Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7

Jan Servaes *Editor*

Learning from Communicators in Social Change

Rethinking the Power of Development

Springer

Communication, Culture and Change in Asia

Volume 7

Series Editor

Jan Servaes, Former UNESCO Chair in Communication for Sustainable Social Change, University of Leuven, Hong Kong, Kowloon, Hong Kong

This series offers a comprehensive view of contemporary theoretical and programmatic issues in the field of communication, culture and social change in Asia. It explores multiple linkages between communication and culture from a social change perspective, an area that has been increasingly central to development debates over the past decades. The purpose of the series is twofold: to showcase the increasing richness and versatility of communication, culture and social change research and practice, and to make a call for adopting and applying a more comprehensive perspective on communication/culture for development and social change, with a focus on localizing and globalizing cases and studies in the Asian region. Given the variety and depth of challenges in this field, both researchers and practitioners need to espouse a broad understanding of communication and culture that transcends conventional approaches. Therefore, this series will solicit manuscripts that link communication and cultural processes to the exercise of fundamental human and citizen's rights and the empowerment of citizens in making decisions about change and other development-related issues. The series features contributions from well-respected scholars and practitioners in the field who address different communication and cultural dimensions and questions on current global/local change and development issues. The contributions propose an understanding of communication and culture as collective actions to redress social inequalities and development challenges.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/13565

Jan Servaes
Editor

Learning from Communicators in Social Change

Rethinking the Power of Development

Springer

Editor
Jan Servaes
UNESCO Chair in Communication
for Sustainable Social Change
Amherst, MA, USA

ISSN 2366-4665 ISSN 2366-4673 (electronic)
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia
ISBN 978-981-15-8280-6 ISBN 978-981-15-8281-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Contents

Editor and Contributors

About the Editor

Jan Servaes (Ph.D., 1987, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium) has been UNESCO Chair in Communication for Sustainable Social Change and Chairperson of the Scientific Committee for the World Congress on Communication for Development (WCCD), organized by the World Bank, FAO and Communication Initiative, 25–27 October 2006, Rome.

He has taught International Communication and Communication for Social Change in Australia, Belgium, China, Hong Kong, the United States, The Netherlands, and Thailand, in addition to several teaching stints at about 120 universities in 55 countries.

From 2000 to 2004 he was President of the European Consortium for Communications Research (ECCR) and Vice-President of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) (in charge of Research and Academic Publications).

Servaes was Editor-in-Chief of the Elsevier journal "Telematics and InformaticsAn Interdisciplinary Journal on the Social Impacts of New Technologies" (http://www.elsevier.com/locate/tele) from 2007 to 2019. He continues to be Editor of the Lexington Book Series "Communication, Globalization and Cultural Identity" (https://rowman.com/Action/SERIES/LEX/LEXCGC), and the Springer Book Series "Communication, Culture and Change in Asia" (http://www.springer.com/series/13565).

Servaes has undertaken research, development, and advisory work around the world and is the author of journal articles and books on such topics as international and development communication; ICT and media policies; intercultural communication; participation and social change; and human rights and conflict management. He has published more than 500 scientific articles on media and culture, international

communication and development, policy and planning, published in Chinese, Dutch, French, English, German, Indonesian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Thai; as well as 20 books/monographs in Dutch, 17 in English, 2 in Chinese, 2 in Spanish, and 1 in French.

He is known for his "multiplicity paradigm" in "Communication for Development. One World, Multiple Cultures" (1999).

Contributors

Silvia Balit from Italy, has many years of experience in the field of communication for development and social change. Her professional career has been devoted to working for the UN system, first with the Political and Security Council Affairs of the United Nations in New York, and then with the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome. Together with Colin Fraser she pioneered the Development Support Communication program in FAO. From 1984 to 1998 she was in charge of FAO's Communication for Development program. In this capacity, she led many initiatives aimed at strengthening rural communication systems in Africa, Asia, the Near East and Latin America to promote sustainable development and social change. She is currently a freelance consultant living in Rome, Italy.

Zhou Bing (周兵) is a Chinese documentary film director. He holds a Ph.D. from the College of History at Nankai University. Bing Zhou served as writer-director of Oriental Sons and producer of Oriental Time and Space and Chronicle for China Central Television (CCTV) since 1993. Zhou has been named "Best Documentary Film Director" in China three times and has created over 100 documentaries and other productions. His works include *Palace*, *Dun Huang,* and *Road of Millenia Bodhi*. All three aired on CCTV, National Geographic, SKY TV, the History Channel, Arte, and NDR. Currently, he runs the Beijing Oriental Elites Culture Development Co. Ltd. and works with Tiong Hiew King, the Datuk of Tan Sri, Malaysia, at Sun Media International Co. Ltd. and Zero Media International Co. Ltd. Throughout his career, Zhou has attempted to combine the industrialized process of documentary film making with the identity of independent directors. Zhou is also an adjunct professor in the Department of Media and Communication at the City University of Hong Kong. Zhou aspires to broadcast Chinese culture to the world through photographs and images.

Carlos Eduardo Cortés is a journalist, professor, and strategic communications project manager with cross-functional expertise in ICT4D (ICTs for Development); social web, e-Learning and Knowledge Management, and vast experience in the design and execution of media development and international aid projects focused on Educational Communication and Journalism. He is the current Director of the Bachelor of Social Communication at the Pontifical Xavierian University School of

Communication and Language in Bogotá, Colombia. Previously, he was Adjunct Professor of Fundamentals of Speech Communication at the Miami Dade College —West Campus; Multimedia Editor, Digital Entertainment at Univision Communications Inc., and Manager/Project Coordinator of Radio Nederland Training Centre—Latin America (RNTC-LA).

Lauren Dyll (orcid.org/0000-0001-8722-029X) is Associate Professor in the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Her research interests include participatory communication, critical indigenous qualitative methodologies and issues around cultural heritage and tourism in terms of the relationship between social change and identity. She has been a key contributor to the long-standing *Rethinking Indigeneity* project that signals strategies that aim to facilitate the participatory and transformative aspects of the research (and/or development) encounter. The majority of her fieldwork has been conducted in the Kalahari area of southern Africa, and more recently in Mpumalanga (South Africa) where she is project leader for the South African National Heritage Council (NHC)-funded project, *Mashishing Marking Memories*. She is a member of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) Clearinghouse and Associate Editor on the editorial board for journal, *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies* (Taylor and Francis).

Amable Rosario is teacher and communicator. Former Academic Director of Radio Nederland Training Center—Latin America. Specialist in Educational Communication for Development. He has served as director of radio stations and programmer, announcer and producer of radio programs and multimedia material packages. He has taught radio broadcasting workshops in Latin America, Europe, and Africa. He has written several works on Radio Production. Since 1998 he designs, teaches, and advises virtual e-Learning and b-Learning courses in the field of education and development.

Eliza Govender (orcid.org/0000-0003-2139-4881) is an Associate Professor and Academic Leader in the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS), University of KwaZulu-Natal. She teaches research methodology and social change and health communication. Her research interests include entertainment education, communication for social and behavioral change, and participatory methodologies for health communication, and implementation science research. Govender is also an Associate Social Scientist with the Centre for the Aids Programme of Research in South Africa (CAPRISA), a member of the editorial board of the journal *Communicare* and vice-chair of the Health Communication working group for the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR). She has also been guest editor for two special editions of the *African Communication Research Journal* on HIV communication in Africa (2010) and entertainment education in Africa (2014).

Alan Hancock started originally as a BBC radio and television producer and a founder member of the UK Open University team. Dr. Hancock worked for a number of years in Asia, beginning in Singapore in 1966–7 where he helped establish an Educational Television Service. He joined UNESCO in 1969 as the regional broadcasting communication adviser for Asia and the Pacific, where he was responsible for broadcasting policy advice and training and was instrumental in the establishment of the Asian Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD). Moving to Unesco Headquarters in Paris in 1972, he spent more than twenty years with the Communication Division, where he was Director from 1987. He worked on the planning of major communication projects in Thailand, Afghanistan, and Zambia, initiated a communication planning programme and was active in the creation of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC). In 1992, he became a Principal Director and established a dedicated intersectoral programme for UNESCO in Central and Eastern Europe.

After becoming an independent consultant in 1996, he undertook numerous assignments for the European Commission in Brussels, the World Bank, communication agencies in the Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Most of his assignments were devoted to planning, evaluation, and applied communication in such fields as development, health and education, with a particular emphasis on social participation, public consultation, and engagement.

In retirement since 2014, Dr. Hancock is active in civil society, primarily in the health sector. In 2015, he received an Asian Communication Award, bestowed by the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC).

Dr. Hancock's publications include "Communication Planning for Development" (1981, Unesco, Paris) and "Communication Planning Revisited" (1992, Unesco, Paris).

Usha S. Harris taught in the Department of Media, Music, Communication & Cultural Studies at Macquarie University, Sydney. She has more than 15 years of professional media experience which includes working as a television researcher and producer in Australia and as a print journalist in Fiji. She gained her Master of Arts in International Communication and her Ph.D. from Macquarie University.

Her research focuses on the use of participatory media in bottom up environmental communication strategies. Her current project is "Participatory Media in Environmental Communication." Usha has developed a theory of participatory environmental communication that incorporates three foundational concepts of diversity, network, and agency (DNA framework) in community action and resilience building, explained in her book Participatory Media in Environmental Communication (Routledge, 2019).

Birgitte Jallov has worked with communication and media in, for and around development for the past 30 years. The work has included elaboration, implementation, and evaluation of participatory development strategies; work to strengthen press freedom spaces and quality of an independent press; and work,

carving out the field of community communication for empowerment and development in the more than 70 different countries where she has worked within more than 300 different development realities—all with an aim to facilitate empowerment, democratization, and effective social change. Jallov's work areas include Communication for Development, Alternative and Community Communication, and Media Development—all carried out with a clear gender-lens along with gender-specific interventions. More information here www.empowerhouse.dk; https://www.linkedin.com/in/birgittejallov/

Timothy Kennedy (Ph.D. Cornell University) was chair of the Communications Department and professor at the University of Tampa. He is a pioneering expert in the field of development communication, and spent eleven years in Alaska developing communication between remote Eskimo villages and the government using videography. His experience was documented in his book, Where the Rivers Meet the Sky (https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/W/bo8364977.html).

The Sky River Project, as the program was known, was very successful and has been adapted around the world in countries like India and South Africa. As a Fulbright Scholar, Dr. Kennedy later took the project to Fiji. He is a Board Member of the Tampa Educational Cable Consortium, and a member of the Board of Trustees of the London-based International Institute of Communications (llC).

John A. Lent (Ph.D.) taught at the college/university level for 51 years, beginning in 1960, including stints as the organizer of the first journalism courses at De La Salle College in Manila; founder and coordinator of the Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) communication program; Rogers Distinguished Chair at University of Western Ontario; visiting professor at Shanghai University, Communication University of China, Jilin College of the Arts Animation School, Nanjing University of Finance and Economics, Beijing Film Academy in Qingdao, all in China, and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Dr. Lent is professor emeritus at Temple University.

Prof. Lent pioneered in the study of mass communication and popular culture in Asia (since 1964) and Caribbean (since 1968), comic art and animation, and development communication. He participated as a speaker, author, or teacher of devcom, beginning in 1964. He has authored or edited 85 books and monographs, hundreds of articles, and chapters in books, and has edited book series with Westview, Hampton Press, and Palgrave. Prof. Lent has lectured or presented papers in 72 countries, many dealing with communication issues in so-called developing countries, such as devcom, use of technology, and freedom of expression.

Additionally, he publishes and edits *International Journal of Comic Art* (1999–) and *Asian Cinema* (1994–2012), chairs Asian Popular Culture (PCA), Asian Cinema Studies Society (1994–2012), Comic Art Working Group (IAMCR 1984–2016), Asian-Pacific Animation and Comics Association, and Asian Research Center for Animation and Comics Art (all of which he founded). He also founded

the Malaysia/Singapore/Brunei Studies Group of Association for Asian Studies in 1976 and its quarterly periodical, *Berita*, which he edited for 26 years.

Prof. Lent has received lifetime achievement awards from organizations in Singapore, Spain, Colombia, China, Peru, and the United States, and three associations have sponsored ongoing prizes in his honor.

James Lescault was born and raised in Holyoke, Massachusetts, USA. During the mid-1970's he began to incorporate video production work into community issues confronting low-income residents of Holyoke; first working with inner-city teenagers. Mr. Lescault's community organizing work expanded into housing, anti-arson, police-community relations, and education.

Mr. Lescault pursued and obtained a BA degree in Community Planning from the University of Massachusetts College of Public and Community Service (CPCS). While studying he became the Executive Director of the Boston based, national non-profit consulting agency, Urban Educational Systems (UES). Mr. Lescault provided anti-arson for profit workshops and trainings to community-based organizations, city and state agencies as well as delivering testimony to U.S. Congressional committees.

As an independent video producer, Mr. Lescault has numerous credits servicing community-based organizations, as well as unions, museums and city government. His 1995 documentary, *Power/Poder*, was instrumental in mobilizing municipal voters to pass a referendum to successfully pursue a license to own and operate the Holyoke Dam.

In 2002, he was hired by the Holyoke Public Schools to start-up a new federally funded program, Even Start Family Literacy Program. This evening program for elementary children and their guardians was based upon literacy through the arts across the curriculum, with parent empowerment trainings as to their rights within the schools.

Mr. Lescault assumed his duties as the Executive Director of Amherst Media, a cable access organization, in October 2007. Since that time, Amherst Media has undertaken a radical reorganization, expanding the traditional roles of access.

In 2019, Mr. Lescault was executive producer and director of the documentary, *A House Built by HopeA Story of Compassion, Resilience and Religious Freedom.* The story is about Holocaust survivors building the Temple Beth Israel in Danielson, Connecticut, and how these immigrants were received in a Christian community. The documentary premiered at the Temple and received rave reviews from an inspired community.

Amherst Media has expanded their offerings and space to welcome soft and hardware developers, gamers, journalists, screenwriters, photographers, filmmakers, poets, musicians, designers, and most recently created opportunities for Maker Space and Citizen Scientists. For more information go to www.amherstmedia.org.

Emile G. McAnany completed a Ph.D. at Stanford University in 1970 and remained there until 1978 as a research associate and lecturer. He began a 17-year faculty position at the University of Texas at Austin in 1979 and was named an endowed professor in 1988. He took a position at Santa Clara University in 1997 as chair of the Department of Communication, retiring in 2013. His research has been

in international communication and development for his entire career. He has published 11 books plus chapters, articles and monographs in both fields. He has recently finished a biography of his mentor, Wilbur Schramm.

Charles Okigbo (Ph.D in Journalism, Ph.D. in Ed. Leadership) was the Executive Coordinator of the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE) at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, where he oversaw the extensive research activities, the wide-ranging training programs, and the multiple academic and professional publications of the association in various areas, especially development and social change communication. At present, he teaches communication at North Dakota State University, Fargo, ND, USA, where he also directs research in media coverage of election campaigns and the uses of advertising and public relations in corporate and political communication. His other academic interests are in mixed methods research applications for studying social problems, explorations of framing in crisis reporting, and the wider applications of communication in national development. His recent publications are on strategic health communication in urban contexts and strategic political communication in Africa. His teaching experiences include full or part-time instructional positions at the University of Nigeria, the University of Lagos, and Daystar University (Nairobi). He was the pioneer Registrar of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON). Among his publications, as editor, are *Development Communication Principles* (ACCE, 1996), *Development and Communication in Africa* (with Festus Eribo, 2004), and *Strategic Urban Health Communication* (2014). His research has featured in *Africa Media Review*, *Communication Educator*, *Communication Yearbook*, *International Communication Gazette*, *Journal of Communication* (Germany), *Journal of Development Communication*, *Journalism Quarterly* (*now Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* (JMCQ), and *Media Development*, among others. The central focus of his research activities is that development is a potent force in society and mobilizing this for positive social change requires purposeful and strategic communication.

