obvious according to education. Women with maximum years of education were more likely to be "high" listeners/viewers and in the case of television the relationship between
hours of viewing and education was correlated where women with no secondary schooling were more likely to be "low" viewers.

Of course, the existence of a statistically significant/correlative relationship between education and frequency and extent (in the case of television) of media use does not imply causality. In fact it will be remembered that women with no secondary education were also more likely to be rural. This is important as the lower living standards among rural people meant lower presence of televisions which probably constrains more frequent television viewing. The lower economic status of rural residents may also have been a prohibitive element in the purchase of newspapers on a more regular basis. However, whatever the explanations are for this media trend one fact crucial to the efficacy of the campaign remains. The less educated the woman, particularly if she did not have any secondary education at all, the more likely she was to have higher ideal, actual and expected parity and the more likely she was to be a "low" user of the media on a "not often" basis. Expressed in different terms, this means that the educational group of women who, in terms of their fertility behaviour, constituted a special target sub-group needing, from the campaign planners perspective, to hear the message of replacement fertility, were least likely to be regular patrons of the radio, television and newspaper media. The obvious implication of this is that reception of a mass media campaign is not likely to be optimal among this educational level.

In extrapolating from this situation, the fact that approximately 1 out of every 4 women in the sample did not have secondary education, implying therefore higher parity and less frequent and less hours of media use, is an indication of the level of socioeconomic concern generated by the educational status of the population to campaign planners. This is a point already discussed in chapter 5 and which is further confirmed by the findings of this research. Until there is some redress however, in the prevailing educational standard, which would in turn contribute to a falling birth rate, this research can only conclude that in the interest of the aims of the replacement fertility thrust, it is imperative that a
media campaign be complemented with other strategies. These strategies should be geared to stand an improved chance of reaching sections of the target group who are less likely to be frequent and high users of the media because of their low educational status.

**Age**

The variable of age was consistently correlated with ideal, actual and expected family sizes. The general tendency was that in response to questions on ideal, actual and expected family sizes, as age increased the percentages of women stating 2 children decreased and the likelihood of women stating 4 or more children increased.

However, from the perspective of the media campaign planner it must be considered that the prime child bearing years are in the 15–29 age group and that women in the survey were more likely to have already had only 2 children within this age range making them priority receivers for the campaign message. As already mentioned too, in 1986, this age range contributed 80.02% of the live births recorded. It is therefore crucial to understand the measure of media use particularly among this age group to gauge the efficacy level of a media strategy.

Where the radio medium was concerned, the frequency and extent of its use suggest positive implications for its efficacy given that for the 15–19, 20–24, 25–29 age groups, 58.3%, 47.1% and 56.8% were daily listeners respectively and the majority again of each age group were identified as "moderate" listeners (55.6%, 51.6% and 55.9% respectively).

Daily viewing of television for these age groups was generally low as it was for all age groups. However, when combining "daily" and "often" viewing percentages a more optimistic profile emerged for the 15–29 age range. For each of the age groups 15–20, 20–24, 25–29 the combined percentages of 56.4, 55.5 and 48.6 meant that slightly more than, and slightly less (in the case of the 25–29 year olds) than half of the age group sub-samples were regular viewers of television. In terms of hours spent viewing, a combination of "high" and "moderate" percentages revealed that 60.7, 71.1 and 62.7
respectively in each age group watched television for a sufficient period to suggest, together with frequency, the efficacy of television and radio as channels to reach these age groups.

Frequency of newspaper readership was generally so low irrespective of age group that the general use of this medium as a reliable means of spreading the message of replacement fertility is questionable. Frequency of readership was in fact lowest among the 15-19 year olds, only 6.5% read a paper daily and 19.4% read a paper "often", compared with these figures 63.9% read on a "not often" basis. Among the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups combined "daily" and "often" percentages revealed that 40% and 41% respectively were regular readers. However, the implication of this is that more than half the sub-samples for each age group were not regular readers of the newspaper medium.

A particular trend in the data recurred on media use according to age. The 35+ age range consistently had the lowest frequency and the lowest number of hours recorded for the use of radio and television and the second lowest frequency in the readership of newspapers. Reasons for this probably can be accounted for in some measure by the fact, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter, that older women were more likely to have had less education, and education in turn did have a significant statistical relationship and correlation with mass media use (Table 2.3). Other factors which have been identified as suggesting an effect on media use among this age group are the higher employment rates and the increased responsibilities of higher parity which may reduce time otherwise spent with the media. The low patronage of the mass media among this age range may not seem threatening to the immediate aim of a replacement fertility campaign which would naturally tend to be more relevant to women in the age range 15-29 who more likely would already only have one or two children. However, it must be considered that, as chapter 5 illustrated, the family structure in Jamaica tends to be highly matriarchal and in many instances a household may be run by two generations of women or in fact the household may be headed by a grandmother who raises her daughter's siblings. Given the early entry of women into sexual
unions and child bearing it is therefore common for women to become grandmothers in their thirties and early forties. It is therefore suggested that this age group of women, by virtue of their position in the power structure of families as caregivers and head of households, do constitute an important sub-group of women who could probably act as an influence, supporting the two child theme, on their younger relatives. However, the low media use among this age range does imply the necessity to adopt other channels to reach this group with the appropriate message.

**Summary of Mass Media Use**

The survey findings notwithstanding, the observations made in the previous chapter about the campaign impact, broadly confirm that the replacement fertility media strategy, with its primary emphasis on radio, television and the press, was a variable one. However, variations in the use of each mass medium, evident in the sample according to location, educational status and age, bring into question the efficacy of the media as the sole mechanism to reach all members of the target group.

The mass media did not seem to play a central role in the lives of women in the 35+ age range or women who had no secondary education as both groups of women had the lowest media use among the sample. Because of the nature of the survey data it was not possible to examine the interrelationship between the predicator variables of education and age which could explain these results to some measure. That a relationship does exist between the two variables was evidenced in the previous chapter which showed older women i.e. women in the 35+ age range to be least likely to have secondary education. However, as was already pointed out, these two groups of women, by virtue of their respective potential influence and higher parity, do form important sub-groups for the aims and objectives of the campaign.

The newspaper medium had low readership levels irrespective of age, educational status or location and as such appears unlikely to be a positive contributor to the spreading of the campaign message. Television, like
the newspaper medium, was more an urban media activity probably principally due to the fact that only half of the rural households had television. By contrast 94.8% of rural homes had radios. Overall radio emerged the most effective medium in terms of reach. Of course, analysing each medium individually precludes an understanding of the synergistic effect of a combined media use. However, this is a particular point which escapes the research design of the social survey.

The important point emerging from the analysis is that the variations in media use discussed here, and others which require further study, underlie the importance, already discussed in the previous chapter, on a careful definition of the audience by campaign planners. The absence of research and the consequent top downwards orientation of the strategy echoes the historical failures of communication efforts based on the Modernisation paradigm. It cannot be over stressed that any initiatives employing the mass media must be based on the understanding that the media's fundamental efficacy is not dependent solely on its inherent ability to reach the audience but rather on those sociocultural factors which cause a particular predilection in the audience to reach towards, and engage the mass media. To view the relationship between source and receiver in any other light is to neglect the dynamic, interactive element of the communication process.

Sources of Information on Family Planning and Credibility of these Sources

Questions on the efficacy of a mass media strategy designed to influence fertility norms arise when considering the probability that other sources of influence exist among the target group. The emerging questions do not revolve solely around the existence and nature of other sources but also their credibility especially compared with the mass media. Given that the reduction of family size norms is most successfully realised through the practice of family planning it was assumed that those sources, perceived as credible providers of information on family planning, would though their position of privilege be more likely to also have an influence on fertility decisions relating to parity.
As such, respondents were asked questions relating to sources of information on family planning and the credibility of these sources.

It was obvious however, that the mass media has played an effective role as a disseminator of information on family planning. A total of 94.2% of the sample claimed that they had heard family planning information on the mass media. When asked what sort of information they had heard almost half the sample, 46.6%, said commercials and an equivalent percentage said talk programmes. Of the 46.6% of women who claimed they remembered hearing commercials only half (51%) could actually cite unprompted the particular commercial they had heard.

Respondents were also asked to indicate who they spoke to if they needed information or advice on family planning. The vast majority of women, 75.8% stated that they could speak or did speak to a nurse, 19.2% said that a friend was an information source, 11% named a family member and 13.3% claimed that they had no one to discuss family planning information with. Two obvious conclusions can be drawn from these results. Firstly, from the low percentages of women who named family members or friends as family planning information sources it was apparent that this type of information was either too personal to be discussed or these sources were not perceived as being credible or possessing sufficient information. What is apparent however, is that the high percentages specifying 'nurse' in response to the question identify this source as having an unrivalled position of popularity and influence where the provision of information on family planning was concerned.

But just how credible among the target group was the information provided by the nurse compared with what was offered by the other sources listed as well as the media? A frequency analysis revealed that the greater percentage of women, 44% specified that the nurse was the more credible source and 31% said that both the nurse and the media were equally trustworthy providers of family planning information. Only 11.2% said the media was the more credible source, 6.2% said their family member or friend was more trustworthy and 6.7% of the sample said
they did not know which was the more credible source.