Kiran Prasad is Professor, Department of Communication and Journalism, Sri Padmavati Mahila University, Tirupati, India. She was Commonwealth Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for International Communication Research, Institute of Communication Studies, University of Leeds, UK, and Canadian Studies Research Fellow at the School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University, Canada. She is the youngest ever recipient of the "State Best Teacher Award" from the Government of Andhra Pradesh, India, and recipient of several national awards for academic excellence. She has researched extensively in India, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Middle East, USA, Canada, and the UK on the interrelations between communication and development studies. She has published twenty-three books and over hundred research papers. Her recent books include *Communication, Culture and EcologyRethinking Sustainable Development in Asia* (2018), *Genderand ICTsFuture Directions in Bridging the Digital Divide* (2016),

Transforming International CommunicationMedia, Culture and Society in the Middle East (2014), *New Media and Pathways to Social ChangeShifting Development Discourses* (2013), *Media Law in India* (Kluwer Law International, 2011), *e-JournalismNew Media and News Media* (2009), and *Communication for Development Reinventing Theory and Action* (2009, in two volumes). She is the Secretary for Communication Education, Asian Congress for Media and Communication (ACMC), Philippines. She is series editor of *Empowering Women Worldwide*, a book series published by the Women Press, New Delhi.

Daniel Prieto Castillo (Ph.D. in Social Communication) is Emeritus Professor at the National University of Cuyo (Mendoza, Argentina). He has worked as specialist in educational communication in several projects for development in different countries of Latin America such as Ecuador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Mexico. He has published 48 books with theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions to the relationship between communication and education, in formal and non-formal education. Some of these books are "Communication in Education", "Eulogy of University Pedagogy, 20 Years of the Teaching Specialization", "Manual of Messages Production for New Readers", "Educate with Sense, Notes about Learning", "Rural Communication", "Radio Nederland Training Centre in Latin America. Pedagogical Memory of three decades". Prieto Castillo has been Director of postgraduate studies in University Teaching and University Professor since 1968 to date. He worked as an international expert in projects developed by organizations for social communication and developmentILCE, CIESPAL, RNTC-LA.

Nora C. Quebral is a Filipina communication scholar and institution builder. She is renowned for pioneering development communication and for founding the first faculty of development communication in Asia. Today, the College of Development Communication at UP Los Baños is one of the world's institutions that offers a three-tiered academic program in development communication.

A Professor Emeritus of development communication at UP Los Baños, she holds a Ph.D. in Communication from the University of Illinois and an MS in Agricultural Journalism from the University of Wisconsin. She started her career at the UP College of Agriculture as editor of the journal *Philippine Agriculturist*. She would later helm the Office of Extension and Publications and the various academic departments from which the College of Development Communication would arise.

For her sterling contributions to the field of development communication, she was conferred an honorary doctorate by the London School of Economics in 2011. Dr. Quebral passed away on October 24, 2020.

Ruth Teer-Tomaselli (orcid.org/0000-0002-0275-1006) is Professor Emeritus and Research Fellow at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban South Africa. She holds a UNESCO Chair in Communications for Southern Africa, 2002– present. She is a past Vice-President of the International Association for Media and

Communications Research (IAMCR). Ruth has also served as the President of the South African Communications Association (SACOMM) and is a Fellow of that organization. She has served as a Board member on the South African Broadcasting Corporation as well as the commercial station, East Coast Radio, and the community radio station, Durban Youth Radio. Ruth has supervised over 20 doctoral and 40 masters' candidates to completion, and published and written widely on the history, regulation and content of television in South Africa and across Africa. Her other research interests are visual communication, memory studies, and heritage sites. Teer-Tomaselli is an Associate Editor of *Critical ArtsSouth-North Cultural and Media Studies* (Routledge); and serves on the boards of the European Journal of Cultural Studies (Sage) and Feminist Media Studies (Routledge). In her spare-time she gardens and trains bonsai trees.

Acronyms

ABC	Abstinence, Be faithfull and use a Condom
ACCE	African Council for Communication Education
ACMC	Asian Congress for Media and Communication
AIBD	Asian Institute for Broadcasting Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMIC	Asian Media Information and Communication Centre
BCC	Behavior Change Communication
BIA	Bureau of Indian affairs
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CCMS	Centre for Communication, Media and Society
CEDEC	Community Enterprise Development Corporation, Inc.
CfD or C4D	Communication for Development
CFPD	Communication for Participatory Development
CDSC	Communication for Development and Social Change
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIESPAL	International Center for Higher Communication Studies in Latin America
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CSC	Communication for Social Change
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSSC	Communication for Sustainable Social Change
CSSC&D	Communication for Sustainable Social Change and Development
DevCom	Development communication
DNA	Diversity, Network, and Agency
DSC	Development Support Communication
DSCS	Development Support Communication Service
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television

DVD	Digital Versatile/Video Disc
EC	European Commission
ECA	Ethnographic Content Analysis
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FARR	Friends Association for Rural Reconstruction
FERC	Federal Energy Commission
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GAID	Global Alliance for ICT and Development
GED	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Equity Measure
GFATM	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria
GLTB	Gay, Lesbian, Transgender, and Bisexual
GNH	Gross National Happiness
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IAMCR	International Association for Media and Communication Research
ICA	International Communication Association
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ICTD	Information and Communication Technologies for Development
ICT4D	ICTs for Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication IMFInternational Monetary Fund
INEXSK	Infrastructure, Experience, Skills, Knowledge
IT	Information Technology
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude, and Behavior
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals United Nations Millennium Goals (MDGs)
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MOOCs	Massive Online Open Courses
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NBA	Narmada Bachao Andolan or Struggle to Save Narmada River
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NICTs	New Information and Communication Technologies
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OU	Open University
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service
PCR	Participatory Communication Research
PCRN	Participatory Communication Research Section/Network
PEPFAR	United States of America President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PDA	Population & Community Development Association
PFA	Press Foundation of Asia
PNS	Philippine News Service
PR	Public Relations
PROCEED	Programme for Central and Eastern European Development
PPI	Philippine Press Institute
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PSA	Public Service Advertisement
PV	Participatory Video
R&D	Research and Development
RME	Research, Monitoring, and Evaluation
RNTC	Radio Netherlands Training Center
RTC	Right to Communicate
SD	Sustainable Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SE	Sufficiency Economy
SEs	Social Enterprises
SEAPC	South East Asia Press Centre
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SITE	Satellite Instructional Television Experiment
SMS	Short Message Service
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TB	Tuberculosis
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UGC	User-generated content
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCDP	United Nations Capital Development Programme
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCSD	United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development
UNCSTD	United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USM	Universiti Sains Malaysia
VISTA	Volunteers In Service to America
WB	World Bank
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WFTO	World Fair Trade Organization
WHO	World Health Organization
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

List of Figures

List of Tables

Introduction: The Murky Beginnings and Confusing Guidelines of a "Do-Good" Ideology

Jan Servaes

The history of Development Communication or whatever other name is preferred—(e.g., devcom, comdev, C4D, communication in/for (sustainable) development, communication for (sustainable) social change, communication for development and social change, communication and education for development and/or knowledge (management) for development)—is well documented. These historical accounts have been dominated by framing developments within three paradigms—the modernization paradigm, the dependency paradigm and the multiplicity or participatory paradigm (see Servaes 1999), as the logical offspring of the Western drive to develop the world after colonization and the Second World War. Modernization accelerated the growth of a Westernized elite structure and of urbanization. The West considered development as an international obligation, the beginning of a broad international civil service, and the start of the continuing effort to find a way of promoting the wellbeing of the earth's people as a whole. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late eighties, which made the US for a while the only remaining 'superpower,' the emergence of the European Union and China, the gradual coming to the fore of regional powers, such as Brazil, Russia, India, and South-Africa (the so-called BRICS countries), the 2008 meltdown of the world financial system, the change of our planet's climate with its disastrous consequences for people everywhere, and the COVID-19 virus crisis, necessitates a rethink of the "power" of development, and consequently the place and role of communication in it. 'Old' rivalries, though not completely gone, are being challenged by 'new' ones with more cultural, religious or ethnic roots. The competition for the 'hearts and minds' of peoples has become more complex today than in the bi-polar past.

J. Servaes (✉)
UNESCO Chair in Communication for Sustainable Social Change, Amherst, MA, USA
e-mail: 9freenet9@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_1

Throughout the past century in separate regions of the globe, and both in the professional and academic world, different definitions of development communication have emerged. They have been interpreted and applied in different ways by organizations working at distinct societal and geographic levels. Both at theory and research levels, as well as at the levels of policy and planning-making and implementation, divergent perspectives were and still are on offer. They are based on different ontological and epistemological assumptions and therefore originate and relate to different worldviews, disciplinary perspectives and methodological and case-based applications. The United Nations has been an important player in the professional field and FAO, UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF and the World Bank have been forerunners (see the chapters by *Balit* and *Hancock* who both played a prominent role in FAO and UNESCO respectively). These institutions have organized several meetings and published widely on the theme.

According to Manyozo (2006), the term *development communication* was first coined in 1971 by Professor Nora C. Quebral. Quebral (1971) defined the field as "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential" (p. 69). However, Quebral (1988) acknowledges that the term borrows from contributions made by Chalkley (1968) and Jamias (1975) on development journalism, and Erskine Childers and Mallica Vajrathon's (1968) work on development support communication. Erskine Childers started the first Development Support Communication unit at UNDP in Bangkok in the sixties (see *Silvia Balit's* chapter, Fraser et al. 2008 for more details).

From the very beginning Quebral distinguished between top-down (or governmental) and bottom-up (people's) ways of development communication, as she explains in the first chapter of this book. We are most grateful to Professor Cleofe Torres, Dean of the College of Development Communication at UP Los Baños, for granting us permission to reproduce this not widely published text by Nora Quebral. It sets the agenda for this book but also the field of devcom at large: top-down versus bottom-up. Some contributors have been struggling with this duality for most of their professional or academic life.

Summarizing the history of development communication is not easy because it is considered to have different origins and "founding fathers". Some explain it as the logical offspring of the Western drive to develop the world after colonization and the Second World War. Staples (2006), for instance, explains that, after 1945 the West considered development as an international obligation, the beginning of a broad international civil service, and the start of the continuing effort to find a way of promoting the wellbeing of the earth's people as a whole. Latham (2000) explains how social science theory helped shape American foreign policy during the Kennedy administration and resulted in the Alliance for Progress with Latin America, the Peace Corps, and other US development aid programs worldwide. It was assumed that, with the help of foreign aid, the rural backward areas would be developed in the areas of agriculture, basic education, health, rural transportation, community development, and so forth. As a result, government bureaucracies were

extended to the major urban centers. In fact, the United States was defining development as the replica of its own political economic system and opening the way for the transnational corporations. Others (e.g., Habermann and De Fontgalland 1978; Jayaweera and Amunugama 1987) position devcom as a regional (mainly Asian) reply to modernization. However, in Asia as elsewhere, US-educated professionals and teachers were the ones who introduced the first devcom perspectives to local students (see the contributions by *John Lent*, *Silvia Balit* and *Alan Hancock* in this book). Therefore, Manyozo (2006) suggested that development communication be discussed in plural and divided into six schools. These six schools of thought in development communication comprise: Bretton Woods, Latin American, Indian, African, Los Banos and the Communication for Development and Social Change schools. These categorizations are based on planned, systematic and strategic communication strategies; coherent method; attachment to academic, training and research institutions; and sources of project funding.

There are some who look for founding "fathers" and "mothers" in the academic world. Quebral (2012) from The Philippines or Beltran (1993) in Latin America are likely candidates from the Global South. The dominant discourse on the history of development communication is documented by some of the main US representatives of the communication and modernization tradition (Lerner and Schramm 1967; Rogers 1976; Schramm and Lerner 1976).

Emile McAnany in his chapter, Bah (2008), Pooley (2017), Simpson (1994, 1998), Samarajiva (1987), and Shah (2011, 2020), who also examined the beginnings of development communication, identify the seminal work by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964) as 'foundational' for the field. However, they also find that their work was a spin-off from a large and clandestine audience research project conducted for the Voice of America by the Bureau of Applied Social Research. Some of these research reports still remain classified by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). They note the strong influence exerted by the demands of psychological warfare, in the context of the Cold War, on the early studies of communication in the United States: "Exploratory work on the early period suggests the following pattern of net influence flows: marketing research to communication research; marketing and communication research to psychological warfare; from psychological warfare to communication and development" (Samarajiva 1987: 17). The State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA,—with the help of major foundations, such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundation, invested heavily in psychological warfare research (Longley 2020; Simpson 1994). Longley (2020) contends:

"In his 1949 book, *Psychological Warfare Against Nazi Germany*, former OSS (now the CIA) operative Daniel Lerner details the U.S. military's WWII Skyewar campaign. Lerner separates psychological warfare propaganda into three categories:

- White propaganda: The information is truthful and only moderately biased. The source of the information is cited.
- Grey propaganda: The information is mostly truthful and contains no information that can be disproven. However, no sources are cited.

– Black propaganda: Literally "fake news," the information is false or deceitful and is attributed to sources not responsible for its creation.

While grey and black propaganda campaigns often have the most immediate impact, they also carry the greatest risk. Sooner or later, the target population identifies the information as being false, thus discrediting the source. As Lerner wrote, "Credibility is a condition of persuasion. Before you can make a man do as you say, you must make him believe what you say"". (Lerner remained mentioned as an ICA 'operative' well into the sixties (Mander 1968: 29)).

The lines between truth and falsehood, between persuasion and propaganda have become increasingly blurred in today's world with its ubiquitous social media and authoritarian and populist leaders (Moore 2019). Ellul (1976) brilliantly analyzes how propaganda attempts to 'take hold of the entire person', with an 'organized myth' acting as an anchoring belief that limits options for discovering truth. "Through the myth it creates, propaganda imposes a complete range of intuitive knowledge, susceptible of only one interpretation" (Soules 2015: 4).

How the above history got introduced and 'received' in the Asian context is analyzed in a number of the contributions in this book. Especially *John Lent* vividly describes his own experience and involvement in The Philippines and Malaysia, and explains how the changes to a more indigenous perspective resulted in the foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and pleas for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in the seventies and early eighties, resulting in the so-called MacBride (1980) report at the level of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (see also *Hancock's* chapter).

One of the latest attempts to present a unified and agreeable definition of development communication was made during the first World Congress on Communication for Development (Rome, 25–27 October 2006) (see also *Balit's* chapter). The so-called *Rome Consensus* states that "Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. *It is not public relations or corporate communication*"[1] (Servaes 2015).

However, major aspects of many projects and programs currently being promoted and implemented in the world are, I believe, nothing but "public relations or corporate communication." I am joined by Rogers (2005), past Head of Communications and Information at UNCDF and now with the UN Development Group (UNDG), who aptly summarizes the major "brand" of devcom approaches as *"Participatory diffusion or semantic confusion"*: "Many development practitioners are avoiding the semantic debates … in order to harness the benefits of both approaches. For them, what is most important is not what an approach is called, the origins of an idea or how it is communicated. What is critical is that we find the most effective and efficient tools to achieve the noble objectives outlined in the Millennium Declaration" (Rogers 2005).

[1] https://www.devcomm-congress.org/worldbank/macro/2.asp, emphasis added.

Therefore, I have argued (see, for instance, Servaes 2020) that in essence communication for social change is the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process, which has as its ultimate objective *sustainable development* at distinct levels of society. Communication media and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are important tools in achieving social change but their use is not an aim in itself–interpersonal communication, traditional and group media must also play a fundamental role.

When conceptualizing this book we wanted to present the perspectives of some of the main players, both academics and professionals, in order to provide valuable lessons for future generations of change agents. When inviting the authors for a contribution, the following questions were raised:

How would you define social change and/or development?

What's the role and place of communication in social change?

What does it take to be a great communicator for social change?

How did you get involved?

Which do you consider your success-stories, which failed and why?

What would you do differently, if you were given a second chance?

Any advice to the new generations?

They were at liberty to approach their contribution as they saw fit. Some obviously addressed the questions from their personal experience and involvement, others positioned them in a more historical, geographic or institutional context. The result is a rich compilation which provides interesting glimpses into complex and often wicked problems.

- *John Lent* shares his experience with institutions as the *Press Institute of the Philippines, the Press Foundation of Asia, UNESCO, and the Non Aligned Movement* and evaluates the issues they, and by extension, he had to deal with: communication oriented for the masses, two-way flow of information, appropriate, affordable, and sustainable technology, freedom and autonomy to conduct research, and relevant research theories and methods more accommodating to the customs, conditions, and needs of specific people.
- *Emile McAnany* recounts the more than fifty years he worked in international communication research and development communication. He provides a brief overview of the projects he has been involved in, first at Stanford, then at the University of Texas at Austin, and last at UCLA Santa Barbara. Wilbur Schramm features prominently in this chapter because McAnany acknowledges him as his mentor and teacher (McAnany 2017). When the MacBride Report in 1980 began to show the cracks in the modernization paradigm of development communication, which Wilbur Schramm represented, that lead to more critical studies of both communication and development. McAnany also addresses the United Nations Millennium Development Goals after 2000. He reviews the major project that Jeffrey Sachs led between 2005–2015 with the different reactions to its success. He introduces the discussion of economists as to the value of large and small

projects and suggests that innovative ideas for small-scale communication for development projects might engage local university faculty and students in their field work.

- *Silvia Balit* is uniquely placed to describe the beginnings of *Development Support Communication* (DSC) and its evolution in the *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations* (FAO). From 1984 to 1998 she was in charge of FAO's Communication for Development program. She focuses on the difficult times to gain recognition as well as the years when FAO became internationally known as a pioneer and a leader in communication for development. She argues that contrary to the first years the present landscape is favourable to communication for development and social change. Compared to the beginnings change agents have a wide range of academic programs, new technologies and a number of communication networks to select from. At the same time there are many challenges, some of them dating from the early years, such as mainstreaming to ensure that communication is included in development policy. Change agents will need to merge the guidelines resulting from past experience with new approaches to meet the changing needs of our planet.
- *Alan Hancock* started originally as a BBC radio and television producer and a founder member of the UK Open University team. Afterwards, he spent more than twenty years with UNESCO's Communication Division, where he was Director from 1987 to 1992. He became, inspired by Wilber Schramm, known as the expert on communication policies and planning. He argues that, at an international level, the relationship between policy and planning proved difficult to manage, largely because consensus could not be reached on ideological issues. It appears that systems-based planning is best suited to scenarios which are more interventionist and both objectives and outcomes are broadly agreed. In more open situations, where priorities and desired outcomes are less clear, a more sensitive and evolutionary approach is needed, with an emphasis on needs assessment, consultation and engagement. In future, he contends, the organic models employed by community media may be more relevant to communication planning for development, if they can be made compatible with the dominant political and social environment.
- In addition to the rich insights presented by the previous authors, *Jan Servaes* recalls an often ignored or overlooked conference which he considers crucial for the 'turning' of the development communication debate: the so-called third seminar on *Communication and Change*, hosted by the University of Hawaii and the East–West Center in Honolulu (July 20-August 1, 1987). Like the two previous ten-year seminars, coordinated by Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner, this seminar was meant to review and synthesize the status of the field of development communication. The proceedings of the 1987 seminar were never published.

Furthermore, he summarizes the major shifts which took place at theoretical, professional and institutional levels over the past decades.

- The second part of the book, with a more country-specific focus, is opened by *Kiran Prasad's* contribution on India. Prasad describes how urban–rural divides and socio-economic inequalities have led to a struggle for social justice and rights

for sustainable development. She analyses the marginalization and near exclusion of women's reality in development policy debates and media discourse. Alternative communication media and the digital media are being widely used for giving voice to the marginalized and rural communities. This chapter analyzes the challenges of communicating social change in the midst of widespread social inequalities and a vibrant media landscape to provide a critical understanding of steering India's transformation to a more inclusive and sustainable future.

– *Usha Harris* promotes a participatory environmental communication framework that engages ordinary people in communicative processes about environmental concerns so that they are able to identify the problems and are collectively empowered to make decisions to improve their situation. Participatory media provides an important platform for communities to tell their stories and create awareness about environmental issues from their own perspective. Based on her research in the Pacific region, Harris provides a step-by-step explanation of the participatory production process including choice of project, the process of message creation, and how engagement in the participatory process invites diversity, strengthens networks and fosters agency in participants.
– Having been recognized as the "Best Documentary Film Director" in China three times, and producer of over 100 critically acclaimed documentaries like *The forbidden city*, *Palace*, *Dun Huang,* and *Road of Millenia Bodhi, Zhou Bing* is uniquely placed to describe the transformations in Chinese society. He describes how, after China entered the World Trade Organization (WTO), television and film viewing and production have changed.

The third part of the book expands the regional focus again because the cases and approaches qualify for having a more universal appeal.

– *The Skyriver: Lower Yukon Project* in Alaska is considered to be a pioneering use of film and video as tools to strengthen and enhance a village level community development process. *Tim Kennedy*, who collaborated for more than thirty years with and among Native Alaskan villagers, reviews this longitudinal process and discusses some of the main lessons learned. Kennedy argues that, although the SkyRiver process is impossible to package, there are several general features that are applicable to a wide variety of situations:

    1. Unlike advocacy, collaboration focuses on the process of change, on organizing and mobilizing the competencies of citizens, instead of the resolution of an issue as an end in itself.
    2. The SkyRiver Process contains mechanisms that ensure accountability of the Social Mobilizer (and local leaders) and prevents the imposition of external agendas, parameters of discussion, and time frames.
    3. The process is respectful of both citizens and responsible decision makers by giving both parties the opportunity to present their views in a direct manner without the distortion that often results from the use of an intermediary—an advocate.

4. Citizen control of all phases of the SkyRiver Process, coupled with sensitive use of video and film, encourages the development of a sense of collective power that compensates for the inequities of social and economic status and cultural differences.
5. The SkyRiver Process Begins with Local Needs, but Allows for the Building of Coalitions with Other Communities and Alliances with Decision Makers When Strategically Useful.
6. The SkyRiver Process fosters the development of community initiated solutions, not just descriptions of problems or complaints, thus providing mature and constructive information for decision-makers to respond to.
7. Formal leaders at the local community level are not ignored or circumvented.

The SkyRiver Process Provides a Way to Use the Specialized Expertise of Researchers, Technicians, and Professionals Without Them Driving the System.

Kennedy emphasizes that "While this approach can be learned, it is not an ideology or technique that can be memorized and applied universally in a series of rigidly defined steps. It is not a formula. It is a process, in time, to be used in an open-ended and responsive manner according to the requirements of varying circumstances. Adaptation and evolution are inherent to the SkyRiver process and remain key determinants of its success".

– *Birgitte Jallov* reflects upon her professional engagement over the past 30 years as 'a reflected and reflecting practitioner'. Her aim has always been to contribute to the development of a field: Communication & Media at the service of people's empowerment, rights and democracy. She considers community media the best tools to further improve and reach these objectives. And, an effective development practitioner needs to possess the following 'qualities': "Respect, Humility, Curiosity, Sincere interest, Awareness of the power of culture (yours and mine), and Listening—a lot—before talking. After this comes the technical, professional knowledge and experience including Letting people speak for themselves and Participation!".
– *James Lescault*, the director of the renowned local *Amherstmedia* station in Massachusetts, grew up in the city of Holyoke Massachusetts, one of the first planned industrial cities in the United States. He first explains the socio-economic, cultural and ethnic changes in the city. Then he pictures his own involvement by way of the creation of a bi-lingual video documentary –*Power/Poder* –, depicting the historical realities of the working class and working poor to find a common avenue from which to work together to improve their living conditions. The chapter documents the strategy and implementation of this multi-faceted, bi-lingual media communication campaign. Lescault addresses today's technology issues and discusses how he would undertake a similar campaign today.

For the fourth part of the book we invited scholars from Africa and Latin America to reflect on the issue from their regional vantage points.

– *Charles Okigbo*, who was the Executive Coordinator of the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE), assesses the ups and downs of development communication in Africa. He claims that ACCE heavily relied on the support of international partners. When that support dwindled, the interest in and impact of ACCE also faded. Okigbo argues that the relationship between development, innovation, and social change is not linear but complicated, as they can result from, and also reinforce each other. While ACCE was successful in some of its research, training, and publishing, ACCE failed in galvanizing broad interests in promoting an African perspective on communication, development communication, and social change communication. Therefore, "The current generation of communication scholars in Africa shall learn to be more strategic in envisioning the future and be more determined to project an authentically African framework or paradigm for communication generally, and for development and social change communication, in particular".
– *Ruth Teer-Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll and Eliza Govender* of the *Centre for Communication, Media and Society* (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in South Africa present an overview of the intellectual growth, pedagogy, and practical implementation of communication for social change over the past two decades. The transitions were in step with the structural and political changes in a transforming South Africa, as well as the personal and theoretical interests of the Centre's staff.

The chapter tracks and problematizes how the teaching modules transitioned in 2002 from Media, Democracy and Development to Communication for Participatory Development in 2019. The changes have also impacted the research tracks of the Centre: health communication and social change; rethinking indigeneity; and community media. In rethinking the power of development and the impact of community engagement, the Centre also revised its engagements and partnerships with NGOs, indigenous communities and civil society organizations.

– Thc Latin American contribution is provided by *Daniel Prieto Castillo, Amable Rosario and Carlos Eduardo Cortés*, who, at different times and levels, have all been involved in the work of *Radio Nederland Training Centre (RNTC)—Latin America.* The chapter wishes to offer guidelines on communication and education to organizations and people in different countries, based on the experience of RNTC-LA.

RNTC-LA upheld from the outset that in-depth development communication is impossible without enough knowledge of the culture and perceptions of the receivers. Unfortunately, too often communication solutions were based on stereotypes and socio-economic data of the targeted groups. Not enough consideration was given to the fact that a project needs specific information on the communicational characteristics of the participants, the scope and penetration of the communication channels in each community and the most appropriate language, among other aspects. The authors argue that "the key in this type of communicational research is the interaction with people, in order to move away from trends consisting of the search for

data extracted without any involvement in the context, to the active participation of potential interlocutors of a specific communicational process".

– In the conclusion we attempt to formulate a few suggestions for the future of communication for development and social change.

Thank you to all contributors for their valuable insights.

A number of people who were invited to contribute, had, for a variety of reasons, to withdraw. I wish to acknowledge and thank Choy Arnaldo, Brenda Dervin, Alfonso Gumucio Dagron, Tom Hogan, Ullamaja Kivikuru, Daniel Mato, Evangelina Papoutsaki, Kalinga Seneviratne, Jaap Swart, and Arvind Singhal in this regard.

Two footnotes:

1. While conceptualizing this book project, we went back to Jonathan Crush's inspiring book *The power of Development*, where he describes the 'development machine' as encompassing "departments and bureaucracies in colonial and post-colonial states throughout the world, Western aid agencies, multilateral organisations, the sprawling global network of NGOs (nongovernmental organisations), experts and private consultants, private sector organisations such as banks and companies that marshall the rhetoric of development, and the plethora of development studies programmes in institutes of learning worldwide" (Crush 1995: 6). We sincerely hope that the contributions in our book help to unmask some of the power of development communication.
2. We have been editing this book while in 'lockdown' due to the Covid-19 health crisis. We were constantly reminded of one of Charles Okigbo's observations: "An epidemic in a remote village can easily spiral out of control to become a global pandemic that can threaten world development and global wellbeing. Thus, we must understand development as *world development*, which is not for only developing regions but for all world regions, regardless of their relative economic or technological strength".

This rings very true. It forces us to think deeply about the consequences of this crisis and the kind of society and underlying values we hold dear as a humanity: our common priority should be health and not economic growth. We are hence called, as Laurent (2020) argues, to a double revolution: "Putting health back at the heart of our public policies, while putting the environment at the heart of our health policies".

References

Bah, U. (2008). Daniel lerner, cold war propaganda and Us development communication research: An historical critique. *Journal of Third World Studies, 25*(1). 1 Spring.

Beltran L. R. (1993). Communication for development in Latin America: A forty years appraisal. In D. Nostbakken & C. Morrow (Eds.), *Cultural Expression in the Global Village*, Penang: Southbound.

Chalkley, A. (1968). *A manual of development journalism.* Manila: Press Foundation of Asia.

Childers, E., & Vajrathon, M. (1968). *Development support communication for project support. Paper*. Bangkok: UNDP.
Crush, J. (1995). *Power of development*. London: Routledge.
Ellul, J. (1976). *Histoire de la propagande* (2nd ed.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Fraser, C., & Restrepo-Estrada, S. (1998). *Communicating for development. Human change for survival*. London: I.B. Tauris.
Habermann, P., & de Fontgalland, G. (Eds.). (1978). *Development communication–rhetoric and reality*. Singapore: AMIC.
Jamias, J. (Ed.). (1975). *Readings in development communication*. Los Baños: University of the Philippines.
Jayaweera, N., & Amunugama, S. (Eds.). (1987). *Rethinking development communication*. Singapore: AMIC.
Kennedy, T. (2008). *Where the rivers meet the sky: A collaborative approach to participatory development*. Penang: Southbound.
Latham, M. (2000). *Modernization as ideology: American social science and "nation building" in the Kennedy era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Laurent, E. (2020) "The four worlds of the social-ecological state" *Social Europe* (30th April) https://www.socialeurope.eu/the-four-worlds-of-the-social-ecological-state.
Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press.
Lerner, D., & Schramm, W. (Eds.). (1967). *Communication and change in the developing countries*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
Longley, R. (2020). An Introduction to Psychological Warfare. *ThoughtCo*, Feb. 11, 2020, thoughtco.com/psychological-warfare-definition-4151867.
MacBride, S. (Ed.). (1980). *Many voices, one world: Communication and society, today and tomorrow*. Paris: UNESCO.
Manyozo, L. (2006). Manifesto for Development Communication: Nora C. Quebral and the Los Baños School of Development Communication. *Asian Journal of Communication, 16*(1), 79–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980500467632.
Manyozo, L. (2012). *Media, Communication and Development. Three Approaches*. New Delhi: Sage.
McAnany, E. (2017). *Wilbur Schramm*, Oxford Bibliographies Online, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0190.xml.
Mander, J. (1968). *Who's Who in CIA*. Berlin: J. Mader, 605 p.
Moore, M. (2019). *Democracy hacked. How technology is destabilising global politics*. London: One World Publications.
Pooley J. (2017). *Wilbur Schramm and the "Four Founders" History Of U.S. Communication Research,,* Коммуникации. Медиа. Дизайн, Том 2, №4, 2017 https://www.jeffpooley.com/pubs/pooley-schramm-2018.pdf.
Quebral, N. C. (1971). Development communication in the agricultural context. In Search of breakthroughs in Agricultural Development, Los Baños: University of the Philippines, December 9–10.
Quebral, N. C. (1988). *Development communication*. Los Baños: University of the Philippines.
Quebral, N. C. (2012). *Development Communication Primer*. Penang: Southbound.
Rogers, A. (2005). Participatory diffusion or semantic confusion. In M. Harvey (Ed.), *Media matters: Perspectives on advancing governance & development from the Global Forum for Media Development* (pp. 179–187). London: Internews Europe.
Rogers, E. M. (Ed.). (1976). *Communication and Development*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
Samarajiva, R. (1987). The murky beginnings of the communication and development field: Voice of America and the passing of traditional society. In N. Jayaweera & S. Amunaguma (Eds.), *Rethinking development communication* (pp. 3–19). Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Center.

Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media and national development: The role of information in the developing countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Schramm, W., & Lerner, D. (Eds.). (1976). *Communication and change*. The last ten years—and the next, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development: One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton.
Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Communication for development and social change*. London: Sage.
Servaes, J. (2015). Beyond Modernization and the Four Theories of the Press. In L. Chin-Chuan (Ed.), *Internationalizing "International Communication"* (pp. 66–89). Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press.
Servaes, J. (ed) (2020) (ed.), *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Chang*e, Singapore: Springer.
Shah, H. (2011). *The production of modernization: Daniel Lerner, mass media, and the passing of traditional society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Shah, H. (2019). *Daniel Lerner and the Origins of Development Communication* in J. Servaes (ed.), Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change,
Staples, A. (2006). *The birth of development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization changed the world, 1945–1965*. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press.
Simpson, C. (1994). *Science of coercion: Communication research and psychological warfare, 1945–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Simpson, C. (Ed.). (1998). *Universities and empire: Money and politics in the social sciences during the Cold War*. New York: New Press.
Soules, M. (2015). *Media, Persuasion, Propaganda*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Is It Government Communication or People Communication?

Nora C. Quebral

Development as Learning

We start with the unarguable premise that all human beings have the right to seek to expand to the full the inner and outer limits of their capabilities. Because of deeply rooted poverty, an adverse environment, scarce opportunities and other related reasons including being a female, some are less equipped than others to do so. They are mainly the rural dwellers who comprise about three-quarters of the population of any country known as developing.

The poorest of them, the bottom forty percent who live below the poverty line, cannot even satisfy their basic needs. In the Philippines they are the landless agricultural workers, upland farmers and sustenance fishermen. In India they are the landless laborers, farmers with less than a hectare of landholding, fishermen and small artisans like leather workers and weavers. As a class they are malnourished, drink unsafe water, possess the minimum of shelter and household goods, have forgotten how to read or write if they ever knew how, consult a doctor only when terminally ill, die young. By virtue of need and number, they and their families merit first call on communication that claims to be for equitable development.

More than 900 million of the poor are in Asia and the Pacific region. Their number continues to grow without a corresponding increase in cultivable land or in productivity, resulting in worsening poverty. In this no-win situation, society in the person of the state is obliged to intervene for humanitarian reasons, and also because if it does

Paper presented at the BERNAMA-AMIC seminar on "Communication Challenges in Asia," Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, November 22, 1985. First published in Quebral, Nora C., (1995) Development Communication. College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines at Los Banos, College, Laguna, Philippines. pp.13–25. Reprinted with permission

N. C. Quebral (✉)
College of Development Communication At UP Los Baños, Los Baños, Philippines
e-mail: agtlim@devcom.edu.ph

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_2

not, some others surely will, with anarchic consequences. These are the justifications for state policies meant to give the poor an edge in realizing more income and in gaining access to life-maintaining goods and services. They are the same rationale for proposing communication policies that will assure the poor of information to raise their levels of living.

Providing people with the means to obtain material goods and services will sustain life when they are still powerless to change oppressive conditions. National blueprints to signify where a country wants to go and how it plans to get there are announcements of intent. Policies can create a more benign environment in which plans have a better chance of succeeding. But if there is anything we have learned from the past decades, it is that government and development agencies may propose but people, in the end, will dispose. No matter how poor, in matters that personally concern them, they remain active agents and at some stage make choices. Rightly or wrongly by government lights, they will decide to go along with public policy, repudiate or modify it, or strike off on their own.

This means that, realistically, governments have never had full control over the development progress of their citizens. Their role indeed ideally diminishes as people acquire the ability to manage their lives better. They can be supportive by providing information, resources and opportunities that individuals singly cannot muster; they can create a favorable climate within which people can unfold their wings. But in development seen as the growth of people's capacities to improve their lives and those of others with the means at hand, there is a line across which governments do not have the moral authority nor the real power to go. The bottom line in development, as so many have already said before, is that people develop themselves. Government, as the instrument of society, can only make it happen faster.

If development is so perceived, the soundest policies that a government can make are those that enable its citizens to learn creatively from their experience and that of others, at the same time that the policies attend to primary needs. Development then becomes lifelong learning that is undergone by everyone. Participation in it is not a privilege granted by a tolerant government but an inescapable element of the process. Similarly, the values of self-reliance, initiative and critical judgment are intrinsic to the outcomes. For the government of a developing country then to expect its citizen learners to passively conform, to assent without thought or to accept without question is to contradict itself.

With development seen as participatory learning, communication associated with it cannot be less participative or educational in ends as, in means. This is the logic behind current projects involving village people in making slide shows or video programs that convey the essence of their situation to the world outside their bypassed communities. Properly guided, the experience enlarges their consciousness about their problems and helps them clarify their options. It also add.

to their communicative skills, thereby giving them an extra measure of self-confidence. The only rub is this: from which of their activities to fend for food and other necessities do they pare off the precious time to produce a slide set that makes a statement?

What or Who is Government?

For those who bracket development communication with government, a pertinent question to consider is what or who is government? The political machinery of a country is government. But so is its agricultural extension service. A state university is government. A rural health unit is government. The people who man the last three go about their professions regardless of who the political leaders are. Their first care is, or should be, for farm families, for students and for patients. To be government is not automatically to be political, and libertarians who sweepingly indict development communication because it is used by government agencies like the three just mentioned are bad logicians—or misread the concept.

Three Communication Concepts for Development

Perhaps this is the best time to say something about development journalism, development support communication and development communication as they were originally conceived. The three shade into each other, being products of a common search for communication content and methods more apt to the circumstances of poor societies struggling towards a better life. All three were meant to fight economic and social problems with information coming largely from science. If their advocates identify with any other groups besides professional communicators, it is with social scientists, hardly with politicians. Interestingly, all three evolved in Asia.

The men who pioneered development journalism wisely wasted no time defining it. They just went ahead and did it. In the late ‘60 s, the Philippine Press Institute, headed by Juan L Mercado, and the Philippine News Service began getting out in depth news stories on, at that time, unlikely topics like population growth rates, forest denudation, the fishing industry, regional economic trends, housing, rat damage to crops, migration streams and water policies.[1] Bothered by like problems in the region, ‘a group of Asian publishers and editors set up the Press Foundation of Asia in 1968. In the same year PFA convened the first Asian Economic Writers’ Training Course in Manila. The course reflected the twin emphasis of development journalism then: development economics in Asia and techniques of writing clearly about it.

Two outputs significant for development journalism date back to that course. One is Alan Chalkley’s Manual for Development Journalism. The other is Depthnews (whose first three letters stand for development, economics and population), a regular media packet of development news stories translated into a number of Asian languages for regional distribution. The participants of the course agreed to call themselves development journalists who would “consciously serve as a part of

[1]Juan F. Jamias, “Beyond Conventional News Reporting—Development Journalism,” SEARCA professorial chair inaugural lecture, May 25, 1977.

the effort of their nations to develop their economic resources and not merely as recorders of economic events".[2]

If development journalism was a child of press groupings development t support communication grew out of the inter- national bureaucracy of the United Nations system. Also in the late '60 s, Erskine Childers, then director of the Development Support Communication Service in Bangkok, expounded a methodology of communication appraisal, planning, production and evaluation for certain developing country projects. These were projects assisted by UNDP and UNICEF and implemented and advised by the UN family of agencies. They were specifically those whose success depended in some way on sensitizing, informing and teaching certain groups of people at various stages of the projects in accordance with defined behavioral objectives.

The focal point of the DSC methodology is the development project. The aim is to provide it with communication materials, research and evaluation that will assure it a motivated staff, the right teaching aids, utilization of its results, and a receptive climate for it in the project site clear out to other human circles whose decisions might affect its success. The support communication 'planner uses social science tools for project analysis and whatever human and mechanical media might suit the situation.

Development communication as taught, researched and practised at the University of the Philippines at Los Baños accepts as valid the rationale and methodology of development journalism and development support communication. It integrates them into a budding academic discipline that draws from development theory, mass communication, agricultural journalism, agricultural extension, education, and basic social sciences like sociology, psychology, economics and anthropology. It was first presented as an incipient spin-off field at a university symposium on breakthroughs in agricultural development in December 1971. To set the record straight for those who treat it as a product of authoritarian rule, the symposium preceded by a good nine months the declaration of martial law in the Philippines.

Not quite by design, that first paper[3] tentatively defined development communication with the accent on development, but that is actually how the field has shaped up since. It spoke of three levels at which development communication could be operationalized: (a) in a project, mainly as development support communication, (b) in a sector, such as communication within a country's agricultural system, and (c) in a national communication system as development journalism partly, but inclusive of the non-print media. A fourth level might now be added—in the international arena, where most of the arguments about a more democratic world information order are played out.

From their original theses, the three concepts have since grown to accommodate new thinking on development as well as changes in their environments. Depthnews

---

[2]Tarzie Vittachi, "Relevance Is All," *Press Forum, April 1969, p. 7* (as cited by J.F. Jamias).

[3]Nora C. Quebral, "Development Communication in the Agricultural Context," Paper presented at the symposium In *Search of Breakthroughs in Agricultural Development*, December 10, 1971, College, Laguna.

no longer concentrates on population and economics news, for instance. It now covers other social beats, ranging all the way from child prostitution to art forms that portray a nation's culture. Development support communication has emerged more strongly as a management function of development organizations working in rural areas. It now seems softer on behavioral analysis and heavier on the production of communication materials. Development communication is inching away from persuasion and turning towards dialogue and experiential learning. It is seeking workable ways of counterbalancing top-down information flows with more participatory communication structures in the villages. All three are beginning to cope with the burgeoning of communication technology. None has lost its first commitment to bettering the human condition.

Ironically, journalists make the most caustic critics of development journalism and development communication. The stigma attached to both appears to stem from two reasons: (a) the concepts have been put to unintended uses by design or through plain misunderstanding, and (b) they are rightfully seen as part of the sociology of their period but are then tarred indiscriminately with all its negative features. No one seems to dispute the planned use of communication in village development projects. If some university types want another peg on which to hang their teaching, research and extension, that does not raise too much of a stir either. But dare to seem to tamper with the traditions of the Fourth Estate and the outcry is immediate!

Is Government Public Information Development Communication?

Since the mid-'70 s when articles critical of development communication became the fashion, it has been deprecated or openly scorned as a propaganda tool of government. If it has been so used, that certainly was not how it was conceived. This is not the first time that an idea has been appropriated for an entirely different purpose or an object used for a function other than that intended.

Only the other day, Agence France Presse reported the purchase by the Australian Defense Department of 541,000 condoms to protect its weapons. When asked if contraceptives could indeed be fitted over rifle ends in wet weather "so you can shoot straight through them without having to remove anything," the Minister of Energy replied that "while the practice of placing condoms over rifle barrels is not formally recommended in any army documents, it is understood to be an effective means of waterproofing … Condoms do not offer a significant obstruction to rifle projectiles.[4]

One can hardly fault the Australian Defense Department for knowing a good thing when it sees one, or information ministries of developing countries for preempting a

[4]"Military function of contraceptives," Daily Express, October 21, 1985, p 5.

concept that seems custom-made for their work as they see it. Third World governments do need to assemble national, regional and local development plans, mobilize their citizens behind them, and get them carried out.

Information ministries are adept enough in publicizing finished plans and in exhorting the populace to support them.

Not readily accepted or understood are these prerequisites to citizen participation:

1. That development plans are specific and clear enough for average understanding.
2. That they do not merely echo the rhetoric of democratic development in their preambles but truly manifest in their strategies a primal concern for the welfare of the majority of the population.
3. That they are in accord with the opinions, aspirations, values, and backgrounds of the citizenry.
4. That they were therefore arrived at through consultation, dialogue and other mechanisms of egalitarian governance.
5. That the communication infrastructure for participatory planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation in development has been laid out.

Not readily understood or accepted either is that information ministries, and the information units of other ministries in decentralized government information systems, share in the task of bringing about these conditions for popular participation. This responsibility posits interpreting and mediating functions not normally expected of government information persons or accepted by them. The logic behind these functions partially explains the difference between one-sided information dissemination and the mutual exchange of information inherent in the concept of communication. Until government information officers accept and exercise these functions too, they cannot claim to be development communicators because they have not understood the true nature of development and of communication.

A sense of obligation to the clientele served is part of the service philosophy of a good agricultural extension worker or teacher. It seems reasonable to stipulate; the same accountability for anyone who professes to be in development work. The question is whether the government information officer identifies only with his or her organization or also with the particular public in whose interest the organization was created. If it is the latter, the information officer must perforce represent the clientele to the organization and try to reconcile conflicts of interest. If it is the former, then the information officer is indeed the spokesperson of government, not the mediator and interpreter that he or she should be as a communicator.

Besides putting development plans together and seeing that they are carried out, Third World governments obviously also are responsible for monitoring their progress, honestly assessing their results and, ideally, referring these back to their constituents. The corollary that government information officers are then duty-bound to assist in these tasks is perhaps an even more novel notion than their being spokespersons of the people. And yet if development has been internalized as a learning process, even for governments themselves, letting people know how everyone did (unless governments claim to be the sole actors in development!) is the natural sequel of previously urging them to action. Otherwise the job of accurately

reporting back to people how development programs fared or are faring is left by default to nongovernment communicators who, if they are the purely watchdog kind, tend to pounce on the failures more than on the successes. Since government information officers are accused of doing exactly the opposite, it would be some comfort to believe that the two halves of information will meld, in the end, in people's perceptions. The risk is that they will cancel each other out, leaving the public in a confused state. For this the press and government information officers would be equally guilty if each told only half of the story.

Who is a Development Communicator?

A word of clarification is in order at this point. Important as they are, information officers in government development agencies do not constitute the sum total of communicators in development. Whether they accept the role or not, development journalists, by writing about development and by being in the communication profession, are development communicators by definition. So are field workers of both government and nongovernment development agencies who are by and large still the most salient brokers of information in the countryside. So too are communication planners, managers, researchers, practitioners and other creative people who use their talents in personal, group and mediated communication for developmental purposes.

Relationship Between Human Rights and Development Communication

In most of Asia, civil and political liberties are prized as fundamental values. In countries whose systems of law follow the Anglo-Saxon tradition, they are enshrined in constitutions as bills of rights. Social and economic rights are not. But they are firmly endorsed by countries with collectivist governments. Hence the split into two ideological camps over the human rights issue with one side asserting its worth over the other. Caught in the middle are poor countries which were intellectually nursed on civil and political liberties but whose stark needs today lie in the domain of economic and social liberties.

The UN Charter recognizes both faces of human freedoms. The Declaration of Human Rights affirms—among other civil and political rights—freedom of opinion, speech, assembly and religion; the right to equal protection of the law and due process; freedom of movement; the right to a nationality; the right to take part in the government of one's country. It acknowledges, however, that they are meaningless without basic economic and social rights like the right to work, the right to education,

the right to join and form trade unions, the right to equal pay for equal work, and the right to social security.

The hard truth painfully realized by people in developing countries is that political liberty does not guarantee socio-economic equality. In a sense their hope has been to secure the latter by trading in some of the former. It has not worked that way for every country, however. The accumulating evidence in Asia is that human liberties are not divisible for long. Sacrifice some, even partially, in the name of development and the others will be eroded as well. The lesson for development communication is that it cannot be for equality and justice in the socio-economic realm only. If human development is seamless by nature, people need to learn economic *and* social *and* political *and* cultural independence at the same time. As a fledgling, step, they must strive for group empowerment by learning to work together in organizations.

Who Are the People?

If earlier on we asked who or what government is, the question now is who are the people for whom we wish equality? Not the equivalent of the landed gentry in Thomas Jefferson's rural America or of John Locke's English upper classes but the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America—the small farmers, the landless laborers, the fishermen, the village artisans and, yes, the rural women also whose sex compounds their unequal status. They are the majority for whom the right to speak is empty because poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and isolation have muted their voices. Insofar as development agencies and the different arms of government -and of the press too—speak truthfully for and with them, then is communication for development served.

Let us review in communication terms what we know about this majority (Islam 1985).