A cross tabulation analysis was done to assess whether the predictor variables location, education and age in any way affected the response to the question on the more credible source of family planning information. Table 2.7 reveals the results. The analysis was done solely among those women who specified, the "media", "nurse" or "both sources" as credible since the percentage responses to the "family member", "friend" and "Don't know" categories were too small to give meaningful results. The revised sample size naturally meant that the column totals were slightly altered. The new frequencies for the "media", "nurse", "both media and nurse" were 13.0%, 51.0% and 36.0% respectively.
TABLE 2.7: WHICH DO YOU CONSIDER THE MORE RELIABLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON FAMILY PLANNING, THE PERSON YOU HAVE NAMED OR THE MEDIA?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEDIA</th>
<th>NURSE</th>
<th>BOTH MEDIA</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td>% (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>16.6 (35)</td>
<td>50.2 (106)</td>
<td>33.2 (70)</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>9.5 (21)</td>
<td>51.8 (114)</td>
<td>38.6 (85)</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13.0 (56)</td>
<td>51.0 (220)</td>
<td>36.0 (155)</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>11.5 (14)</td>
<td>54.9 (67)</td>
<td>33.6 (41)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>17.4 (23)</td>
<td>50.0 (66)</td>
<td>32.6 (6)</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>10.7 (19)</td>
<td>49.2 (87)</td>
<td>40.1 (71)</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13.0 (56)</td>
<td>51.0 (220)</td>
<td>36.0 (155)</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
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<td>AGE</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>21.3 (20)</td>
<td>46.8 (44)</td>
<td>31.9 (30)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13.0 (17)</td>
<td>50.4 (66)</td>
<td>36.6 (48)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>9.2 (9)</td>
<td>50.0 (49)</td>
<td>40.8 (40)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>8.5 (6)</td>
<td>57.7 (41)</td>
<td>33.8 (24)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>10.8 (4)</td>
<td>54.1 (20)</td>
<td>35.1 (13)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13.0 (56)</td>
<td>51.0 (220)</td>
<td>36.0 (155)</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location

Where location was concerned, approximately half of both urban and rural sub-samples (50.2% and 51.8% respectively) specified that the nurse was the most credible source. Rural women however, were more likely to specify that both the media and the nurse were equally trustworthy. On the other hand urban women were more likely than their rural counterparts to say that the media was the most credible source although the 16.6% of
urban women who said so was comparatively very small. Although rural women exhibited more of a tendency to see both the "media" and "nurse" as equally trustworthy the fact that frequency and extent of media use was lower among them questions the degree of efficacy of relying on the media as a credible information source.

**Education**

Irrespective of educational group, the greater percentage of women stated that the nurse was the most reliable source of family planning information. An interesting feature in the percentage distributions however, was that as education increased, the amount of women specifying the nurse decreased, albeit marginally, from 54.9% (women with no secondary schooling) to 50% (women with 1-3 years of secondary education) and finally to 49.2% (women with 4-5 years of secondary education). As this occurred, two shifts in the percentage distributions were noticeable.

Firstly among women with 1-3 years of secondary schooling, there was an increase in the amount of women specifying the media (from 11.5% to 17.4%), the highest percentage for this source in the table. Secondly, among women with the highest level of secondary school, the percentage of women stating that in their perception, family planning information from both the nurse and the media were equally credible reached 40.1%. This percentage was the highest recorded for this combined source and was closest percentage wise to the "nurse" source in the table.

What these two features of the data have in common is an increased perception of the media as a credible source of family planning information. The implied conclusion of this data is that women who were least educated were more likely to see the nurse as the most credible source, the most educated among the sample were likely to see both the media and nurse as equally trustworthy and women with 1-3 years of secondary schooling exhibited the greatest tendency of all three levels to believe the media’s family planning information.
This all bears an important implication for any initiative seeking to influence fertility behaviour. The primary example of this is that, given the fact that the least educated women were more likely to exhibit higher ideal, actual and expected parity, thereby constituting an identifiable sub-group, their increased likelihood of seeing the nurse as the most credible source, seriously challenges the media campaign's efficacy in trying to influence the fertility behaviour of this particular group.

By contrast, the more educated women in the sample, who had lower overall parity, were more likely to see the media, or both the media and the nurse as equally trustworthy sources of family planning information. This situation represents a classic example of people who, from the media campaign planners perspective, are most needy of the campaign's influence due to their fertility behaviour, are not only more likely to be low users of the media in terms of frequency and extent but also to identify another source - the nurse - as their most credible source of information on family planning matters.

Age

The greater percentage of all age groups stated that the nurse was the most credible source of family planning information. However, among the 15-19 year old's, the percentage specifying nurse (46.8%) was the lowest in the table, this group also had the highest percentage of women (21.3%) in the table who stated that the media was a more credible source of family planning information. This percentage was low however, representing approximately 1 out of every 5 women in this age group. The pattern of responses was similar for the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups. In both age ranges, 1 out of every 2 women stated that the "nurse" was the most credible source and 36.6% and 40.8% respectively stated that both the "nurse" and the "media" were equally credible sources.

There was a shift in the pattern of the data for the next two age groups which also exhibited similar features. The first of these was that the percentage of
women seeing the "nurse" as the most credible source increased to the highest in table, representing 57.7% and 54.1% of the women in the respective age groups. Secondly, the percentages seeing both the media and the nurse as equally credible declined and the percentages identifying the "media" as more credible were among the lowest in the table.

Obviously the "nurse" was the most credible family planning source among the older women. This may well be related to and partly be as a result of the fact that older women were least likely to have secondary education and as Table 2.7 illustrates, women with no secondary schooling were more likely to perceive the "nurse" as the most credible source. An important point is that the 25–29 and 20–24 age groups (who are in their most fertile years and therefore a crucial sub-group of women) had the highest and second highest percentages respectively saying that both the "media" and the "nurse" were equally credible. This would suggest the efficacy of a media campaign initiative for this age range. However, this should only be expressed in cautious terms as although these percentages were among the highest, they did not represent even half of the age group sub-samples.

The "problem" age group appeared to be the 15–19 year old’s. This group had the lowest percentage of women specifying the "nurse" – 46.8% – which did not even represent half of the sub-sample. It also had the lowest percentage (31.9%) seeing both the "media" and "nurse" as equally credible. Although it had the highest percentage of women (21.3%) seeing the "media" as most credible, this was a comparatively small amount representing approximately 1 out of every 5 women in the sub-sample. A probable explanation for this trend is the embarrassment or insecurity that many of these young women may feel about trying to find out information on contraceptives whatever the source. Causes of this phenomenon are most likely rooted in what Clarke (1957:97–98) and Brody (1981:81) describe as a repressive strictness imposed by mothers upon daughters who display an interest in reproductive/sexual matters. Brody(1974:113) quotes a woman who stated, regarding an 11-year-old daughter’s request for sexual information "I’d flog her....she be tryin’ turn into a big woman." As Brody comments, despite
the apparent failure of such attitudes upon them, a range of women insisted on applying this strict attitude to their daughters. It is quite likely that it is the socialization into this strictness regarding sexual matters that might be a constraining factor in younger women openly seeking information on family planning.

Contraceptive Use

It is a fundamental premise of this thesis that any attempts to introduce the concept of replacement fertility are constrained without prevalent and sustained use of contraception in general and specifically among those groups of women who either wish to space or cease child-bearing. This position is not underpinned by the technological determinism of birth control inherent in the net fertility decline hypothesis discussed in Chapter 3. Rather, it views contraceptive practice as playing a critical contributory role in the process of fertility decline by providing an enabling mechanism for men and women to personally control their reproductive capacity. The question that emerges at this juncture is just how prevalent contraceptive use was among women at risk of pregnancy, particularly those who expressed a desire not to have further children. The response to such a question would act as a revealing index of the feasibility of the conceptual basis of the media campaign i.e. encouraging women to limit their family size.

A previous discussion in chapter 5 "The Sociological Context of Reproduction" has already highlighted the fact that contraceptive practise is no where near the level desired by the National Family Planning Board (N.F.P.B). It was no surprise therefore that the survey sample reflected this tendency also. Evidence of the consequences of low contraceptive use was self revealing in the fact that of the 108 pregnant women interviewed only 12 women or 11.1% said they had not been contracepting before becoming pregnant because they wanted a child. Among the remaining sample of pregnant women a total of 30.6% said they were not contracepting because of fear of or as a result of side effects; 8.3% and 2.8% said that either they or their partners respectively had a personal objection to contraceptives; 23.2% said they had no specific reason for not using a
family planning method and 3.7% claimed that they had been using a method inconsistently when conception occurred.

Special attention was focused on that subgroup of women who were in a sexual union (i.e. in "common-law", "visiting" or marital unions), who were neither sterilised nor pregnant at the time and who said they did not want to have any more children. The contraceptive use of this sub group was then examined by location, education, age and union type to assess whether any of these independent variables exhibited a relationship with the use of birth control methods.

An initial frequency analysis revealed that 183 women, or 36.6% of the survey sample were categorised as being at risk of pregnancy (i.e. in a sexual union and neither sterilised nor pregnant) and not desiring to have any more children. Of this amount, 64 women or 35% were not using a contraceptive. Although 7 of these 64 non-contracepting females said their partners did use condoms at times, because this was not a sustained practice they were still grouped among the 64 women not using a family planning method. Table 2.8 reveals relevant demographic data of the 183 women who were in a sexual union, not pregnant or sterilised and not desiring to have any more children.
TABLE 2.8: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION: PARITY, LOCATION, AGE, EDUCATION, CONTRACEPTIVE USE OF WOMEN IN A SEXUAL UNION, WHO WERE NEITHER PREGNANT NOR STERILISED AND WHO SAID THEY DID NOT WANT MORE CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Child/children</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>(61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.8</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>(101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>(82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Sec. Ed.</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTRACEPTIVE USE</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
<th>UNION STATUS</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>% (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>(119)</td>
<td>Common law</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>(89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>(62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>(32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(183)</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The greater percentage of these women - 33.3% - already had only 2 children. Women who had already had 4+ children (32.3%) constituted the next highest group of women stating they had completed child-bearing. They were also more likely to be in common law (48.6%) or visiting (33.9%) unions. Only 17.5% were married.

These women were also more likely to be urban - 55.2% were from the urban areas and less than half (44.8%) of the women were rural. Women falling into this category were more likely to be in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups as 32.2% and 29.5% respectively said they did not want more children.

There was a pattern in the educational standard of these women. The greater percentage - 42.1% in this category had either 4 or 5 years of secondary education. On the other hand women with no secondary education - 25.7% - were least likely to say they had completed their family. Women with 1-3 years of secondary education constituted 32.3% of the group. To a certain extent, this pattern is not surprising given the correlation between education and parity where as education increased ideal, actual and expected family size decreased. Table 2.9 examines the characteristics of the contraceptive behaviour of these 183 women according to the variables perviously listed.

3This is consistent with previously noted finding by Lightbourne (1984:16) that the least educated women were seen to have persistently high proportions wanting more children.
Where location was concerned, urban women (68.3%) were more likely to be using a family planning method than their rural counterparts. In fact, almost 4 out of every 10 rural women (39%) who claimed they had completed their family and who were at risk of pregnancy were not contracepting.
A pattern in contraceptive use was evident according to educational levels. In fact its use was highest among the women with no secondary education (70.2%) and lowest amongst women with 4-5 years of secondary schooling (61%). This trend in the data may appear somewhat surprising given that in the previous analysis increased education was associated with increased numbers desiring to stop child-bearing. The significance of the data most likely resides in the fact that it highlights just how widespread the lack of contraceptive use is that it pervades all educational levels. This trend in contraceptive use is consistent with the research findings of the Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (1983:118) which noted that educational differences in contraceptive use were small.\(^4\)

Where age and contraceptive use was concerned, the percentage of women stating that they used a contraceptive was highest among the 30-34 year old's – 81.6% – said they were using a contraceptive – and was lowest among the 35+ age range and the 15-19 year old's. Only 46.7% and 52.9% respectively were using a birth control method.