> They are not newspaper readers. In India, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka, there are only from 17 to 27 copies of daily newspapers per 1000 persons. By comparison they are better radio listeners, although in the Philippines, for one, more than half of the rural households still have no radio sets. Less than one percent of them have television sets. In spite of the fast spread of videocassette recorders, it is doubtful if they have penetrated the deep countryside. In any case, like television or even radio, they are mainly carriers of entertainment for villagers.

For our rural majority, telephones are undreamed of city luxuries. They rarely get or send letters even if the postal service in their remote communities were more efficient. If a village association formed by an extension worker or by a religious offers concrete benefits, they do become members and attend its activities especially if held in the evenings. Once in a while some outside organization may show a movie, a filmstrip, some soundslides, a skit or a drama and the villagers flock to the treat. For the most part, however, village meetings are loose affairs of no more than a dozen or so persons, mostly men, talking informally with each other. If the village is close to

a town, outside personal contacts are more frequent. Otherwise the residents make do with their own company for days on end.

In such a penurious communication setting, the debates on information imbalances, cultural imperialism, licensing of journalists, and control of news sources seem lightyears away. People locked in it do not know that they are information-deprived or are too engrossed eking out a living to care. But like a shadow world, their state unerringly repeats the conditions which have provoked the outcry for a new world information and communication order among nations.

In the villages of developing Asia, communication facilities and capabilities are meager. They congregate in urban places.

News about and for the cities dominates the national media. The countryside makes the headlines mainly by way of disaster, crimes and oddities.

Communication lines connect outlying areas to the metropolis. Those same areas are isolated from each other.

Communicationally speaking, a developing nation is a microcosm of the world. If the Western or Northern press neglects the primordial concerns of developing countries, so does the latter's urban press. If news coverage of industrialized countries extends even to the trivial and irrelevant, so does coverage of the cities in contrast to the rural districts. Information disparities are equally real in the centers and peripheries of both. They mirror the socioeconomic inequities between town and country, between the developed and the developing world.

Development Communication Policies

A new information and communication order for the countryside is clearly as valid and as urgent for the same reasons advanced on behalf of a new world order. National communication policies must be put in place that will even up access to information in the urban and rural areas. If, as in the macrocosm, some of the causes of discriminatory flows are rooted externally, then that is where they should be corrected. But Asian countries cannot in conscience decry unfairness in others while the same situation exists in their own backyards. Besides, the construct of the global poor has little utility in grassroots development. Brought down to the nitty–gritty, the global poor separates out into the village poor that each country must concentrate on.

Basic needs call for basic answers. The looming communication problems in most of Asia are illiteracy, weak national languages, inadequate educational systems, fragmented links among the masses of people. It follows that communication policies wanted are those that will address them, regardless of whether or not the media are involved. But Asian governments could take a decisive stand once and for all and impress existing communication technology to combat these ills. Computers are fast revolutionizing lifestyles in industrialized enclaves like Singapore and Hongkong. This is the time, if it is not yet too late, to ensure that the technology does not further widen the gap between the city and the village or the poor and the rich in Asia.

Except in some rare cases, the media as they now are only have a negligible role in combating poverty or in raising people's capabilities. The solution is not to reject them or to force them into the villages but to let them come in naturally and in gradual sophistication as their managers and users learn to utilize them for rural uplift. For the present, the media preferred are those that foster participation, not those that immure people in a passive bystander role. In the circumstances, policies that will support outreach workers and local organizations must be regarded also as development communication policies (Korten 1984).

To end on a practical note, what measures will encourage public information officers to perform as spokespersons of people and not only of government? A few are worth exploring. One is to change their designation to another that signals to them and to the public their mediatory and interpretative function. This proposal assumes enlightened employers truly caring of people's welfare. Unless they are, the going will be tougher because development will have to proceed in spite of them. And unless the political leadership of a country acts in good faith, development policies as they stand are not worth a candle. They or the leadership will manifestly have to be changed.

A second step is to professionalize the public information calling and, to invest it with a service mission. Practitioners will be accountable to the public in the same way that journalists are, even while they are employed by other interests. A code of ethics would be mandatory. In time a fine tradition with its own heroes could grow around the profession which its members could try to live up to.

A third that is related to the first two is obviously to improve the training of public information officers. Most communication curricula have emphasized media skills, to which computer training has now been added. The better ones have a foundation of general education courses that are meant to add breadth to the student's perspective. For future information officers to be more people-oriented, their programs of study should include at least three more features: (a) instruction in the true nature of their society, (b) tutoring in personal interaction as the mode of communication still prevalent in Asia, and (c) a firm base in the individual and societal values that will give meaningful direction to human development.

References

Islam, R. (ed.). (1985). *Strategies for alleviating poverty in rural Asia* Bangkok: International Labour Organization Asian Employment Programme.

Korten, D. C., & Klaus, R. (Eds.). (1984). *People-centered development: Toward a framework*. Connecticut: Kuma-rian Press.

A Personal Account of the History of Devcom: Beginning in 1964

John A. Lent

Introduction

No doubt, there are a number of versions of the history of devcom, as well as different individuals' accounts of partaking in them. This is mine.

Mine emanates from nearly sixty years of studying, teaching, writing, and participating in international meetings about devcom. The perimeters of devcom in my case are wide, encompassing a broad spectrum, ranging from the obvious topic of utilizing forms of communication to implement social change, to more tangential but still vital areas such as grassroots communication, participatory communication, media imperialism, political economy studies, myths of technology, government-media relationships, and freedom of speech.

My First Exposure to Devcom Was in the Philippines

My first exposure to devcom was 1964–1965 in the Philippines, where I was a Fulbright scholar under the tutelage of Juan Mercado, director of the Philippine Press Institute. It was an opportune time to be in the Philippines as the country was far ahead of most countries in both the study and implementation of what was to become development communication. Already by the mid-to-late 1950s, studies were conducted on media literacy, availability, and utilization in fifty barrios (Young 1955), media penetration and villagers' understanding of government information (Ravenholt 1956), and social effects of radio in five barrios (Coller 1961). Simultaneously, between 1957–1964, two academic units were developed at the University

J. A. Lent (✉)
Publisher/editor-in-chief, International Journal of Comic Art (IJOCA), Drexel Hill, PA, USA
e-mail: jlent@temple.edu

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_3

of the Philippines that concentrated on mass communication, primarily with a focus on social change and development.

The Philippine Press Institute (PPI) was barely months old in mid-1964 when I arrived in Manila. Already, Mercado had set an agenda of professionalizing and training journalists, his ultimate goal to change society for the betterment of the common people. His operational plan was to provide a series of week-long seminars for selected newspeople, led by discussions by leading Philippines media practitioners, government, police, and judicial officials, lawyers, an embassy charge d'affairs, and sociologists, and three South Asians with devcom interests.

These seminars were the roots of what sprouted as *development journalism*, a term coined at a Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) seminar on economic reporting in 1968. The first of the PPI seminars, on newspaper society pages, seemed irrelevant to development until participants pointed out the inanities and trivialities of the pages that headlined the conspicuous spending parties and other frivolities of the rich while ignoring the travails of the poor. Other PPI seminars dealt with provincial reporting, emphasizing the need for economic and health news that is based on research studies made available to readers in everyday terms; responsible crime reporting; and the press and economic development.

Throughout the rest of the 1960s, the PPI, often with the Philippine News Service (PNS), pushed for development reporting. PNS made some important changes to its reportage, scrapping spot news on crime in favor of weekly in-depth reports that showed trends of criminal activity, doing investigative journalism on institutions or situations that have a direct impact on national stability and growth, and emphasizing development reporting. One of the pet projects Mercado envisioned in 1964 came to fruition as PNS reporters were encouraged "to pore through the hundreds of research papers, gathering dust on university library shelves–attesting to a wastage of valuable data and ideas and pointing to our failure to build the needed bridges between the campus and policy makers" (Mercado 1969). In 1968 and following years, PNS published dozens of documented in-depth stories taken from these papers and rewritten in simple, readable language; in 1971 alone, 319 stories based on studies from 46 institutions appeared on the PNS wire (Mercado 1972).

Complementing the Philippine efforts were those of individual journalists from other Asian countries who formed the Press Foundation of Asia in 1967, endowed by Asian newspapers and the Ford Foundation. PFA was devoted to promoting development journalism, its members vowing to write more simply on relevant issues in line with their nations' efforts to develop economic resources (Vittachi 1969).

Through its "Baguio Plan," the PNS in 1968 laid out its modus operandi: increase journalists' understanding of the work of the technocrats, planners, and scientists of Asia's development efforts, improve by training the increased flow of information between the press and the academy, and augment specialized writing on agriculture and economics. Mercado wrote that training was essential to PFA's plans, showing reporters how to:

> observe intensely and write perceptively about the most difficult newsbreak to cover; the story of the people, as they advance, falter or fall back in this region's desperate struggle to secure a life that would not blot-out human dignity. These writers need to learn a new

technique of storytelling which is readable, ruthlessly investigative, substantial and moving (Mercado 1971).

The PFA implemented an elaborate training scheme, using a news agency operation of its own creation, DEPTHnews, as a training facility and publishing venue with 200 outlets in different Asian languages. Much of this activity was halted or reduced when Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in September 1972 – PPI was closed, Mercado was imprisoned, and PFA moved to Hong Kong.[1] An offshoot of PFA, South East Asia Press Centre (SEAPC), began to train development journalists from its Kuala Lumpur headquarters. National governments increasingly became involved, using PPI and PFA concepts for political self-aggrandizement and propaganda, in the process, converting development journalism into "government-say-so journalism" and public-protecting press councils into unofficial government censoring bodies, and conceptualizing what became derogatorily called the "guided press."

Universiti Sains Malaysia

This was the situation when I arrived in Malaysia in mid-1972, to take up my duties as a lecturer and the developer and director of the country's first mass communication program, at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), in Penang. Though authoritarianism reigned in Malaysia (as well as much of Asia), it was an ideal spot from which to witness the advancement of development journalism and the more encompassing development communication. The SEAPC was very active, training development journalists in Malaysia and other parts of the region, and UNESCO, through the efforts of Alan Hancock, held a number of multi-national seminars in Kuala Lumpur dealing with aspects of devcom.

During my stay at USM, I maintained close liaison with devcom, participating and lecturing in the SEAPC and UNESCO seminars, including courses on or related to development communication in the designing of the USM communications program, closely observing the media scene, especially relative to freedom of expression, and writing articles on the press limits in Asia, some resulting from governments' overtaking devcom for their propaganda purposes. Articles I wrote that were critical of the ways Malaysia and Singapore handled the press stirred up storms. In Malaysia, two deputy ministers denounced me in the press as a "foreign know-it-all"; in Singapore, President Devan Nair publicly denounced me for an article I wrote decrying the lack of freedom of expression that played a role in Singapore being bounced from the Socialist International (see, Nair 1976: 131–132).

By the time I returned to the United States in 1974, mass communication for and in the southern hemispheres became a very lively issue with other participating organizations in addition to UNESCO, most significantly the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

[1]There was speculation that PFA received funding from an agency affiliated with the U. S. surveillance program, which might have blighted its name.

New World Information and Communication Order

Drawing on my observations while residing in the Philippines and Malaysia, and while doing extensive research in the Commonwealth Caribbean, I wrote a paper for the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) conference, held in Leipzig, Germany in September 1974. Titled "Mass media in developing world: four conundrums," the paper addressed four perplexing problems and suggested solutions for each leading to still more problems. The conundrums were: 1. making mass media economically and culturally practical for developing countries; 2. making media serve the interest of the masses, not just elites and white collar groups; 3. resolving the conflict between press freedom and development journalism, and 4. designing mass media theory and research appropriate to the developing world.[2]

As the Non-Aligned Movement members took up the issue of mass communication germane to their countries that eventually led to what was conceptualized as the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), much of what its spokesman, M. Masmoudi, and others iterated was very similar to points made in the "Four conundrums" paper. The reason for the similarity was revealed later in writings by Kaarle Nordenstreng, who, in 1993, stated, "papers by John Lent, Herbert Schiller, and myself [Nordenstreng] were sent in advance to the Tunisian host organizers who used them in writing their keynote addresses" (Nordenstreng 1993: 268).[3]

I would venture to say that no time in the history of truly *masses* communication or alternative media was as encouraging as the period between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s. NAM and UNESCO took the lead in deliberations through a number of regional conferences that attempted to come up with solutions to issues such as irrelevant and non-comprehensible information for the masses, media imperialism, the one-way flow of news and information, and the top-down model of bringing about social change through communication.

UNESCO sponsored a series of about one hundred and thirty papers written by researchers and field workers on a myriad of devcom and NWICO topics, some of which no doubt were used by the commission headed by Sean MacBride for the 1980 report, *Many Voices One World*. Among other projects, NAM encouraged the organizing of regional and national news agencies in Asia and the Caribbean as an alternative to the dominance of four United States and European news services in the flow of news. The Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool was a cooperative of other regional and national news agencies, designed to give the South its own venue for news and information.

The UNESCO campaign for a NWICO was highly exaggerated in the Western press as a serious affront to freedom of expression and alleging that UNESCO was politicized, thus, providing excuses for the United States and Great Britain to withdraw from the organization in the mid-1970s, taking their funding with them. The Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool did not fare as well as expected as it faced financial

[2]The paper was published in a couple of versions in several places. See, Lent (1975a, b, c, 1993a).

[3]In another article, Nordenstreng mentioned that only my paper was sent to and used by NAM.

constraints, the disparities of nation member's professional and technical infrastructure, and the multiplicity of Asian languages that needed accommodating. There were also outcries (again, from the West) about the partiality of the news dispensed, much of it emanating from government-owned or -controlled national news services.

Many thought-provoking ideas were spawned during development communication's heyday; some were modified and passed on; others were abandoned or shuffled aside to make room for a new and bigger technology phase. Buzzwords were no longer cultural nor media imperialism, but globalization/glocalization and hybridity; it seemed the thoughts of individuals such as E. F. Schumacher, Frantz Fanon, Dallas W. Smythe, Theodore Roszak, Paulo Freire, and others were re-shelved (mis-shelved?) along with their writings, replaced by those of technocrats and government authorities who set the agenda and practices of communication.

It appeared to me that the transformation was quick, as though planned, but most likely, it came about naturally, an extension of the reoccurring phenomenon of planners being dazzled by the paraphernalia of modernity with little attention to the important questions of who benefits? Who pays? Though devcom and its ways of thinking still exist, they seem to have lost the oomph they had forty and more years ago.

As for my role, I continued to write about aspects of the topic, and used notions/schemas of masters of other generations that have grown old but have not outlived their relevance. Returning to the 1974 "Four conundrums…" paper, in 1986, I gathered together as a book, six articles and talks I had written in the interim that were related to the four conundrums. They dealt with cultural submission, grassroots/folk media, the huckstering of high technology, applicability of communication research to the "Third World," and a twelve-year reassessment of the issues. Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC), then headed by Vijay Menon, accepted the manuscript for its monograph series; solicited Mohd. Hamdan, school head of MARA Institute of Technology, Malaysia, to write a foreword, and edited the pages for publication. Then, months of silence. I learned later that a Singapore lawyer was asked to read the manuscript and said it should not be published. No reason given; if it was offensive to the Singapore authorities, that was not relayed to me, and I and others have not been able to find potentially disturbing passages among the papers.

Folk Media

My career-wide contention has been that folk media, used either in their traditional rural settings or adapted to mass media, are capable of bringing about social awareness of national development plans. Their strengths have been listed as intimate with the masses, rich in variety, readily available, inexpensive, and relished by different age groups and genders; they do not have to be imported, have instant feedback, belong to the community, possess credibility and egalitarianism, and are culturally relevant (see, Lent 1980: 78–91; also, Ranganath 1976: 25; Eapen 1976: 18–19; Dissanayake

1977: 122–124). Numerous examples of folk media and interpersonal communication channels used successfully in development communication projects were elaborated on during the development decade, but the topic receded in importance in the waning years of the twentieth century.

Also pushed to the background by the 1990s was the plea by Paulo Freire for a humanist educational approach to development, to which I subscribe. According to Freire, development should be based on:

> (a) faith in people's ability to learn, to change, and to liberate themselves from oppressive conditions of ignorance, poverty, and exploitation; (b) direct involvement of the oppressed with their own reality and its problems and analysis of the constraints imposed on them by social structure and official ideology; (c) breaking down the cognitive differentiation between the educator and those being educated inasmuch as they are students of one another; (d) free and open dialogue; and (e) participation in liberating action, leading to a recreation of their social environment (Freire 1970, abstracted in Sussman and Lent 1991: 9).

The role technology plays (or should play) in the development communication process is also critical to my thinking. As I witnessed the marketing of the Information Age in the 1980s, it became apparent that many of the claims for new information technology were unsubstantiated, likely myths. In an article in 1986, and others subsequently, I laid out some likely myths, rebutting each in the process. Treated as myths were that new information technology would lead to the development of a global village; serve international understanding, peace, and brotherhood; lead to increased independence and promotion of democratic ideals; be the salvation of the Third World masses, and because it worked in the industrialized world, it would be effective in the Third World. Also subjected to scrutiny in these articles were that the technology is neutral and that more information made available through bigger systems is a goal to be sought (Lent 1986: 3–7). Among alternatives I gave to the latter claim, was the economic model E. F. Schumacher offered that I applied to communication. In *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered*, Schumacher (1973) called for economic systems (substitute, communications) that were kept simple, small, cost-efficient, and non-violent, to which I added, slow or slower.

The issue of applying Western-conceived theories and research methods to most countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America had been troubling to me since the early 1970s. While teaching in Malaysia in 1972–1974, and ever since, I have implored students and other researchers to come up with their own models more appropriate to their nations' cultural, geographical, sociopolitical, economic, and religious traditions. To totally accept what came from the West in the way of theories and methods is academic imperialism, as I pointed out in a 1974 article (Lent 1974: 14–17) and subsequent writings (Lent 1993b: 302–321).[4] At an IAMCR panel in Caracas in 1980, I tackled this issue from three angles: What has been done? How has it been

[4]As was expected, major US mass communication journals were not receptive to manuscripts critical of the "established" ways of doing research in the 1970s and long afterward. Scholar Dallas W. Smythe told me that his pioneering political economy articles were rejected by the mainstream journals; I anticipated the same situation and sent my critical writings to more favorable periodicals, such as *Vidura* (India), *Democratic Journalist* (Czechoslovakia), *Communicare* (South Africa), or *Zeszyty Prasovnawcze* (Poland).

done? and What is to be done? Much of what has been done was condemned as culture-bound and ethnocentric; how it has been done often did not meet standards of equivalence (functional, conceptual, linguistic, and metric) (Lonner 1979: 27–28), was of little relevance and worth, and was more committed to the methodology than the contribution the use of the methodology makes to knowledge. A few European researchers (Jim Halloran, Siegfried Pausewang) pointed out that methodologies often are more concerned with how exact something can be counted, rather than what is counted. What is to be done was the topic of several intergovernmental meetings in the 1970s, their findings partially summarized in my above-mentioned 1980 paper. Consisting of many Third World researchers, the meetings identified areas in need of more study:

> The structure of power and decision making vis-á-vis information, problems of change and transition to a new pattern of communication, confrontation between cultural domination and cultural autonomy, social contradictions regarding the New World Information and Communication Order, development and communication models (between dependent consumerism and self-reliance), the influence of alternative communications (Lent 1993b: 316–317).

Other fundamental points that emanated from these meetings were calls for more "pertinent research," interdisciplinarity, "maximum autonomy for research work," "a global strategy towards democratic change," and "systematical research-based approaches to the topic of research itself" (Lent 1993b: 317). In my own assessment of what *did not* need to occur, I wrote that as old research paradigms on devcom meet with resistance, researchers should not attempt to establish or re-establish their reputations by creating new paradigms for universal use, bypassing the need to concentrate on the problem of research in individual countries (Lent 1993b: 317). This has repeatedly happened.

From its earliest days in the Philippines in the 1960s, development communication used comic books to convey social change messages, notably about the need for family planning. It made sense, because *komiks* were the most read materials among Filipinos. In my own research into comic art worldwide, I have found numerous devcom projects incorporating comic books. In post-apartheid South Africa, groups (such as the Storyteller Group) and individuals took advantage of abundant NGO funds to issue informative comics about HIV-AIDS, use of electricity in rural areas, and gender inequalities (see, Lent 2009: 45–61). World Comics out of Finland and India has concentrated solely on comics for development communication purposes throughout Africa and India for generations (see, Packalén 1994), and the Meena Project used animation to stress the rights of the girl child in South Asia.

Comics offer many attributes useful to social consciousness raising communication. They are versatile, embracing many forms, sizes, and techniques and having many uses; universal; adaptable to folk and popular culture and all types of media, and they belong to the people (indigenous), using their mannerisms, languages, aesthetics, and often their stories. Furthermore, comic art is flexible, shaped by audiences, uses, and formats, and they are still popular and generally inexpensive (Lent 1995; for more on comics and devcom, see also, Lent 1994, 1996, 2004; McLain 2009).

Conclusion

Based on these first-hand observations and experiences and the thinking that has evolved because of them, I believe communication, whether interpersonal, alternative, or mass, has the most important role in bringing about social change. That is a given. What is not as obvious are determining the most suitable communication for a particular project and audience and the simplest, most cost-effective means of creating and distributing messages, and, beyond making people aware by providing knowledge, finding the strategies most effective in changing their attitudes and practices.

The good news is that devcom is not starting from scratch. There is an abundance of theory and information that has been gathered from field work and research that needs to be re-reviewed and refashioned perhaps in conjunction with more recent knowledge and technology. The half-century-old notions of Mercado, Schumacher, Fanon, Freire, Schiller, and their ilk remain relevant and probably need to be applied more today than even when they were first introduced. Think for a minute. Is conglomerate farming (e.g. Monsanto) better for human health, animal treatment, and millions of small farm holders' livelihoods? Is the Earth still massively populated by the "wretched"? Is education better using the top-down, non-participatory method of teaching? Has media and cultural imperialism been obliterated by globalization?

As humans rush headfirst into the newest theory, paraphernalia, or technology, they forget that much can be learned from what came before. One does not deserve to be labeled a Luddite just for pointing out that high technology has disadvantages; that in development (and everyday life), smallness, simplicity, and slowness can be beneficial; that there is a price paid for modernity, and that there is no single universal devcom plan (nor should there be), even if tied to high technology, that will change people's lives for the better.

Still unsettling to me is the worsening sense of autonomy that devcom practitioners and researchers must have faced (and probably continue to face) with much of the southern hemisphere under authoritarian rulers who control government funding, and in turn, the continued existence of devcom projects, that are usually heavily dependent upon state support, that often is tarnished with ulterior motives.

Summing up from these experiences and perspectives, devcom represents to me the dispensing of information in a multitude of forms and styles, through interpersonal, alternative, or mass channels, to bring about awareness of social issues with the goals of changing attitudes and practices for the betterment of individuals and communities.

References

Coller, R. (1961). *An analysis of the social effects of Donated Radios on Barrio Life*. Community Development Research Council: University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

de Young, J. (1955). *A study of communication problems on the Barrio level*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

Dissanayake, W. (1977). New wine in old bottles: can folk media convey modern messages? *Journal of Communication*. Spring, 122–124.

Eapen, K. E. (1976). Specific problems of research and research training in Asian/African countries. *Communication Research in the Third World* (pp. 18–19). Geneva: Lutheran World Federation.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Lent, J. A. (1974). Imperialism by Q-sorts. *Democratic Journalist, 9,* 14–17.

Lent, J. A. (1975a). Mass media in the developing world: Four conundrums. In O. Bures (Ed.), *Developing World and Mass Media* (pp. 36–55). Prague: International Organization of Journalists.

Lent, J. A. (1975b). Mass media in the developing world: Four conundrums. *Der Anteil der Massenmedien beider Herausbildung des Bewustseins in der sich Wandeluden* (pp. 417–426). Leipzig: Welt. Karl Marx Universitat.

Lent, J. A. (1975c). Mass media in the developing world: Four conundrums. *Vidura, 12*(3), 149–157.

Lent, J. A. (1980). Grassroots renaissance: Folk media in Third World nations. *Folklore, 91*, 78–91.

Lent, J. A. (1986). New information technology: Myths, questions, alternatives. *Communicator, 21*(3 & 4), 3–9.

Lent, J. A. (1993a). Four conundrums of Third World communications: A generational analysis. In K. Nordenstreng & H. Schiller (Eds.), *Beyond national sovereignty: International communication in the 1990s* (pp. 235–255). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Lent, J. A. (1993b). Western research in the Third World. In J. Wasko, V. Mosco, & M. Pendakur (Eds.), *Illuminating the Blind Spots: Essays Honoring Dallas W* (pp. 302–321). Ablex, Norwood, N. J.: Smythe.

Lent, J. A. (1994). Political adversaries and agents of social change. *Asian Thought and Society*, 107–123.

Lent, J. A. (1995). Comics and cartoons: they are more than just pow! wham! ha! ha! *Journal of Development Communication*, 1–15.

Lent, J. A. (1996). Cartooning with a social conscience in South Africa. *WittyWorld International Cartoon Bulletin., 7,* 1.

Lent, J. A. (2004). India's *Amar Chitra Katha*: 'fictionalized' history--or the real story? *International Journal of Comic Art*. Spring, 56–76.

Lent, J. A. (2009). Comics for development and conscientization. In J. A. Lent (Ed.), *Cartooning in Africa* (pp. 45–61). Cresskill, N. J.: Hampton Press.

Lonner, W. J. (1979). Issues in cross-cultural psychology. In A. J. Marsello, R. G. Tharp, & T. J. Ciborowski (Eds.), *Perspectives on cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 17–45). New York: Academic Press.

McLain, K. (2009). *India's Immortal Comic Books: Gods, Kings, and Other Heroes.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mercado, J. L. (1969). The press and its right to be ignored. *Press Forum*, 5–9.

Mercado, J. L. (1971). Development reporting: Some observations. *Press Forum, 6–7,* 11.

Mercado, J. L. (1972). Development writing lures more scribes. *Press Forum. January-February, 1,* 7.

Nair, D. (1976). *Socialism That Works…the Singapore Way*. Singapore: Federal Publications.

Nordenstreng, K. (1993). New Information Order and Communication scholarship: Reflections on a delicate relationship. In J. Wasko, V. Mosco, & M. Pendakur (Eds.), *Illuminating the Blind Spots: Essays Honoring Dallas W* (pp. 251–273). Ablex, Norwood, N.J.: Smythe.

Packalén, L. (1994). *Say It with Comics!* Morogoro: Tanzania Popular Media Association.

Ranganath, H. K. (1976). A probe into the traditional media: letting the people tell themselves. *Media Asia, 3*(1).

Ravenholt, M. (1956). Report on the Survey and Evaluation of Information Materials. National Media Production Centre and International Division of International Cooperation Association.
Roszak, T. (1986). *The cult of information: The Folklore of computers and the true Art of thinking*. New York: Pantheon.
Schumacher, E. F. (1973). *Small is beautiful: Economics as if people mattered*. New York: Harper and Row.
Sussman, G., & Lent, J. A. (Eds.). (1991). *Transnational communications: Wiring the third world*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Vittachi, T. (1969). Relevance is all. *Press Forum,* 6–7.

Communication for Development: Looking Backward, Looking Forward

Emile G. McAnany

Introduction

This chapter will be my answer to the question driving this book: Rethinking the power of development (through communication). It is premised on my continuing belief that there is an important role for communication in pursuing a better future for everyone. The chapter will be a mix of both personal and more objective narrative about communication and development, looking back historically to the beginning of both formal communication study in Mid-20th Century and the initiatives for development after WWII. The first section will outline my own involvement in both communication study and development work from 1968 identifying both its advantages and disadvantages as I look back over those fifty years. The second section will outline the history of the two beginnings of both communication study as an independent university discipline and the almost simultaneous beginning of communication for development as a field of applied social action. The third section will address the present situation of communication and development for social change. The fourth section examines the recent phenomenon of social entrepreneurship in development. And a final section will suggest a strategy that may add to the effort of the past decades to improve the lives of those wherever they may live through communication.

E. G. McAnany (✉)
Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, USA
e-mail: emcanany@scu.edu

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_4

My Work in Communication and Development Research (1965–2020)

I began my doctoral program in 1965 at Stanford University with the intent of studying with Wilbur Schramm who was in his tenth year at the university and would finish his teaching career there in 1973. (Full disclosure: I had been a Jesuit for about 14 years at the start of my study and would leave the order in 1970.) I had come across Schramm's book on *Mass Media and National Development* while studying in Europe in 1964 and decided to pursue this path by going to Stanford. After three years of classes and passing exams, I had begun a dissertation in Spring 1968 (but not on development) when Schramm asked me to be a field director of a new project that had been funded to study a large project in applying television to teaching junior high school students in Central America. I had learned Spanish well enough over the previous four years to tackle a research project in another language. I remained a year and a half in the field and was relieved by younger graduate students who would continue field work over the next 2 plus years to complete data gathering by 1972. It was my first immersion into field work, but it would soon be followed by another within the next few months of leaving the field in late 1969 (Mayo et al. 1976).

I had been lecturing briefly on research on educational television at a UNESCO center in Mexico City in 1969 when the founder of a project similar to that in El Salvador asked me whether I could do an outcome study like we were doing in El Salvador for his *Telesecundaria* project for rural junior high school (*secundaria*) students that had about thirty thousand students enrolled. I was able to secure some funding and with another communication colleague plus an economist, we began to gather data by 1971. This project also called for a good deal of field work plus dealing directly with the Ministry of Education's *Secundaria* and Out of School departments. The project was different from that in El Salvador because the television schools were community-based informal classes organized and paid for by communities that had no formal *secundaria* schools. All instruction was by televised classes with the regular secundaria curriculum with a primary teacher as a monitor. The study compared *telesecundaria* classes with a comparable sample from regular *secundarias formal schools*. The outcome of the study showed that the *telesecundaria* students did as well as those in regular schools and at a cost well below those in formal schools. Unlike the project in El Salvador that cancelled television a few years later because it was too expensive to serve the entire country though television, *Telesecundaria* would continue after the report was presented to the Ministry of Education and recently reached over 1 million Mexican students in rural areas (Mayo et al. 1975).

My other large field research experience was years later in the 1990s after I had moved to the University of Texas at Austin in 1979. This project was a study by the Population Research Center at the university that asked the question whether the popular telenovelas of Brazil had a role in the fertility transition to a much lower rate than it had experienced from the 1960s to the 1990s without any government intervention to limit the birth rate. I was part of a team of U.S. and Brazilian researchers that conducted a variety of studies looking at both the production and distribution

of telenovelas (satellite distribution had begun in the 1990s and greatly expanded rural audiences). I supervised three qualitative studies, one in an urban slum, another in a small city and a third in a rural town. The field team had one of my doctoral students and two Brazilian anthropology students. The studies lasted the length of one popular telenovela for over a year in 1996–97. Combined with other studies by a number of other colleagues, the project lasted about 5 years. From the perspective of communication and development, the work was unusual in several ways. First, this was *not* an intervention to see how a planned use of communication by government or other public agency might change audiences. Rather it was the study of how telenovelas affected audiences without any social intention for change. The commercial producers of the telenovela had no other goals than to attract large audiences. Secondly, there were a number of other parts to the project than the audience outcomes that strengthened the overall scope and validity concerning social change due to a media message like the telenovela. Like the first two projects already mentioned, the private foundation research was funded so that a variety of studies could be done with a large field staff for broad data gathering. Finally, it was a field project that involved Brazilians as active and equal partners. The findings were never published as a book but in a variety of articles and chapters McAnany (1993).