The crucial age group from the campaign planners perspective would be of course, the 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 age groups who were in their prime child bearing years and more likely to already have had only 1 or 2 children. The latter two age groups also, were more likely than any other age group to say they had decided not to have more children. Only 52.9% in the 15-19 year old's were contracepting, and although the percentages improved slightly to 66.1 and 61.1% for the following age groups respectively, they still represent an unsatisfactorily small majority. Expressed in different terms, among a prime sub group of women who campaign planners would specifically wish to influence, 47.1%, 33.9% and 41% of women who were in a sexual union, and who did not wish to have more children were at risk of getting pregnant. The low levels of contraception among women who were more likely to have only 1 or 2 children

\(^4\)The sample for this survey also included women with university education. This group of women (a small group) who wanted no more children had the highest contraceptive prevalence rate.
by virtue of their age, thereby making them prime candidates for the replacement fertility message, severely questions the logic of trying to even introduce the concept when contraception, the mechanism to limit family size, has such a low level of use.

There was a statistically significant relationship between union status and contraceptive use. The non-use of contraceptives was highest among women who were living away from their partners - slightly less than half of these women (48.4%) were not using a birth control method. A total of 31.3% of married women and 27% in common law unions were not contracepting. This latter group of women constituted the union type with not only the highest percentage of women (48.6%) who did not want more children but also by virtue of their higher contraceptive use, the least likely union type exhibiting risk of pregnancy. On the other hand women in "visiting" unions totalling 33.9% or 1 out of every 3 women who did not want more children, were most likely to be at risk of pregnancy because of their low contraceptive use.

The data presented above underlines the importance for renewed efforts to identify and target specific groups, some of whom have been discussed here, for increased contraceptive use. The unmet need for birth control has already been highlighted in Chapter 5 and the data presented here further confirms this fact. Perhaps a germane question to be addressed is the reason why contraceptive practice is relatively low. Obviously it is not as a direct result of the unavailability of contraceptives, only 2.6% of women said they experienced difficulties in getting family planning methods. Other obstacles were mentioned by women of the sample which acted as deterrents to contraceptive use: these included side effects or fear of them, personal or religious objections, partner's objection, some said there was no specific reason at all. Perhaps the low use of contraceptives is in some way influenced or exacerbated by an unmet need for information on the very contraceptive methods women are expected to use. It is to this issue that the discussion now turns.
Women in the survey sample were also asked about their information needs on contraception. This line of questioning was not based on the premise that information and knowledge about birth control have a deterministic function in its use. Rather, in the same manner in which aspects of knowledge of reproduction and menstruation (as discussed in Chapter 5) centre around their relationship to the use of contraception so to does an understanding of birth control itself. Firstly, such knowledge based understanding (as opposed to an understanding based on conjecture or misinformation) may play a part in inducing women to make use of family planning techniques. Secondly, an understanding of birth control and its effects may help users to appreciate the hormonal changes and disturbances in the menstrual cycle associated with the use of many contraceptives.

The validity of the provision of family planning information directed by these two objectives was illustrated through default among non-contraceptors in the sample. The following reasons given for the non-use of contraception further pointed to a possible vacuum in understanding which would be filled by information of the nature specified. Among the women discussed in the previous section, who were in a sexual union, neither pregnant nor sterilised and who claimed to have ceased child-bearing, of the 64 who were not contracepting, 28.1% said they were not doing so because of fear of side effects or because of previous side effects they had experienced. A further 28.1% of the group said there was no specific reasons why they were not using a birth control method. A similar trend was evident among pregnant women when asked why they were not contracepting prior to pregnancy. A total of 30.6% said that side effects or fear of them was the reason and 23.1% said that there was no reasons at all.

What this data suggests is that there are women whose reason or lack of reasons for non contraception substantiate the rationale for providing specific information on birth control methods as a means of making women understand the physiological changes brought about by their use and creating an understanding of birth
control methods with the intent of encouraging their adoption. It was clearly demonstrated within the interviewing situation that family planning information was eagerly wanted by many of the respondents. On repeated occasions women asked about specific methods or their side effects. In one instance an interviewee waited for several hours until the researcher had completed interviewing for the day so that she could have a private consultation regarding advice she required on contraception.

A further justification for the need to provide information about family planning methods and their effects is to counter, in some measure, the rumours and misinformation that were obviously rife among the women sampled and most likely among Jamaican women in general. It was clear from information actually volunteered by women interviewed on their experience with contraception that a great deal of misunderstanding prevailed and was associated with its non use. A few examples illustrate this point.

One woman who claimed she would never use a birth control method especially the pill said she heard of a case where a woman who took the pill did so without swallowing the pills with water. Eventually, according to the interviewee, the pills accumulated in her stomach forming a clot which eventually burst killing her. It is quite possible from a medical standpoint that the victim referred to here, was suffering from a complaint producing an embolism (blood clot) but the fact that she was a contraceptive pill user caused people to blame her ailment and consequent demise on the pill. In a study which illustrated a similar ignorance about contraception, MacCormack and Draper (1987:158) noted that many Jamaican women described the pill as working mechanically, accumulating in the cervix to block it so that the sperm could not enter. But out of a fear of a permanent blockage some would stop taking the pill for a while to allow this "blockage" to subside or they would take a laxative to purge their systems.

In other instances several women who had been using the depo-provera contraceptive injection said they ceased because their menstrual flow stopped. This is a common
side effect but was perceived as a serious abnormality. MacCormack and Draper (1987:157) note the fears of a woman who had used depo-provera and who claimed "You don't see your periods so you don't have internal cleansing. Because their is no regular menstrual cleansing it causes infections in the tube, which then causes pains all over the body."

Given the wide spread ignorance about menstruation, noted in Chapter 5, particularly the idea of it being a means of discharging waste matter from the body and being a sign of health, the concern about the cessation or reduction of menstrual flow was not surprising. One woman even expressed the fear that the injection caused the menstrual flow to accumulate in the womb and that one day this would result in haemorrhaging.

Fear and rumours of birth control methods and their effects are by no means uncommon. Arthur (1987: 47) provides an interesting and very similar catalogue of anecdotes about misinformation concerning birth control among Ghanaian women. In this case too, the lack of accurate information and the spread of rumours were noted as having affected many women's attitude towards adopting family planning methods.

When the women interviewed were asked whether they specifically wanted information on birth control methods and the side effects of methods it is not surprising, given the data on reasons for non use of contraceptives previously cited, that 68.6% and 58.4% respectively said yes. Table 2.10 provides some details of the responses according to location, education and age.
TABLE 2.10: FAMILY PLANNING INFORMATION NEEDS ACCORDING TO LOCATION, EDUCATION, AGE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON BIRTH CONTROL METHODS?</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON SIDE EFFECTS OF METHODS?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>63.6 (159) 36.4 (91) 250</td>
<td>57.6 (144) 42.4 (106) 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>73.6 (184) 26.4 (66) 250</td>
<td>59.2 (148) 40.8 (102) 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68.6 (343) 31.4 (157) 500</td>
<td>58.4 (292) 41.6 (208) 500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON BIRTH CONTROL METHODS?</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON SIDE EFFECTS OF METHODS?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sec. Ed</td>
<td>69.0 (98) 31.0 (44) 142</td>
<td>58.5 (83) 41.5 (59) 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 yrs ED</td>
<td>67.3 (105) 32.7 (51) 156</td>
<td>55.1 (86) 44.9 (70) 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 yrs Ed</td>
<td>69.3 (140) 30.7 (62) 202</td>
<td>60.9 (123) 39.1 (79) 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68.6 (343) 31.4 (157) 500</td>
<td>58.4 (292) 41.6 (208) 500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON BIRTH CONTROL METHODS?</th>
<th>DO YOU WANT INFORMATION ON SIDE EFFECTS OF METHODS?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
<td>YES % (N)  NO % (N)  N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>66.7 (72) 33.3 (36) 108</td>
<td>61.1 (66) 38.9 (42) 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>75.5 (117) 24.5 (38) 155</td>
<td>58.1 (90) 41.9 (65) 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>67.6 (75) 32.4 (36) 111</td>
<td>57.7 (64) 42.3 (47) 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>61.14 (51) 38.6 (32) 83</td>
<td>60.2 (50) 39.8 (33) 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>65.1 (28) 34.9 (15) 43</td>
<td>51.2 (22) 48.8 (21) 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68.6 (343) 31.4 (157) 500</td>
<td>58.4 (292) 41.6 (208) 500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $x^2 = 5.8$, d.f. = 1, p > 0.01

**Location**

There was a statistically significant relationship between location and the expressed need for information on specific contraceptives methods. Rural women were more likely to say that they wanted this type of information - 73.6% responded in the affirmative compared with 63.6% among the urban sample. Rural women again were more likely to want information on the side effects of methods although they 59.2% saying so was only a slightly higher percentage than the 57.6% who said yes among the urban sample. This trend is perhaps not surprising given that
among the 183 women who claimed to have completed child-bearing and who were discussed in the previous section, contraceptive use was noticeably lower among the rural sub-sample. Of course the parallel in the lower use of birth control among rural women and the greater likelihood among them for information on birth control methods does not indicate the existence of a causal relationship. However, it does not obscure the essential fact that the greater demand for contraceptive information may be disguising the presence of potential birth control acceptors among rural women who may not be using contraceptives partly as a result of lack of adequate information on them. The data may also be suggesting that rural women are less likely to seek information from interpersonal sources either because they regard it as too private to be discussed or because opportunities to secure information from the clinic nurse are less frequent because of the greater distances rural women have to travel to the health centres. A combination of these factors probably explain the observed trend but the privacy aspect appears to have been a more operative reason because as the resident nurse of one rural health centre said, many women travel to health centres much further away from the nearest one to them because they do not want women from their own village to know their business regarding their family planning behaviour.