My own reflection on these kinds of projects is that well-constructed messages can produce an impact on audiences concerned, but the cost is large and the question is whether results will be used to replicate the results. Unfortunately, this does not seem to happen often. All three projects showed that a medium like television can have impacts on people whether it be learning in schools, informal classrooms in villages or among large audiences of telenovela fans. Also the impact can carry on over time when circumstances are right. Finally, the impacts are there even when no one is intentionally trying to change audiences as was the case of telenovela study. For me personally, I had started on a career of international research and teaching, first at Sanford (1971–1978), then at University of Texas (1979–1996) and finally at Santa Clara University (1997–2013). During these almost five decades, I have continued to pay attention international change projects where communication and media were involved.

When I left the University of Texas at Austin in 1997, I thought that my work with projects in the field was over because Santa Clara University had a growing undergraduate communication department but no traditions for undergraduate research funding. I also was chair of this growing department and did not think I would have time or real opportunity for further field work. In 1999 I was appointed as a faculty advisor of a new initiative, The Center for Science Technology and Society. It was an appropriate initiative as SCU was located in the midst of technology companies in Silicon Valley. At the beginning, the Center was feeling its way to define its mission of the new Center. A large grant was established at the Tech Museum of Innovation in San Jose to award prizes for "technology benefitting humanity." SCU was asked to supervise applications and assemble committees to judge the winners in five categories of social change: economics, environment, equality, gender and education. What happened in the very first cohort of several hundred applicants in 2000 was surprising as the great majority of projects of social benefit were from international

locations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The trend continued and grew as word got to development projects in these areas. I was asked to be a member of one of the five areas for judging winners. I was once more involved in development projects, but this time very small ones, social start-ups that used some form of technology to achieve social impact. It fit my own experiences as many of the projects involved the use of communication in some form. By 2003 the Center also began a mentoring program of its own to encourage the strengthening of the more promising projects in the Tech Museum competition by sponsoring an annual six months long program that encouraged better organization for these fledging so that they might solidify their management, planning, funding and expansion. The work of the Tech Museum's judging looked at outcomes of the social projects as a critical factor for judging success. This fit with my own experience though at a different level of size, micro vs. macro projects. The research that I now undertook was to examine how these small social start-ups were able to gather data of their own success and how, in turn, this data gathering helped each organization to grow and succeed (McAnany 2009).

Reflection on Doing Research

My career in the communication field and my research on communication for development and social change deserves an explanation of what I think about this work in retrospect. The field I entered in 1968 is far different from what it is today, and there are questions if it even exists anymore in university courses. First, the academic interest in communication study of development began to wane in the U.S. as early as the mid-1980s after long struggles over definitions of the field and the best approach in its implementation. Second, the funding that was abundant in the period from 1946 to the late 1980s in the U.S. from government, foundations and public development agencies had pulled back or even disappeared (Ogan 2009).The agencies of the United Nations with an interest in communication, particularly UNESCO, were challenged by a conservative backlash by the U.S. and UK after the MacBride Report. Development communication approaches had also begun to change in the field as the "big media" of television and communication satellites had been deployed before the end of the century and had lost their appeal as theories about globalization overtook concerns about development. This was primarily in universities in the U.S. where development communication studies had begun. Digital technologies had started to enter the field with new kinds of media that were promoted by the distribution of personal computers and, after 2010, the rapid diffusion worldwide of the cell phone and smart phone. Smaller technologies promoted smaller field projects and lowered costs of beginning change projects. Amid all of the rapidly expanding digital media globally, there was a push by corporate marketing to give people the "freedom of personal information" through Facebook, Google and others with often disruptive consequences in the West and elsewhere like Egypt in 2012with resulting political upheaval, public mistrust and concern about personal privacy. Development and social change agencies were interested in the digital technologies, but this interest

did not seem to be reflected in the university research communities. The ethical and political dilemmas posed by social media turned the interest of our field to more developed countries and to questions of political propaganda and the political economy of giant companies like Twitter, Google and Facebook. Issues of development and social change have not rediscovered their place in communication studies, at least not in most western countries.

I was trained as a researcher at a time when the interest in communication for development was just beginning to grow. My reflection at this point suggests that the question I have pursued of "success" or "outcomes" is still important for field projects but not in universities partly because of cost of field work but also because of a shift toward a more national focus in our communication studies. We have in the last five to ten years begun to look inward. The use of television to teach students has long been surpassed by more sophisticated systems like Open Universities or online learning in MOOCs (Massive Online Open Courses) that provide digital courses for students all over the world. What I was able to do in development and social change research in the late 1960s and 1970s has shifted to national efforts of adapting to social media in different countries. It is not only the costs, but the academic interest and the rewards for this kind of research that have faded–even though the needs are just as great in the field.

What should be done? One way to find a way forward is to take a look at both how the general field of communication study and the sub-field of development and social change got started. This focus might provide us with a better perspective to see how real needs on the ground for social change might be served by communication in the present and the future.

Beginning of Communication Study and of Development Communication

The first question to ask for this quick historical overview is what purpose this might serve for assessing the power of communication for social change and development today. My thesis in the first section of this chapter is that the study of development communication has largely disappeared as a topic in communication programs in the West (Servaes 1999). If it is to be revived in universities, it will probably take a new form compared with the paradigms of the last century. We will take a look at its beginnings in the 1950s and 1960s and ask how it flourished and then faded. Since it is a sub-field in the larger field of communication study and a sub-field that emerged at the same time as the larger one, is there a connection with the growth of the larger field of communication study in universities around the globe and the lessening of interest in the sub-field today?

The history of communication study as an independent field is far from settled because it is difficult to identify a date for the "beginning" and more difficult still to explain whether it evolved more by chance than by design. There are two historical

narratives offering different scenarios: the traditional account from a few authors in the 1990s who identified the founding with the opening of the first university department with the name of "mass communication" at the University of Illinois in Fall 1947. The "founder" it is argued was the scholar Wilbur Schramm, and the program was created with the borrowed theories and methods of the quantitative social science of mid-century in the U.S. from such disciplines as sociology, psychology, anthropology and economics. The other narrative for the creation of university communication programs was developed by a collection of various critical scholars who have since the late 1980s disputed the relevance of the "dominant paradigm" first expounded by Schramm at Illinois. The critique is that this complex field of communication whose origins goes back to the 19th Century in both the U.S. and Europe are far greater than the one proposed by Schramm. But the fact remains that the original paradigm influenced the early period of communication study from the late 1940s to 1970s not with positive consequences (McAnany 2017).The field has grown from this first paradigm and branched into a variety of approaches, theories and methods to what today is a presence of communication study globally in universities and research centers but with no reigning paradigm that holds all of this together (Simonson et al. 2013). The application of the dominant paradigm to the issues of communication and development for social change were actually almost simultaneous with the emergence of this new field of study in mid 20th Century. The dominant paradigm did influence how the beginning of the sub-field was first conceived both the university and in the field. But the twist of that story is that the application practice significantly influencing the later development of theory.

The first coordinated applications of communication for development came from UNESCO in the late 1940s as the new UN agency was beginning to define its interests in education, science, culture and communication. The international focus of the United Nations agencies meant that all member nations (and they were growing in the decolonialization era of 1946 to the 1970) were interested in development and, by definition, economic and social change for their peoples. UNESCO managed to persuade UN decision makers to designate "media as an essential element in pre-investment, and thus [the media] forms an integral part of any programme for economic and social progress" (Simonson et al. 2013). This statement was made in 1961, eight years after the UN director, Dag Hammarskjold, had ordered his organization to help him find evidence to support media investment in member nations. Though it took the bureaucracy 8 years (!) to come up with a justification for money to research the needs of various countries for investment in media, it finally succeeded. By 1961 it was clear that these new communication media (by then television had been added to radio, film and newspapers) were widely accepted by governments. They strongly supported the UN mandate for development and economic growth through media investment. Three regional meetings for countries to explore their needs for media investment were held by UNESCO in Latin America (1961), Asia (1962) and Africa (1963). Wilbur Schramm was asked to write a summary of these meetings which was co-published by UNESCO and Stanford University in 1964. *Mass Media and National Development* was a book that helped to set an agenda for the emerging field of development communication for the next twenty years (McAnany 2018).

But the irony was that it was UNESCO in the mid-1950s that had refined the argument for the central role of mass media in development. By inviting Schramm to summarize the three meetings of Asia, Latin America and Africa, UNESCO was introducing Schramm to communication's central role in development and social change. Thus the Development Communication field got its start from an organization that was already focused on *applying* communication on the ground. It happened to engage someone who had been *thinking about* general theory and methods for communication study for fifteen years. What were some of the consequences of this combination?

First, the combination of theory and practice promoted an interest in U.S. universities for the next several decades in communication in development. Stanford University where Schramm taught attracted many international students to the study of communication and development. Other universities soon followed, and scholars like Lerner and Rogers helped to define the emerging approach with the addition of Modernization (1958) and Diffusion (1962) (Servaes 1999). The formation of a theoretical framework later called Development Communication began to promote more universities to teach classes in the emerging field of research, policy and application. The context in the U.S. government in the 1960s and 1970s was still the Cold War but funding was shifting in communication from propaganda studies of the 1950s to investment for development in the 1960s. The context for Europe and Canada was different and many governments saw the focus on development and social change as independent of the East-West divide. The era lasted through the 1970s but was disrupted by the McBride Report in 1980 over the communication domination by the West and especially the U.S. concerning dominance in news but also global communication infrastructure. This marked a shift in approach to a critical examination of the original development communication paradigm. The research from this event in late 1970s did not eliminate the old paradigm that had previously dominated. But the views about social change were changed as critical scholars from the Third World promoted a variety of different theories that liberated many from a narrow formula to open the fields of development and change and communication study to a variety of approaches.

The critical turn in the 1980s disrupted the university study of development and change in the U.S. as interest shifted from the field applications to larger questions of the political economy of international aid itself. The investment in development did not change, but in the U.S. at least the government was not interested in investing in research that was critical of its own practices. There continued to be some research funding for large development projects with universities, but it was within the pattern of the outcome research and cost benefit analysis. The role of development communication had come in for critique over the last two decades of the 20th Century along with the broad critique from the McBride era. The field work of application by UNESCO was put under some political limitations. The new millennium was a period for change as digital media took the focus off of older technologies, but it did not necessarily limit large projects.

The Millennium Project: Present Focus 2000–2020

The global development policy and research shifted its focus over the last two decades to the United Nations Millennium Goals (MDGs) with a target of 2015 and a continuing promotion after that date. The large project of Columbia University by Jeffery Sachs captured the attention of money and interest in the first period to 2015, but the outcomes were not what was expected and critiques followed. The multimillion dollar effort in African villages to promote an integrated path out of poverty proved to be illusive (Mitchell et al. 2018). Subsequent attention for the MDGs seems to be divided among smaller projects with focuses among the variety of goals for change with support in the field for gender equity, environment, health, education etc. and not on large projects like that of Sachs. It should be noted that the UN goals did not focus on communication to the same degree as in the 1960–1980s period. The variety of uses of the new digital technologies were certainly a part of many of the Millennium projects in field applications, but the focus was more on the specific targets for change as developed by different UN agencies and other funders in education, health, gender equity etc. After the arrival of the new millennium the Internet and other digital technologies gained particular attention by development agencies, but applications that could be helpful in change did not immediately focus much research or field applications. These technologies were new and afforded new uses for communication but did not form the core of field approaches. But after the Millennium, the Internet, cell/or smart phone and other kinds of technology spread rapidly among large numbers of users in developing areas. One of the significant impacts was the rapid diffusion of the cell phone and then the smart phone to almost half or more of world population. This recent change helped to usher in a unique global change: the virtual interconnection of people in almost every country with everybody else. This was a communication world that had been the speculated about from the beginning of satellite communication in the early 1960s and the McLuhan prediction about the Global Village in 1964. But the consequences of this global phenomenon were not what the large Silicon Valley technology firms had promoted in the belief that technology would change the world for the better. Only a few years later critics see this belief as questionable if not a hoax. The promotion of the interpersonal technologies like Facebook was supposed to bring back communitarian and personal communication values, but in fact it brought efforts by a number of players both political and economic to spread old fashioned propaganda (O'mara 2019).

The development and social change work continued with some advantage from digital communication technologies, but the shift was more toward smaller projects than larger ones. The debate over the advantage of size of development projects had been debated for decades by development economists like Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly. Sachs, as his Millennium Villages project in Africa argued, was convinced that only a large-scale intervention would make any significant difference on the issue of poverty. Easterly had argued that these large projects promoted by large agencies with significant amounts of money had little effect on any of the areas of poverty. He was convinced that it was only the small, close to the ground development

efforts that would make lasting change. There were examples on both sides from these development economists (Easterly 2006), but a very recent event suggests that Easterly may have the better case. The 2019 Nobel Prize for Economics went to three economists at MIT and Harvard, Abhijit Banerjee, Esther Duflo and Michael Kremer, for their long work on small village projects in developing countries. Their field is both in development and behavioral economics that benefited from their work on their methodology of randomized controlled field trials. This allowed them to depend on the *behaviors* of poor people as opposed to what the *expectations of project planners* were in proposing change interventions (Hoff 2019). The experimental approach allowed the economists to test several options for change and let local participants choose their preferred option rather than assuming that the planners' option was best. This does not settle the disagreements among planners about project size, but it gives some indication that local efforts can have better outcomes if done correctly. This gives some weight to smaller interventions that may have a better chance to succeed because those who implement a project are closer to the everyday reality of peoples' lives and sow respect for their choices.

I have been involved with an institution at the university where I taught my last years and retired in 2014. Santa Clara University (SCU) created a center in 1999 to explore the impact on society of both science and technology. It is now called the Miller Center for Social Entrepreneurship (scu.edu/Miller Center), and it works with small social enterprises in developing countries to improve the success and impact of their operations. It has been doing this for twenty years and recently expanded its work to nonprofit social organizations in the U.S. The original work was with startup organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America that had an innovative idea of how to improve the lives of local people in a broad range of areas from environment, health, education, water, gender equality etc. At the start, Santa Clara University was involved in acting as judges for a local competition through a local institution that provided a monetary prize for the winners in several categories of development. The overwhelming number of these applicants were from outside the U.S. In 2003 the Miller Center began to solicit applications from those organizations that had been through the first level of testing the viability of their initial idea for change and were trying to expand their work. This new phase was an initiative of SCU and not part of the original competition for which SCU acted as judges. This new phase was to help these small social enterprises to improve their organization in such a way that they could carry on beyond the initial effort field testing of their approach. The proposal was to train a small cohort of about twenty SEs with successful field testing achieved. The goal was to have participants to think through how they could improve their service, expand their reach and, most importantly, how they could survive beyond their startup phase. Over the following years about 18 organizations would participate in a six-month digital training with a set of two or three monitors from Silicon Valley and in a final phase spend ten days at SCU and make a final pitch of their project's plans for future growth. In 2015 a third level was introduced, an accelerator program that would help SEs with five years' experience and steady growth that at the conclusion of the training would compete for funding from real

investors who have a focus on the social outcomes of these SEs. The Miller Center with a large grant had been able to expand its activities to include small weeklong training sessions with social startups in Asia, Africa and Latin America, six-month training online, the accelerator cohorts every year as well as beginning to help a large number of nonprofit organizations in the U.S. with similar services.

The purpose for mentioning the Miller Center is to propose that the sum of their experience from the last two decades argues for a focus on small change projects that are created by people in each country and not by outside interventions. Individuals who work in these social organizations might benefit from the Center's experiences to improve organization and outreach of their own and understand how to better find support for their continued work. The role of communication is not directly highlighted in the Center's pedagogy, but if you look at how social change succeeds on the ground, interpersonal communication from a leader as well as the building of an organization is intimately involved in communication. Moreover, many of these small nonprofits do not have the expertise in areas like marketing, outreach, fundraising and other activities that often touch on areas of communication involving digital technologies that could benefit from outside help. There is one other important area that is not directly communication but one that is often vital to the success of social change: an innovative idea. Innovation has been a common idea for businesses for a century or more but the idea of 'social' innovation is less than forty years old. It is attributed to Bill Drayton of the Ashoka organization from his early efforts to promote what he called social entrepreneurship (Ashoka.org) where innovative ideas by individuals can help to improve on a social problem. Drayton used some personal funds to support these individuals at the beginning of their work so they could get off the ground (McAnany 2012). The Miller Center also attempts to help these kinds of projects, but not by funding them as Ashoka does in the short term but by helping to strengthen their organization and operations. Innovation is central to the Center's search for small social enterprises that can benefit. The more than 1,000 such organizations that have been served by the Center's training efforts over the last seventeen years have all shown the advantages for improving thinking through their mission and helping them find how their organizations might improve and expand their services.