Education

The differences in percentages of women requesting information according to education were minor. In fact where information on specific methods was concerned the percentage of women among those with no secondary education saying yes 69.0% was roughly equal to the 69.3% responding in the affirmative at the other end of the educational spectrum. Women with 1-3 years of secondary schooling were closely placed with 67.3% stating they wanted this type of information.

Where information on side effects was concerned the differences according to educational levels were again relatively minor. The greater percentage of women (60.9) wanting the information had 4-5 years of secondary schooling and the lowest percentage 55.1% of respondents had 1-3 years of secondary education. A total of 58.5% of
women at the lowest educational level expressed a desire for information on side effects.

**Age**

An expressed interest in information on specific family planning methods was highest among the three youngest age groups. A total of 66.7%, 75.5% and 67.6% respectively in the 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 year old’s said yes to the need for birth control information.

This is important data from the campaign planners perspective as women in this age range were more likely to have already had 1 or 2 children and to have expressed the decision to stop child-bearing if in a sexual union. This age group is also a prime child bearing age group nationally and therefore constitutes a crucial group of women to offer information on contraceptives in an effort to encourage their adoption. Given the fact too that among women discussed in the previous section who were in a sexual union, and claimed to have completed child-bearing the 15-19 year old’s had one of the lowest percentages of contraceptive use, it would be in the interest of the campaign objectives to address the issue of family planning information needs among these age groups.

Where information on the side effects of methods was concerned the most noticeable finding was that desire for information of this nature was highest among the youngest age group (61.1% said yes among the 15-19 year old’s) and was lowest among the 35+ age range (51.2% said yes). Where the former group is concerned the increased need for information of this type could be due to the fact that if they have just commenced contraceptive use or are contemplating contraceptive use, side effects or fear of side effects may well be an issue of concern. Given the already observed low contraceptive use among women in this age group who did not want more children, the need for information should be viewed as a priority especially as it may contribute to encourage women to adopt birth control methods by allaying certain fears associated with them. The fact that information needs on side effects were lowest among the 35+ age range may well be due, in some measure to the higher incidence of sterilisation of
In an effort to determine the most suitable means of communicating information about birth control respondents were asked which channel(s) they preferred to get information from. Given the high credibility of the nurse as a family planning information source it was not surprising that the clear majority 76.0% said the nurse or doctor was their preferred source. Only 20% or 1 out of every 5 women specified the radio, 15.2% and 9% respectively said the television and newspapers were preferred sources and only 10.2% mentioned a friend or family member.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed several features of the target audience's mass media use which would mediate the campaign's efficacy in delivering the "Two Child" theme. It has also examined other issues which question the appropriateness of the approach adopted to introduce replacement fertility in Jamaica. These issues included: the sources of family planning information among the target group and the credibility of these sources; levels of contraceptive use as well as information needs on contraception among the target group.

The issues discussed here have highlighted the neglect by campaign planners of relevant contextual features of the audience which question the efficacy of the replacement fertility intervention. On a more important level however, this neglect is symptomatic of several important facts regarding the mass media campaign. Firstly, it signifies the pervasive influence of the Modernisation paradigm in contemporary mass media campaign planning and execution. As a communication paradigm Modernisation may well be academically discredited but the example of the Jamaican initiative is living proof that this paradigm still persists. Secondly, it is an example of mass media campaigns, discussed in Chapter 2 which fail to realise their objectives because they are poorly conceived and severely under researched. Finally, it has followed the tradition of family planning communication, discussed in Chapter 3, to remain divorced form sociological and anthropological research on the
The various issues which have been examined by no means exhaust the potential audience characteristics that would impinge on the efficacy of the campaign designed to influence parity levels. Further research could address for example the significance of unemployment and underemployment as mediating variables in the reception of the campaign. This would be an important contribution because of the known relationship between unemployment and fertility. The media behaviours of this particular group as well as their specific fertility views would be instructive guidelines to campaign planners. The social conventions that appear to prevail where television viewing is concerned, especially among the rural sample, warrant a closer qualitative investigation. This would prove insightful to an understanding of how the media public relate to this medium and what role television viewing plays as a form of cultural behaviour. More in-depth studies too have to assess and measure the level of actual newspaper readership that the public can engage in given the levels of illiteracy. It is only through an understanding of issues of this nature that the potential efficacy of the mass media as tools for social intervention can be accurately estimated.
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS ON 'THE EFFICACY OF A MASS MEDIA POPULATION CONTROL CAMPAIGN IN JAMAICA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT'

The pivotal research goal of this thesis has been an analysis of the efficacy of a mass media campaign strategy designed to further Jamaica's national development by encouraging the adoption of replacement fertility. A two dimensional framework of analysis was created to assess the merits and demerits of the conceptualisation and implementation of this developmental initiative. The first dimension related to the development assumptions which organised and directed the conceptualisation of the campaign. The second dimension along which the mass media initiative was discussed pertained to the principles, particularly the audience based research activities, which impinged on the campaign's goal in delivering the message of replacement fertility.

What then does the data, provided by the survey research, semiotic analysis and in-depth interviews, suggest about the campaign's efficacy as an instrument of development policy and as a mechanism of social intervention? It is argued here that the data primarily challenge the core premise of the campaign, that is the introduction of replacement fertility or in other words that "Two is Better than Too Many". This position is substantiated from several angles of the research findings.

The initial datum questioning the validity of the campaign premise pertains to the efficacy of the message as a vehicle to introduce the concept of replacement fertility. This was established through a semiotic deconstruction of the advertisements which unveiled a class specific ideology on
the inverse relationship between family size and material circumstance encoded into the message. According to the survey data, this ideological formation together with the replacement fertility theme, was not decoded by the majority of the target audience. The semiological analysis revealed that the mythology of "Two is Better than Too Many" celebrates at an ideological plane the achievement of social and material success as a reward for restricting family size to two children. The ideological configuration is also underpinned by the converse of this viewpoint that high parity is a prime causative factor in material and economic deprivation. The individual blame view resonant in the images and message ascribes a "blame the victim" ideological stance to the campaign. The mythology of the commercials fulfils a parallel prescriptive function in establishing a personality ideal to be aspired to in the figure of Bev Brown. The idealization of Brown is achieved not purely through her overt social and material glorification but also by implication in her contrasting position to the disadvantaged Smith.

The decoding of the campaign message by the target audience however, proved at variance with the intended message of the campaign planners i.e. that women should have only two children as this would guarantee a better standard of living for all concerned. Although the awareness of the advertisements was quite high, at a more cognitive level the vast majority of the women interviewed did not perceive the replacement fertility theme thereby rendering the campaign initiative a failure in this regard. Rather than interpreting the message that parity should not exceed two children the women in the survey were more likely to receive messages related to the theme of family planning. It was suggested that the absence of coincidence between the message encoded and the message decoded by the audience could be explained in some measure by the fact that the campaign message, rooted in an ideological construct which defined children as economic liabilities and by extension family sizes of four as creating poverty, was situated within a value system alien to the world view of the target audience.
The survey interviews yielded data indicating that instead of perceiving children as financial liabilities, the target audience defined children as valuable economic assets and primary actors in the domestic scenario. This was underwritten by an obvious cultural expectation upon the women to enter into a child-bearing career. Further questioning among the survey interviewees regarding their views on the relationship between family size and economic circumstances revealed that they failed to perceive a casual association between high parity and poverty. The survey respondents were more likely to identify a lack of education and employment as the chief reasons creating poverty. These findings cumulatively challenge the dual assumptions of the campaign that firstly, parity sizes of four and above are indeed excess fertility among the target group and secondly, that these parity levels act as economic liabilities capable of creating situations of poverty. The views and opinions on child-bearing among the target group therefore stand in direct opposition to the ideological definition of parity inherent in the campaign.

The survey data also provided clear signals challenging the appropriateness of the campaign's premise i.e. the introduction of replacement fertility. This was evidenced in the finding that more than half the survey sample did not agree that it was a "good thing" for a woman to only have two children. Many of the reasons offered for this related to the economic assets and domestic advantages provided by children as well as the cultural premium placed on child-bearing. More importantly, the majority of women expressing this view did so out of the fear of the demise of one of the two children. This fear was rationalised as a legitimate concern given the rate of infant mortality due to malnutrition in the country. This finding challenges the very idea of surplus fertility given the articulated need among a significant portion of the target group to compensate for a perceived threat to fertility levels. This is rooted in realistic fears of infant mortality. The obvious nexus between fertility decisions and infant mortality highlighted the importance of socioeconomic factors in reproductive motivations which call into question
the viability of introducing a two child family.

Some of the socioeconomic variables which affect reproduction in incremental terms such as unemployment, education and union status were discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. This chapter also outlined some of the features of Jamaican working class culture which buttress fertility: the expectation placed on child-bearing, the early initiation into sexual activity, inadequate knowledge of sex and menstruation and relatively low levels of contraceptive use. Chapter 4 also provided a background to an understanding of features of the socioeconomic environment which influence fertility. This chapter offered illustrations of the level of poverty experienced by the majority of Jamaicans. It mentioned for example the inadequacy of the social security system which leaves a significant proportion of the aged population unprovided for financially in their retirement years. The point was made that it is an accepted fact that pronatalism draws its strongest support from such settings of poverty and deprivation where children are valuable sources of joy, security and labour.

The survey research data also yielded the apparently contradictory finding that a significant percentage of the women interviewed agreed that it was wiser to restrict the number of children to two. It was noted that this contradiction has already been observed in sociological studies (Brody 1974) and could be traced to concerns over economic and parental support. It was argued that these preoccupations acting as a verbalized constraint on higher parity together with the factors acting as an incentive towards having more than two children share a common heritage in the numerous societal forces that mediate fertility decisions.

It was therefore concluded that given the socioeconomic and cultural forces supporting fertility, the idea of a two child family could only remain an abstraction, at least for the significant number of women who disagreed with this concept. This was described as an inevitability as long as
there is no alternative to the economic assets of siblings and the cultural premium placed on children and mothering remains unchallenged by new avenues to social identity and status provided by such levers as education and employment.

Another factor questioning the feasibility of the conceptual basis of the media campaign i.e. encouraging women to limit their family size, pertained to the level of contraceptive use among the sample group. It was argued that any attempts to introduce replacement fertility would be constrained without the prevalent and sustained use of contraceptives, particularly among those women who wished to either space or cease child-bearing. The survey data revealed that even for women who claimed that they did not want any more children and who were in a sexual union approximately one out of every three of these women were not using a family planning method. This index of the relatively low use of contraception undermines the feasibility of encouraging women to limit their family size when the methods which would enable them to do so are in such low use. This was an issue which was raised in Chapter 5 on the sociological context of population growth in Jamaica. This chapter reported findings from a national survey on contraceptive use in the island which estimated that more than one-third of the currently non-pregnant women who either want to space or cease child-bearing are not using a contraceptive.

In a bid to verify whether the lack of information on contraceptives was in some measure a causative influence in the low use of contraception the respondents were questioned on their needs on family planning information. There was a clearly articulated desire for information on different contraceptive methods and their side effects among the women interviewed. This finding is suggestive that there are women whose reason or lack of reasons for non contraception substantiate the rationale for providing specific information on birth control methods for two reasons. Firstly, as a means of making women understand the physiological changes brought about by their use and secondly in creating an understanding of birth control methods with the intent of encouraging their
The Conceptualisation of the Campaign

At a conceptual level, what then were the fundamental reasons cumulatively contributing to the failure of the campaign in delivering the message of the two child family? From the interviews with the campaign planners and policy makers together with the semiotic analysis it was apparent that both the explicit and implicit level of assumptions regarding expectations for the campaign as well as the role of the media in development were unrealistic and misguided. It was argued that both these levels of assumptions displayed features identifiable with the modernisation paradigm of development communication and could have contributed to the failure of the campaign in realising its primary goal.

From the in-depth interviews with the campaign planners and policymakers regarding the explicit assumptions about the media's role in development and expectations for the campaign several findings were evident. Firstly, some of the views expressed on media's role in development were grounded in one of the main foundations of social responsibility theory. However, a second school of thought revolved around a model of communication which saw the media as having the functional capacity of not only imparting knowledge but also changing attitudes and behaviours. There was also a recurrent implication in the interview responses that the effects of information are commensurate with the quantity of its provision. These viewpoints were identified as tenets of the modernisation theory of development communication. Opinions on expectations for the campaign also displayed assumptions identifiable with the dominant paradigm. There was the view that somehow the media would create an acceptance of new social values which could replace traditional ones. There was also the persistently uncritical view that information has the power of effecting change and by extension the campaign was credited with the potential of influencing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in direct proportion to the extent of adoption.
These notions are noticeably consistent with the views expressed by Wilbur Schramm one of the foremost proponents of the modernisation paradigm of the media in development. Chapter 1 outlined the principal arguments of Schramm’s contribution to the modernisation paradigm. Schramm explicitly advocated the view, in his publication Mass Media and National Development (1964) that the provision of information is the prime lever in development and that the mass media are the main vehicles for the dissemination of the required information. The mass media could therefore create an informational environment conducive to development by providing information on modern ideas, practices and values. In Schramm’s perspective therefore, the mass media were reified with capacities of change through intervention.

The semiotic analysis of "Two is Better than Too Many" which revealed the latent ideological formation in the advertising campaign also exposed certain implicit assumptions about the media’s expected role in development. It was argued that the campaign’s mythology and incumbent ideology regarding the control of fertility defines the media as an actor in the creation of a climate for change by inducing new values, attitudes and modes of fertility behaviour which are favourable to modernization and development. It was also pointed out that the attitudes and values being disseminated clearly reflect the middle class lifestyle which implies that people should possess ideas of better opportunities in life and a belief that these can be realized through individual effort. The corollary of this is that the locus of change, as suggested by the advertisement, rests within the individual.

These assumptions were identified as consistent with the modernisation paradigm on the role of the media in development. This paradigm defined the media as pivotal in substituting new norms, attitudes and behaviours for old ones in an effort to bring about "necessary" psychological changes at the individual level. This type of change intended to
create a "modern personality" was seen as essential to the process of initiating and sustaining the momentum of development.

In this regard the campaign’s inherent assumptions about the type of change required i.e. values, attitudes, behaviours and the level at which this change should occur i.e. the individual appear aligned with the ideas of communication scholars such as Pool (1966) and Inkeles & Smith (1974) which were discussed in Chapter 1. These researchers collectively subscribed to the viewpoint of the mass media as being instrumental in the creation of a modern personality. In certain respects, it was argued that the campaign’s commercials betray the influence of Lerner’s (1958) concept of empathy. An application of Lerner’s framework of analysis, presented in Chapter 1, would propose that the characterisation of Bev Brown is the social ideal which all fertile women should aspire towards whereas by contrast Judy Smith represents the traditional culture bound personality which needs to change. The campaign therefore seeks to create an "empathy" between the campaign characters and the audience in an effort to transform the traditional values and aspirations of the Judy Smiths into the more modern social and material realities of the Bev Browns. This metamorphosis would then create a mindset favourable to the desired fertility norm of a two child family. This would in turn precipitate a decline in population growth which would then assist the country’s national development.

The Implementation of the Campaign

At the level of the implementation of the campaign what were the factors contributing to the failure of the mass media initiative in getting the message across? It was suggested that a major demerit of the campaign design and execution which was responsible to some degree for its failure was the absence or inadequacy of audience research. This was exemplified firstly in the fact that pretesting, one of the established principles of campaign design, was
conducted on only one of the three commercials. The only pretesting exercise to be conducted suffered from such grave methodological flaws that the exercise was classified as a self-defeating exercise. There was also evidence from a report available on the pretest together with statements from an interview with the Advertising Executive working on the campaign, that although no one on the pretest panel identified the replacement fertility theme of the campaign no significant amendments were made to the message. It was pointed out in Chapter 2, which detailed the principles and practices of media campaigns, that there is a clear consensus on the importance of pretesting. This exercise is the primary means of identifying strengths and weaknesses in campaign materials before they are disseminated to intended audiences. The failure to appropriate this measure into the replacement fertility campaign design therefore meant an immediate handicap in efforts to get the message of a two child family across.

It was argued that the failure at pretesting signalled that the views and opinions of the target audience, for whom the campaign was intended, were excluded at an important phase of its development. The unwitting consequence of this failure at pretesting has been firstly, a reinforcement of the inherent ideology of the campaign since the message constructed was solely a product of the campaign planners. Secondly, it has meant that the communication process underpinning the campaign was top downwards oriented, providing vertical flows of information which is strikingly reminiscent of communication strategies based on the modernisation school of development communication. The point was also raised that a contributory element in the vertical direction of the campaign would have been the very structures of the Jamaican mass media which were the vehicle used to spread the two child message. Chapter 6 on the press and broadcasting in Jamaica highlighted the pervasiveness in the mass media of a unilinear communication model which was identifiably top downwards in nature. In this regard, i.e. the communication model, the replacement fertility campaign appears as a reflection of the mass media structures
themselves.

Further research data gathered in the in-depth interviews with the campaign planners revealed that the failure of pretesting was symptomatic of a wider research vacuum in which the campaign was conceived. This was evidenced firstly in the fact that audience research, a crucial principal in campaign design discussed in Chapter 2, was omitted in the pre-campaign activities. As a result of this there was no frame of reference to identify the target audience for the campaign. This was probably the reason why the target audience was repeatedly defined in the one dimensional manner as women in the fertile age range 15-49. Secondly, it was openly stated in the in-depth interviews that the available anthropological and sociological literature on fertility, the issue of social change, was never consulted. This information would have provided a data base to which the campaign planners could have responded rather than relying on their assumptions about what the target group should be concerned with, and what issues the message should be constructed on. This absence of research at the formative stage of the campaign therefore further served to reinforce the ideology of the message and the top downwards oriented nature of the campaign initiative. The neglect of research has also meant that the replacement fertility campaign has followed the tradition of family planning communication, discussed in Chapter 3, to remain divorced from relevant research activities.

In a further exploration of other features of the campaign implementation which could have affected reception of the message it was noted that interpersonal communication supporting the campaign message, another important ingredient of successful campaign design, was unplanned for in its execution. The National Family Planning Board had no specific programme or initiatives in their existing programmes to support the two child family theme. The thrust to introduce replacement fertility was therefore entirely media centred i.e. there was an unrealistic reliance on the media alone to engineer the type of changes in knowledge, attitudes and
behaviour required to realise the two child family norm. This media centred approach was also a characteristic of the modernisation school of development communication as well as many experiments in family planning communication discussed in Chapter 3. It will be remembered that as Chapter 2 indicated communication scholars have realised the insufficiency of relying on mass media strategies to realise their objectives. It was also pointed out that research on mass media campaigns in general (Chapter 2) and family planning campaigns in particular (Chapter 3) has indicated that interpersonal communication is an important supportive factor in the realisation of campaign goals. Where population communication is concerned Chapter 3 discussed other supportive strategies which may be used in conjunction with family planning campaign initiatives (e.g. folk media, population education, field workers). It was therefore concluded that the low reception of the two child family message was probably influenced by the failure to provide specific supportive programmes, with an interpersonal communication component, designed to complement the campaign theme.

It was noted however, that approximately half the women interviewed claimed that they had been personally encouraged to have only two children. This indicated an obvious climate of opinion regarding this family size norm but whether this was attributable to the influence of the mass media strategy could not be ascertained through the survey research method. It was argued however, that it was highly probable that the campaign made a contribution to some degree in the promotion of this family size norm. This finding reinforces the point made in Chapter 2 that an important level on which the media influence process operates is in the creation of a "climate of opinion". It was noted that the majority of primary sources cited as promoting the two child theme were either relatives or friends. They have therefore been identified as important modes of personal influence who could quite possibly be targeted for further campaign efforts. This finding is consistent with research by Beckman (1983), mentioned in Chapter 8, which showed that friends and family,
among other sources, can be influential in positively mediating family planning decisions.

The survey research intending to establish the factors specific to the audience which would influence the campaign's efficacy in getting the message across yielded several important findings. Firstly, although the campaign had an extensive reach, variations in the use of each medium, evident in the sample according to location, educational level and age, bring into question the efficacy of the media as the sole mechanism to reach all members of the target group. The variations in media use also serve to emphasise the need for the careful definition of the target audience in research activities prior to the execution of the campaign. This latter point reinforces the necessity of organised audience research, a principle of campaign design which was highlighted in Chapter 2.

Secondly, investigations to find out whether other sources of influence among the target group exist revealed that the nurse has an unrivalled position of popularity and influence where the provision of information on family planning information is concerned. It was therefore proposed that the nurse would probably be a more influential source, given her position of privilege among the audience, in encouraging a reduction of family size. Questions on the credibility of the nurse as opposed to the credibility of the media in the provision of family planning information showed that the greater percentage of women specified the nurse as more credible although there were women who perceived both these sources as equally credible. These data cumulatively challenge the efficacy of the mass media as a mechanism of social intervention in the introduction of replacement fertility.

In summary, the research findings of this thesis collectively construct a specific argument. This argument is that the mass media campaign designed to propagate the message of a two child family has been operationalised upon academically discredited concepts and assumptions on the
media and its role in development. These notions have coalesced together with views of the government, campaign planners and policy makers on the two child family into an ideological expression on the causes and consequences of high fertility articulated in the images of the campaign. The misinformed criteria and expectations directing the campaign are further reinforced by the neglect of several principles and practices crucial to campaign design and implementation. The dual consequences of this neglect have been the support of the campaign's inherent ideology as well as the raising of questions on the integrity of the campaign as a strategy for social intervention.
Introduction

Chapters 1 and 2 concerning the mass media in development and the principles and practices of media campaign planning and execution constitute the theoretical framework of the thesis. These chapters have reviewed and discussed the key concepts and arguments in these areas of academic research with the intention of formulating an intellectual frame of reference for the debates in this thesis on the efficacy of the mass media population control campaign.

This Appendix functions as the nexus between theory and empirical investigation as the research design elaborated on here presents firstly the research questions, distilled from the complex of concepts and arguments detailed in the opening two chapters, employed to assess the efficacy of the mass media intervention. Secondly, it will outline the methods used to obtain the empirical data necessary to address the research questions raised.

The Research Questions

The research questions on the efficacy of the mass mediated population control campaign can be located on two specific dimensions. The first relates to the conceptualisation of the campaign and raises such questions as what are the assumptions regarding expectations for the mass media and the media campaign as an instrument in Jamaica’s development and as a mechanism of social intervention? Do these assumptions exist at both implicit and explicit levels? Are these assumptions identifiable with any particular school of thought on the role of the mass media in national development? The second dimension along which research questions are raised pertains to the implementation
of the mass media campaign. The research objectives have been formulated into the following questions: what are the principles underlying its implementation which have influenced the campaign's efficacy in achieving its primary goal? As an extension of this objective, what have been the audience specific features which would have mediated the influence of the media strategy in propagating the message of replacement fertility?

The Methods of data collection

The following methods were selected to address the questions raised in the framework for research.

In-depth Personal Interviews

In order to establish a) the explicit assumptions regarding what the mass media campaign was expected to accomplish as well as what role the media was expected to perform in development and b) the factors relevant to the implementation of the campaign which would influence its efficacy, a series of in-depth personal interviews were conducted. A total of eight (8) such interviews were held and included the following individuals at the three organisations listed below. By virtue of their educational status and occupational status the individuals interviewed would be considered middle class by Jamaican standards.

The National Family Planning Board (N.F.P.B.):
1. Executive Director
2. Acting Deputy Executive
3. Assistant Director for Information Education & Communication
4. Parish Liaison Officer

The Population Unit:
1. Consultant Statistician Demographer
2. Acting Director
3. Economist Demographer
1. The Advertising Executive responsible for the "Two is Better than Too Many" campaign

The personnel at the N.F.P.B. were interviewed as this was the organisation empowered to lay down the guidelines and goals for the advertising campaign as well as select and liaise with the Advertising Agency employed to do the job. The personnel interviewed therefore played a role in the selection of the three advertising commercials examined in this thesis. The advertising executive interviewed at McCann-Erickson was responsible for the conceptualisation of the commercials as well as their distribution through the various media. The personnel at the N.F.P.B. and the advertising executive are collectively referred to in this thesis as the campaign planners. The interviewees at the Government's Population Unit were not directly involved in the conceptualisation or implementation of the campaign. However, they functioned as opinion makers on population related issues and were responsible for certain decisions at the level of policy making which formed an important background to the campaign initiative. They are referred to in this research as the policy makers.

The interviews involved were all taped and involved firstly the use of a structured interview schedule involving general questions which were asked to all the individuals interviewed. In addition, three separate structured interview schedules were employed which consisted of questions specific to the contributions of the three different groups of people interviewed (Appendix 11).

These indepth interviews were selected because of the several distinct advantages they offer. Firstly, they afford the interviewer the chance to observe and correct any misunderstandings on the part of the respondents as well as to probe any vague or inadequate responses. This type of forum also gives the interviewer not only the latitude to control the order in which the respondent receives the
questions but it also enables her/him to satisfy any queries or allay any concerns which could assist in the acquisition of meaningful data.

The most important advantage though of personal interviews is in data quality. These interviews usually ensure a very high response rate. This is mostly credited to the fact that in the face-to-face situation of a personal interview a rapport is established with the respondent which motivates the respondent to answer fully and accurately. Personal interviews also allow the greatest length in interview schedules which permits an extensive indepth questioning about complex issues. However, on the level of disadvantages of personal interviews, the rapport between interviewer and respondent can lead to "interviewer effects". This means that the interviewer's expectations or personal characteristics i.e. race and gender can influence responses. There can also be the tendency for the rapport to lead the respondent to provide invalid, socially desirable answers.

The researcher was greatly encouraged by the response of the interviewees. In no instance was an interview denied and although all of the interviewees were busy professionals they were quite generous in the amount of time spared for the interviews. This appeared to be, at least in some degree, a consequence of the fact that they were very enthusiastic about the replacement fertility thrust. As such, they were quite eager and open to sharing their views which lead to the provision of meaningful data.

The Semiotic analysis

Semiotics or semiology has gained currency in critical mass communication research as a useful tool for unearthing the latent meaning in texts. The biggest charge laid against semiotics as a method of social investigation is its "subjectivity". However, it is argued here that this can equally be said of any qualitative method of enquiry and therefore cannot be justifiable seen as a specific allegation undermining the validity of a semiotic analysis.
As a research method in critical social enquiry its epistemological foundation is one that does not take the apparent social structure, social processes or accepted history for granted. As such it endeavours to dig beneath the surface appearance of visual text to identify the different layers of meaning and to locate them in a wider context which illuminates their links with the broader social structure.

This then constitutes the primary advantage of semiotics and in its application to the study of the three advertising commercials discussed in this thesis it is employed to discern the mythic and ideological formations inherent in the commercial's text. From the analysis based on these mythic and ideological structures extrapolations will be made about the assumptions, implicit in the campaign, on the role of the media in development and expectations for the campaign.

The semiotic analysis of the campaign has also been used as it is the only method available to decipher the message actually encoded in the campaign. This is instructive for an understanding of how this message may vary or coincide with the message intended to be encoded by the campaign planners and the message actually decoded by the audience. Umberto Eco (1980:132) has expressed this idea in the following manner: "Semiotic research.....is essential for answering a question which, in plain words, could be put this way: 'When I send a message, what do different individuals in different environments actually receive? Do they receive the same message? A similar one? A totally different one? Questions of this kind.....are particularly pressing in the field of mass communication'.

The Social Survey

A social survey was used to assess the audience specific characteristics which would mediate the campaign's influence in realising its primary objective.¹

¹ As a prologue to the academic discussion that follows the (Footnote continued)
A note in defence of the survey method is however, offered as a preface to its discussion. The development of mass communication research over the last thirty years has been characterised by the emergence of critical strands based on epistemological foundations opposed to the more administrative empiricist approaches of conventional research practices. There has also been a parallel trend for what Harvey (1990:7) identifies as an acknowledged awareness that many critical commentators regard empirical material as highly suspicious. Somehow, the negative publicity given to quantitative data by some commentators has meant that any form of "number crunching" has acquired a suspect reputation and is viewed as involving a compromise with empiricism. This of course is an understandable stance where "facts" or "hard data" are reified and endowed with capacities of indepth explanations of the phenomena they describe. Such an epistemological basis legitimately elicits the much revered accusation of "abstracted empiricism" (C. Wright Mills 1975).

However, there is a certain range of research problems that, as Murdock (1989:226) suggests, only a well designed

1(continued)

liberty is being taken here to relate an anecdotal experience which will hopefully inject a note of realism into the "ivory tower" nature of academic research so often conveyed by the tomes of wisdom available on methodology. The survey design discussed below was not the original one. Weeks were spent labouring with the bureaucracy of the Statistical Institute of Jamaica securing information from census lists which enabled the construction of a stratified random sample. The advantage of this of course would be that, unlike the purposive sample which was eventually used, the results of the survey could be generalised as typical of the entire population. The sample units in the sample frame constructed were households. However, an unfortunate coincidence occurred when on the very day that interviewing was to commence, September 12, 1988, Hurricane Gilbert hit the island leaving one quarter of a million people homeless. The severe dislocation, destruction and food scarcity that followed is historical fact. It was almost eight months later, after some reconstruction had taken place, that a methodologically sound sample frame could be devised and the survey project could be resumed. If nothing else the experience was a lesson in the vast difference between the seemingly straightforward instructions in survey research presented in Western methodology textbooks and the realities of fieldwork in a Third World country.
social survey can efficiently and reliably investigate. The difference between critical and more conventional approaches though is that where the mainstream researcher tends to regard the survey findings as an end product, the critical researcher views them as stimulating questions that require a response in different ways. Data therefore become meaningful not through some intrinsic value but through the effect of the socio-historic context which illuminates their interpretation.

The Survey Design

The goal of the survey research design was to administer a survey questionnaire which would generate valid and reliable data. In a bid to ensure this the questions were asked, using a structured interview schedule (Appendix 111) in a personal interview situation. The rationale for this was the advantages of personal interviews outlined above. The objective of the questionnaire was to secure data on the following main issues:

1. Use of the mass media among the target group
2. Credibility of the mass media
3. Existence of other information conduits on family planning among the target group
4. Information needs regarding family planning
5. Extent of interpersonal communication supporting the theme of the campaign
6. Availability of contraceptives
7. Attitudes to the two child family norm
8. Perceptions on the consequences of high fertility
9. Cultural value of children

The Sample

In terms of sampling, geographic representation of the island was a primary goal. It was decided that an Urban and Rural stratification would be used and that of the six (6) areas selected where interviewing would be conducted, three (3) would be urban and three (3) would be rural. A
non-probability purposive sample was used for two specific reasons. Firstly, the age range for the survey respondents had to be between 15 - 49 years of age since this was the age group specified as the target group for the campaign. Secondly, the women all had to be from the lowest income group as the media strategy was geared towards this socioeconomic stratum. In order to incorporate this characteristic into the sample group it was decided to use the island’s Health Centres as a location to conduct the interviews as these Centres tend to cater to the less financially privileged members of society. A purposive sampling method therefore proved satisfactory in relation to the survey objectives since it afforded the researcher the latitude to select cases that were judged to be typical of the population in which there was an interest.

A total of five hundred (500) women were interviewed: two hundred and fifty (250) from three urban Health Centres and two hundred and fifty (250) from three rural Health Centres. The interviews were conducted by the researcher and a nurse/midwife who had thirty (30) years experience working with women from the same social stratum in Hospitals and Health Centres in the island. In order to stimulate recall of the advertisements the interviewers relied on a verbal reconstruction of the commercials with an emphasis on certain visual cues and the inclusion of key lines of the dialogue. It was not possible to use the storyboards for the commercials designed by the Advertising Agency as these had been discarded. It did not appear practical to take a video recorder into the interviews to play back the commercials for two reasons. Firstly, it was feared that this type of technological equipment may intimidate some of the rural sample who most likely would not have seen equipment of this nature before. This could therefore make the interview appear contrived and affect interview response. Secondly, there was also the practical consideration that especially in the rural health centres there could well be no access to electricity outlets to plug in the equipment. Verbal reconstruction of the commercials seemed a feasible alternative because of the pervasiveness of verbal interaction in Jamaican culture. The
highly verbal nature of the culture may well be a result of relatively low levels of literacy which curtails a communication exchange in written form or the acquisition of information in symbolic form. This leads to a reliance on "word of mouth" accounts for access to information. The culturally accepted function of this form of communication is referred to in the local dialect as "mouthagram". It is highly probable too that the predominance of oral communication is a legacy of the storytelling tradition of African culture which was brought to the island along with the African slaves.

The survey was conducted in April and May 1989. The questionnaire was however, first pretested among twenty (20) women from urban areas and twenty (20) from rural areas. As a result of this exercise several minor changes had to be made to the wording of a few questions. The response rate to the interviews was encouraging. In no instance was an interview refused and the women openly answered all the questions even those considered personal. This open and natural attitude in interview situations has already been observed by Roberts and Sinclair (1978) who conducted an indepth study among Jamaican women on such issues as their sexuality and reproductivity.

The Sample Design

Selection of Urban and Rural Centres:

The division of urban versus rural adopted in this study is based on Morrissey's (1984) urban-rural stratification procedure. Morrissey proposes that the island can be classified into four (4) strata based on specific criteria:

Stratum A: The Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) - an urban area consisting of all the contiguous built up area in the parishes of St. Andrew, Kingston and St. Catherine.

Stratum B: Urban areas consisting of 20,000 to 500,000 in population.
Stratum C: Small towns consisting of 2,000 to 20,000 in population.

Stratum D: Rural areas (settlements not meeting the requirements for small towns).

The health centres chosen were selected in areas located within strata A, B, and D.\textsuperscript{2} In order to ensure a proper geographic spread, it was decided to select both a rural and an urban area from each of the three counties in the island—Cornwall, Middlesex, and Surrey. Each county consists of a number of parishes—a unit, like the counties, established in the years following British annexation of the island in 1655. The breakdown of counties into parishes is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Parishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>Hanover, Westmoreland, St. James, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>St. Ann, Manchester, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. Catherine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>Kingston, St. Andrew, Portland, St. Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kingston is the only parish which has a 100% urban population. There are four (4) other urban areas in Jamaica apart from the KMA that have populations in excess of 20,000. These are Spanish Town in St. Catherine, May Pen in Clarendon, Mandeville in Manchester, and Montego Bay in St. James. The Kingston Metropolitan Area was selected as the urban centre to represent Surrey and Montego Bay selected to represent Cornwall. The selection of the urban area to

\textsuperscript{2} No sample was taken from Stratum C since this category consisted of small towns and the survey was being conducted strictly on an urban/rural basis.
represent Middlesex was not as straightforward as there are three urban centres in the county. In order to ensure an even geographic spread however, Mandeville was chosen as it lies at a midway point between the KMA and Montego Bay.

Where selection of the rural sample was concerned, it was decided to draw this from the parish, in each county, which has the highest rural population. On this basis the parishes selected were St. Andrew for Surrey, Clarendon for Middlesex and St. Elizabeth for Cornwall.

Selection of Health Centres

The primary health care services in Jamaica are delivered through an interlocking system of 361 health centres. They are further classified as Type I Type II and Type III depending on the type of service offered.

Type I:
Is the smallest type of health centre. It offers limited services and the population to be served is no more than 4,000.

Type II:
Functions in the same capacity as the Type I but has far more medical staff and is therefore able to offer a wider range of services. The population served numbers about 12,000.

Type III:
Is referred to as the headquarters of the health district. It incorporates the functions of Types I and II and in addition has higher grades of public health nurses. About 20,000 peoples are served through this type of health centre.

A criterion had to be established to arrive at which health centres would be selected. It was decided that the first Type III clinic, found on the master list of clinics
and which also falls into the urban rural classification would be selected. If no Type III could be found in either a urban or rural area then the first Type II would be selected instead. The Type III was selected because of the comparatively large number of people it serves. Based on this criterion the following clinics were selected:

**Urban**

KMA : Hagley Park Clinic  
Mandeville : Mandeville Clinic  
Montego Bay : Montego Bay Clinic  

**Rural**

St. Andrew : Lawrence Tavern Clinic  
Clarendon : Thompson Town Clinic  
St. Elizabeth : Maggotty Clinic  

**The Statistical Testing**

Modest statistical testing was conducted. The limited use of statistics was primarily a result of the nature of the data yielded by the survey. The data was either nominal level or ordinal level\(^3\). This prevented the use of a multivariate type of analysis such as multiple classification analysis\(^4\) which would have allowed for the simultaneous

\(^3\)In the use of nominal level data numbers are assigned to values in an arbitrary fashion and the data does not possess any ordering or distance properties. This is the 'lowest' level of data. Ordinal level data however, is 'higher' than nominal level data in the sense that it enables ranking or ordering.

\(^4\)Andrews et al (1973:1) define MCA "...as a technique for examining the interrelationships between several predicator variables and a dependent variable within the context of an additive model. The dependent variable, however, must be an interval scaled variable without extreme skewness or a dichotomous variable with two frequencies which are not extremely unequal. The statistics printed...show how each predicator relates to the dependent variable, both before and after and after adjusting for the effects of other (Footnote continued)
testing of the interrelationship between the different independent variables and their effect on the dependent variables. This type of testing would have required either interval level data or dichotomous dependent variables. Instead, a crosstabulation analysis was done on the different independent variables selected in order to assess the relationship between them.

The independent variables chosen for the crosstabulation analyses were location, education and age. Location was used since the survey was conducted on an urban/rural basis and because of the known differences between urban and rural populations which were hypothesised as influencing the issues being examined in the survey. Education was selected because of the known relationship between education and fertility and it was hypothesised that it could also affect other audience characteristics examined in the survey. Age was used because this was the initial variable used to define the target group for the campaign by its planners; it was also hypothesised that the wide age range of 15-49 years would also present an equally wide spectrum in audience characteristics relevant to the research objectives.

Two statistical tests were used throughout the data analysis. Where the variables on either axis consisted of nominal data or a combination of nominal and ordinal data a chi squared analysis was used. This measured whether there was an association between the two variables. In tables where the variables on both axes were ordered (i.e. consisted of ordinal data) then a Kendall’s tau correlation test was used which not only measured whether there was an association between the variables but also what the strength and direction of the relationship was. In a few instances in the data analysis a correlation was not evident between the two ordered variables but the chi squared analysis proved statistically significant. In these cases the chi squared

(continued)

predicators, and how all the predicators considered together relate to the dependent variable."
value is reported.

**A Note on Supplementary Research Conducted**

Supplementary fieldwork had to be conducted in order to write an adequate analysis of the mass media in Jamaica which is presented in Chapter 6. Some secondary sources on the Jamaican media were available but overall there was a general dearth of relevant information. In an effort to generate the required data several different research methods were used:

1. Consulting Policy documents at the library in the House of Parliament

2. Interviews with the following media professionals:

   a) Programme Directors for the following media houses
      Radio Jamaica Limited
      Jamaica Information Service (both Radio and TV)
      Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (both Radio and TV)
      KLAS Radio Station\(^5\)

   b) The Advertising Managers for the two newspaper companies, the Gleaner and the Record

   c) The President of the Advertising Association of Jamaica

   d) A representative of the Media Association of Jamaica

3. A content analysis was done to assess the extent to which the media carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy. The licence granted to the broadcast media includes that their programme schedules should allow for eight hours of free air time. This air time is used by the Jamaica Information Service to disseminate information about Government policies and programmes and about the activities of its various ministries and public sector agencies. The content analysis was

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\(^5\) This radio station is located in Mandeville some distance from the capital Kingston.
done on the radio and television schedules to assess the type and frequency of programmes offered by the Jamaica Information Service. Supplementary interviews were also held with the Programme Directors (radio and television) for the JIS.

4. A content analysis of media output was done to assess the priority given to the national culture. Culture was used in the restricted sense of referring to local music, drama, art and dance. This restricted definition allowed for the quantification required by the content analysis of press and broadcast output. It was felt that a broader description on the nature and development of Jamaican culture is beyond the scope of the content analysis objectives. The content analysis of music output was done through an analysis of the music schedules for each radio station. This content analysis was complemented with interviews with the Programme Directors for each radio station. For an assessment of the media output of drama and dance, a content analysis was done of the radio and television schedules. A two week content analysis of the two daily newspapers was done to see what percentage of the articles appearing were related to information, analyses and commentaries on aspects of local music, drama, art and dance.

5. A content analysis of a two week sample of radio, television and press news. This content analysis served the strictly quantitative purpose of addressing the frequency with which development news was reported. In this sense it fulfilled Berelson’s (1966:263) description of content analysis as being "...a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication".

The sample for the content analysis was taken by taping daily for two weeks the major newscast of the day on each of the three radio stations; videotaping the major nightly news programme presented on the television; reading the two daily
newspapers.

The content analyses described above are based on criteria outlined by McQuail (1987:121) which he identifies as indicative of the development related posture of press and broadcasting content.
APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ONE

The following questions were asked to all the individuals interviewed at the National Family Planning Board, the Population Unit and McCann Erickson Advertising Agency.

1. How would you define the process of development?

2. Do you think the media has a role to play in Jamaica's development?

3. Can you give me examples of the ways you think the media can help in Jamaica's development?

4. What role do you think the media can play in controlling Jamaica's population growth?

5. Do you think the media is performing this role in Jamaica?

6. What do you think are the reasons?

7. What do you expect the current media advertising campaign to achieve?

8. What is the main message of the campaign?

9. What is the target group for the campaign?

10. Is the campaign aimed at both men and women?
    If yes, why are the primary characters of the ads female?
    If no, what is the reason for this?

11. Do you think there is one particular social class where individuals are having the largest number of children?
12. In your opinion, what are the reasons why individuals in this social class have so many children?

13. What reasons do you think explain the poverty experienced by working class Jamaicans?

14. Do you think a media campaign strategy is the most important measure that can be used to limit the number of children they have?

15. If not, what other strategies do you think could be used to help encourage people to restrict the number of children they have?

16. Do you think that there are other ways in which each individual medium, i.e. radio, television and newspapers could be used to encourage people to limit their family size?

17. What potential do you think each individual medium, that is radio, television and newspapers, has for spreading the word on family planning?
The following questions were asked, in addition to those on Schedule 1, to the personnel interviewed at the Population Unit.

1. Do any Policy statements exist on the media's role in national development?

2. Who was responsible for deciding this Policy?

3. Do you know whether any research was done before the Policy statements were drafted?

4. The 1982 National Population Policy has stated among its goals the general improvement of the socioeconomic circumstances of the nation. What have been the most important areas of improvement since 1982?

   PROBE: What has happened in the areas of redistribution of income and the improvement in the status of women?
The following questions were asked, along with the questions on Schedule 1, to the Advertising Account Executive responsible for the campaign at McCann Erickson Advertising Ltd.

1. What stages did you go through in designing the campaign?

2. Who conceived the message of the campaign?

3. What were the reasons for the selection of that particular message?

4. Did you do any research before the campaign was launched?

5. Did you consult any existing research or literature? Say for example on women in Jamaican society or language usage in the target group?

6. What were the individual reasons for using television, radio and newspapers?
The following questions were asked, along with those on Schedule 1, to the individuals interviewed at the National Family Planning Board.

1. Are there any other N.F.P.B. programmes in operation which are specifically designed to support the aims of the campaign?

2. Are you currently using any traditional communication to reach the public with the message of a two child family?

3. If not is there any specific reason why?

4. Are you using the Church or the school classroom at all as channels to spread the word on family planning?

5. Are there any specific improvements you would like to see made in the present campaign to limit the number of children to two?

6. What other ways is the media being used to spread the message on family planning? I am referring for example to radio serials, discussion programmes, columns in the newspapers etc.?
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

TICK APPROPRIATE ANSWER

1. Do you have a radio in your household?  YES  NO

2. How often do you listen to it?
   a) Daily
   b) Often: 4–6 days weekly
   c) Not often: less than 4 days weekly

3. How many hours a day do you listen to it?
   a) 1–2 hours
   b) 3–4 hours
   c) 5–6 hours
   d) 7–8 hours
   e) 9–10 hours
   f) 10+ hours

4. What sort of programmes do you listen to?
   a) Radio serial dramas
   b) Doctor/Lawyer/Family Counsellor
   c) Hot Line/Public Eye
   d) Barry G
   e) News
   f) Other

5. What station do you listen to most?
   a) RJR AM
   b) RJR FM
   c) JBC AM
   d) JBC FM

6. Do you read or look through a newspaper?  YES  NO

7. How often do you read or look through a newspaper?
   a) Daily
8. Which one do you read?
   a) Gleaner
   b) Star
   c) Record
   d) Enquirer

9. What sort of articles do you read?
   a) Everything
   b) Headlines
   c) Dear Pastor
   d) Classified Ads/Ads
   e) Stories
   f) Comic Strips
   g) General News
   h) Other

10. Do you have a television in your household? YES NO

11. Do you watch television?
    a) Daily
    b) Often: 4-6 days weekly
    c) Not often: less than 4 days weekly
    d) Never

12. How many hours a day do you watch it?
    a) 1-2 hours
    b) 3-4 hours
    c) 5-6 hours
    d) 7-8 hours

13. What sort of programmes do you watch?
    a) News
    b) Movies
    c) Soap Operas
    d) Cartoons
    e) Morning Time
    f) JIS programmes
14. Do you believe the news in/on

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<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>SOME</th>
<th>DON'T READ/LISTEN</th>
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<tr>
<td>JBC</td>
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<td>ENQUIRER</td>
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g) Other

15. What type of news don’t you believe?
   a) Local political news
   b) Foreign News
   c) Accounts of Accidents
   d) Police Incidents
   e) Other
   f) Not sure

16. Do you believe the advertising information that you read in the newspaper and hear on radio and television?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Some

17. What sort of advertisements don’t you believe?
   a) Consumer goods
   b) Family Planning Ads
   c) Sales
   d) Don’t know
   e) Other

18. How old are you?
   a) 15-19
   b) 20-24
   c) 25-29
   d) 30-34
   e) 35-49
19. What sort of job do you do?
   a) Factory worker
   d) Domestic helper
   e) Agricultural work
   f) Clerical
   g) Professional
   h) Higglering
   i) Skilled worker
   j) Unemployed
   k) Schoolgirl
   l) Other

20. How many years did you spend in All Age/Primary School?
   a) 1-3 years
   b) 4-6 years
   c) 7-9 years

   And Secondary School?
   d) 1-3 years
   e) 4-5 years
   f) Other educational institution

21. What is the ideal number of children a woman should have?
   a) 1
   b) 2
   c) 3
   d) 4
   e) 5
   f) 6 and more
   g) Don’t know

22. How many children do you have?
   a) 1
   b) 2
   c) 3
   d) 4
   e) 5
   f) 6 and more
   g) None

23. How many children do you think you will have by the
time you have finished having children?
   a) 1
   b) 2
   c) 3
   d) 4
   e) 5
   f) 6 and more
   g) No more
   h) Don’t know
24. Have you heard any information on family planning over the media?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Can't remember?

25. What sort of information did you hear?
   a) Commercials
   b) Talk programmes
   c) Naseberry Street
   d) Can't remember
   e) Other

26. Is there anyone in particular that you speak to if you need information on family planning?
   a) Nurse
   b) Family friend
   c) Friend
   d) No one

27. Between this person and the media who do you think is more reliable?
   a) Media
   b) Nurse
   c) Both
   d) Family member
   e) Friend
   f) Don't know

28. Would you prefer if there were more information available on family planning matters?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't know

29. What types of information would be most useful to you?
   a) Reproductive/sex education
   b) Medical effects of family planning methods
   c) Information on specific family planning methods
d) Other

30. Would you prefer getting this information from
   a) Radio
   b) Television
   c) Newspaper
   d) Nurse/Doctor
   e) Friend/Family

31. Have you heard any family planning advertisements in the media over the past few years?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Can’t remember

32. Can you recall any of these advertisements? YES NO

33. If yes, what do you recall?
   .................................................................

34. What does this mean to you?
   .................................................................

35. Can you recall any of the following advertisements?
   "Two is Better than Too Many" (DESCRIBE) YES NO

36. Did you hear or see this on:
   YES NO CANT REMEMBER
   RADIO  ( )  ( )  ( )
   TELEVISION ( ) ( ) ( )
   NEWSPAPER ( ) ( ) ( )

37. What is the meaning of this ad to you?
   .................................................................

38. "GIVE THEM A FAIR SHARE" (DESCRIBE) YES NO

39. Did you hear or see this on:
   YES NO CANT REMEMBER
   RADIO  ( )  ( )  ( )
40. What is the meaning of this ad to you?

41. "PANDEMONIUM" (DESCRIBE) YES NO

42. Did you hear or see this on:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>CANT REMEMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RADIO</td>
<td>(   )</td>
<td>(   )</td>
<td>(   )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

43. What is the meaning of this to you?

44. Are you and your partner
   a) Living together
   b) Living apart
   c) Married
   d) Not in Union

45. Are you using a contraceptive? YES NO

46. If no why? If pregnant ask why contraceptive was not used prior to pregnancy
   a) Side effects
   b) Personal objection
   c) Partner’s objection
   d) Religious objection
   e) No reason
   f) Pregnant
   g) Sterilized
   h) No partner
   i) Want a child
   j) Partner using a condom
   k) Other

47. Do you have any problems in getting contraceptives?
48. If yes what are the problems?
   a) Distance of Clinic
   b) Unavailability of contraceptives
   c) Other

49. Has anyone talked to you about only having two children?
   a) YES
   b) NO

50. If yes who?
   a) Family
   b) Medical staff
   c) Friends
   d) Boyfriend/husband

51. Do you think it is a good thing for a woman to have children?
   a) Yes
   b) No

52. If yes why?
   a) Must have her lot
   b) Will get sick if she does not
   c) Proves she is a woman/ not a mule
   d) Proves she loves her partner
   e) Love/happiness/pleasure of having
   f) Other

53. Do you think it is good for a woman to have more than two children?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don’t know

54. If yes why?
   a) Pleasures of having several
   b) Just in case something happens to one
c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

c) Give more help
d) Other
e) Don’t know
f) Must have her lot

55. What are the benefits/advantages to you in having children?
   a) Love/pleasure/happiness of having them
   b) To help out when they get bigger
   c) To help parents in old age
   d) They are blessings from God
   e) For their company
   f) No benefit
   g) Other

56. Do you think that having four or more children is the reason why many women are poor?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don’t know

57. If no what do you think is the reason(s)?
   a) Don’t know
   b) Unemployment
   c) Born into it
   d) No education
   e) Other

58. Do you think that if women have only two children they will not be poor?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don’t know

59. If no, what do you think will improve their condition?
   a) Education
   b) Employment
   c) Other
   d) Don’t know
60. Do you know if the government is trying to control the growth of Jamaica's population?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't know

61. If yes, how did you find out?
   a) Media
   b) Other people
   c) Family planning programmes
   d) Other


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