This has been a brief review of the period of development efforts since the millennium began. It has been a period of large projects sponsored by traditional funding sources with all of the advantages and disadvantages. Some governments and foundations and private sources have also begun to fund smaller efforts that have advantages of reaching smaller areas and avoiding too much local government supervision. However, even these projects are limited by having outsiders plan for local needs. The work of both the Miller Center and Ashoka is to allow people on the ground to decide on the problem they will work on and how they organize their operations. These organizations are not centrally concerned about communications as such, but many of the participants in both Ashoka and the Miller Center often have needs that can be met by experts in the various fields of communication applications. We will see how in the following section some examples of how local people in communication

fields might work with social change organizations in their own local environments and what role here might be for experts from the communication and development field.

Some Lessons from Small Social Enterprises

I recently came across a report I did at the Miller Center in 2014 that began an assessment of the 200 + cases where I looked for evidence of social impact from their own self-reporting. The effort at the time was to see how each SE had assessed their own success. My purpose was to see how each SE provided evidence for success for their work. After surveying all of these 200 + cases with the help of a research assistant my conclusion was that many did not have evidence beyond a count of people that they had served. In reviewing the cases, I kept in mind a distinction between *outputs* from *outcomes* that was helpful. Outputs are defined as products, services or facilities of a social organization and outcomes are the change, benefits, learning or other effects that happen as a result of what the organization offers or provides (Eden and Lall 2014). This is an important distinction because it is easier to count people served than to assess whether the service provided has made a difference in their lives. At the time I was working to help the Center to find a better way to help participants use better methods for gathering outcome information. The conclusion of the report was one that much of the field of social entrepreneurship recognizes: outcome measures of social impact are difficult to develop and apply in the field. Nevertheless, I used the survey to highlight those cases that had done a better job at collecting and reporting data that were convincing about outcomes even if there was no simple solution for a final assessment. I chose ten different cases that suggested some best practices that might give new SEs a rough path to follow in their own self assessments and provide data for those who might fund their work. Of the ten I have chosen three that help to illustrate the promise and the difficulties of demonstrating social impact. I should mention that before I began this chapter, I searched all ten cases and found that in 2020 all were still in operation and had expanded their services.

Video Volunteers: Bringing News to Villages (India)

This SE was started in 2006 and went through the Center's mentoring in 2011. Its mission was to train village people to produce videos on a monthly schedule about some aspect of their communities that needed the villages' attention. These videos are shown to village members so that some action is taken to solve the problem or come to a consensus. Additionally certain of the videos are shared with local television stations and even for some broadcasters regionally or nationally. In 2011 there were 125 paid community producers in villages. From the beginning in 2006 until 2014

these results were posted: 3,000 screenings in 300 + villages seen by over 300,000 people; 2,000 people had taken direct actions to improve their villages. These were impressive numbers, but what was the useful takeaway for communication people? The case was of interest because the field of communication had special lessons. The first is that a significant number of people were *exposed* to stories about their own lives, but exposure alone is not enough. The purpose of Video Volunteers was to use the news stories to provoke local actions, and that number of engaged people (2,000) who took actions for improvement was a key *outcome* finding. The quality of the videos were such that they sometimes reached local or regional TV outlets where decisions about some village problems might be resolved. As a follow-up search in 2020 suggests (videovolunteers.org), this SE started with an interesting innovative proposition, but the critical step was its ability to create an organization that consolidated growth and expansion. One other benefit was that of jobs for locally trained videographers who went on to find employment in the growing television systems in rural India but also were paid for their work in villages. This SE was aware from early on that they needed to collect information for annual reports and to develop strategies that their messages turned into actions for improving local lives.

Ikamva Youth: Helping Poor Youth to Go to College (South Africa)

The project in South Africa was stated in 2003 and went through the Center's mentoring in 2005. What it does is provide a free after-school tutoring system for rural and poor urban high school students to prepare them for taking the college entrance exams. The tutoring is done by former students in the program who volunteer their time as a kind of payment for the tutoring that they received. The students who receive this tutoring have a much higher success rate for entry into college or for obtaining work than comparable students who do not receive this service. The tutoring was begun to serve those high school students who were in rural or poorly served areas where college entry or jobs are scarce. The success of this program became clear to students but also to the public school system which adopted a similar program by 2015. The growth of the program (from 9 branches and 986 learners in 2009 to 15 branches and 5510 12th grade learners in 2016). The records that are kept of success rates are provided in annual reports for public scrutiny: committed learners (i.e. with 75% attendance at tutorials) had an 85% pass rate in 2016 and 44% of learners entering college received a diploma pass rate and 74% of matriculating learners from a class stay on to volunteer with new students in 12th grade. There are several things about this SE that are worth noting: the graduation rate of those receiving tutoring have greater success of getting into college than those without this free service; the tutors are volunteers motivated by what they received; the numerous figures in the annual reports are open to public scrutiny (a challenge a few years ago made the organization revise their figures); there has been growth within the organization and

with replication by public education in South Africa. This latter accomplishment of replication is an important point in nonprofit organizations innovation. The is no need to patent the new idea, and replication is a positive benefit for everyone.

Operation ASHA: Free TB Clinics for the Poor that Succeed (India and Cambodia)

This SE was founded in 2005 and went through several Center mentorships. It was begun by two Indian doctors who were trying to reduce the mortality rate from TB in India. It is a serious health challenge in many countries although there is an effective cure for the disease. The problem is that it takes a number of regular doses of the pill over two years and that missing any treatment means that the whole effort must start over. Poor people in cities and villages living on the edge have huge obstacles for completing the treatment. The ASHA solution was to create a small treatment centers that make it easy for people to reach one, but, more important, these centers have an online system that alerts simply trained health workers when someone has not come for their pill each month. One of the basic elements is the training of health workers who not only can administer the dosage but also seek out registered patients to remind them to take their pills. The addition of online medical records and other digital support in recent years has made this private organization an important addition to the government health system. From the beginning, ASHA had maintained good records to track of all their patients for the treatment to work. The other factor for success was that the completed treatment had an immediate outcome of curing the disease. The consequences in peoples' lives was that they were able to go back to work and earn a living (estimated by the Indian government as $13,000 added lifetime income for each patient cured). Since 2014 Operation ASHA has grown in scope and size and expanded to Cambodia with an additional six countries with independent programs modeled on ASHA. Some aspects that stand out with this project: innovation in attacking a problem that government did seem able to solve; the creation of work force that was not highly educated but that would work out of a large number of centers (sometimes within existing businesses, entertainment centers, pharmacies etc.); the introduction of digital tacking to ensure that health workers can follow on clients to take their pills.

The ten cases I analyzed in 2014 have all unique contributions, but the conclusion that I would like to draw is that they all started small with someone who tried to solve a problem with a new idea. Innovation does not call for advanced technology as Ikamva Youth illustrates. It does have to have a leader who can gain the collaboration of others and advance the idea into an organization. The success of the organization depends on thinking carefully what it is that the SE is trying to do, design a plan for accomplishing the service or product for real benefit for those who participate. The organization must grow beyond the startup phase where the idea is tested in the field. For that to happen, the organization needs also to plan how they can grow,

where funding can come from and identify evidence of real benefit. All three cases and the other seven that I looked at were nonprofits and needed reliable funding sources. One of their advantages, in addition to the training from the Miller Center, was that they kept track of their operations, the number of participants and both the outputs (what the SE does, people served, products sold) and outcomes (observable benefits to participants). Their record keeping helped tell their story to funders with the consequence that they were able to attract financial help to keep growing. A look at the Center's SEs trained in their different programs (200 + in 2013 and 1,000 + by 2019) will show a wide variety of organizations working in a variety of fields with many different communities throughout the developing world (and beginning in 2019 in the U.S. nonprofit sector). There is no one simple model that fits all needs, but the mission is to serve all with compassion and real benefit for participants.

The Future of Communication for Development and Change

It is always dangerous to predict the future and even more so in the current global tensions and political uncertainty in both developed and developing countries. Nevertheless, there are so many areas where the traditions of communication for development and change are needed that I am encouraged to put out my own suggestions. As I have argued in previous sections, there are opportunities especially for small projects in all societies. For those teaching communication students, courses that not only critique social inequality but search for ways to implement change even at a micro level could be an opportunity for students to learn communication methods field applications. Students could be encouraged in courses that promote innovative thinking whether it involves advanced technology or not. For people who work in the array of social services like education, health, housing, migration etc., they might welcome ideas for outreach, improved organizational structure, fund raising and seeking ways to sharpen the focus of their mission. Within a university structure, this application work and the thinking that goes with it would be open to not only communication students but those from a variety of other disciplines. For those people already working in a social field, they might benefit from reaching out to university people who are interested in application. Or they might search for organizations like Ashoka and the Miller Center that could offer advice for improving on their work to promote their particular goals for change.

Since this book has the title and goal of examining the issue of power in our field, I want to suggest that *knowledge is power* in the right circumstances. It cannot overcome the direct political power of government, but people can act on an innovative idea for change. Some may argue that they have no power for change, but the record shows that change starts with one or a few people. There are many examples of this: the beginning of the Latin American radio schools from a single project in 1947 in Colombia, or the beginning of the two largest social institutions in Bangladesh of BRAC and the Grameen Bank or the implementation of global child vaccinations with a single proponent, James Grant of UNICEF, who helped revolutionize the

global reduction of childhood diseases in less than a decade. These are a few major success stories coming from a few people, but the idea that change can begin with a single or a few people encourages everyone to be a change maker. This does not argue that larger traditional institutions like the UN, Word Bank, foundations like Gates etc. will not continue with their large interventions, but for most people who have an interest in changing one problem close to home through communication the possibilities are there. The power question should not only be in the hands of the powerful but those who fight for their new idea for change. The question always is: what are the real prospects for change from the ground up?

The general communication field over the course of the last seven decades grew from a few scattered departments of communication in the 1950s to a global phenomenon where almost every country has some form of university study of communication. Many of these programs place an emphasis on some form of digital communication but train people to be journalists, PR and marketing experts or technicians who work on the hardware or software of these mediated systems. With a million or more students and teachers, there is often a group who focuses on the problems in their home societies. Often this concern is about the problem of power: inequities in the distribution of access to the digital world; government failure to solve these problems; the dominance of the ownership by large corporations from outside the society and many other such obstacles. Much of the effort may be directed at these important problems in the form of critical research, journalism or more popular forms of communication. The thrust of this work is often to raise awareness and to advocate for change, often at the political level, but the result is often communicating with colleagues who are already convinced without real change among the power holders. Another strategy that has been tried often comes from outside the communication study field where small social change efforts could use the expertise of communication to improve their projects. There is a gap between university programs and the social reality of the larger community. There was a time of many endeavors in this direction (I was sometimes a part of this in my early career), but it was often promoted by outside people and outside money. That era has been rightly criticized by indigenous scholars, but now seek the efforts coming from within. I am suggesting that some of the record of the small innovative projects I have mentioned above could be a source of information of how local successes of social enterprises have been started and have grown through indigenous creativity.

The field of communication study has grown with the expansion of technologies of communication from film, radio and television in the first half of the last century, and of the spread of communication satellites and the connectivity of computers in the second half. But it was the beginning of digital communication, the Internet and the diffusion of personal and social connectivity that the real world of today's societies has evolved with all of the problems that this entails. The big picture can be overwhelming for all societies, but it should not be allowed to distract us from acting on the level of the local. It is here that communication for development and change could have an important role in discerning how local expertise in communication could be applied to local problems whether through the application of technologies that are

available or through the use of the fundamental strength of our human communication which has empowered change from its emergence in language millennia ago. This is the local source of power of communication for change today.

References

Easterly, W. (2006). *White Man's burden: Why the west's efforts to aid the rest has done so much ill and so little good*. New York: Penguin.

Eden, G., & Lall, S. (2014). *The state of measurement practice in the sgb sector*. Colorado: Aspen Institute.

Hoff, K. No. 7. (2019). Changing the culture of economics: 2019 Nobel laureates. Brookings.org.

Mayo, J., McAnany, E., & Klees, S. (1975). The mexican *Telesecundaria:* A cost effectiveness study. *Instructional Science, 4*(4), 193–236.

Mayo, J., Hornik, R., McAnany, E. (1976) Educational Reform with Television: The El Salvador Experience. Stanford University Press.

McAnany, E. (1993). The Telenovela in Social Change, in Fadul,A.M. Serial Fiction in Television: The Latin American Telenovela. School of Communication S.P. University, Sao Paulo.

McAnany, E. (2009). Incentives and participation in development communication: evidence from sixty-three recent projects. Glocal Times (online) Nov. 13.

McAnany, E. (2012). Saving the world: A brief history of communication for development and social change. University of Illinois, ch. 6.

McAnany, E. (2017); in Patricia Moy, Oxford Bibliographies in Communication. New York (online Oxford Bibliographies.com).

McAnany, E. (2018). Wilbur Schramm and international connections in communication research. *Communication Media and Design, 2*, 26–38 (original in Russian).

Mitchell, S., Gelman, A., et al. (2018). The millennium village project: A retrospective, observational, endline evaluation. *Lancet, 6*(5), 500–513.

O'mara, M. (2019). He code: Silicon valley and the remaking of America. Penguin, New York.

Ogan, C., et al. (2009). Development communication: state of research in an era of ICTs and globalization. *International Communication Gazette, 71,* 655–670.

Servaes, J (1999). Communication for Development. One World, Multiple Cultures, Hampton Press, Cresskill.

Simonson, P., Peck, J., et al. (2013). *The handbook of communication history*. New York: Routledge.

The Beginnings of DSC in FAO

Silvia Balit

Introduction

We are living, as a result of the information revolution, in a fast changing and moving world. Large social media such as Google, Facebook, and Twitter influence the way billions of people think, access information, and act. President Trump shares his policies and ideas globally through Twitter. Politicians rely on communication strategies for their campaigns. Financial centers operate on a world scale bypassing national states and establishing super-national powers. People in rural areas throughout the developing world now use mobile phones and send SMS messages to gain information, sell their products and keep in touch with relatives abroad. Communication for development has come of age and is now recognized as a professional field, with many different names. There are many practitioners locally, nationally and on the international field. There are universities and academic programs that provide courses in communication for development. There are specialized networks and platforms.

Yet the discipline continues to face challenges. Some of them still exist from the early years. There is still need for mainstreaming the discipline and including it specifically in policy documents such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). New issues such as climate change, religious violence and civil wars require new approaches that practitioners need to address. Because of the failure of development efforts in the past, many voices are calling for 'another development'. There is the need to identify a new paradigm for development, and the role of communication in that new paradigm. It should include sustainability, participation, ownership, multi stakeholders and civil society. The landscape was very different when Development Support Communication was first introduced in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in the late sixties.

S. Balit (✉)
The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Italy
e-mail: silvia.balit@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_5

The Birth of DSC

Development Support Communication (DSC) was established as a discipline within the UN system at the end of the 1960s. DSC owed its vision to Erskine Childers and Mallica Vajrathon of UNDP and Jack Ling of Unicef. Childers was the son of a prominent Irish family, and his father was President of Ireland. In the 1950s and 1960s, Childers was a researcher and an author/broadcaster on international affairs in the Near East as well as a consultant to the UN. His experience in the field convinced him of the importance of introducing communication in development programs. During his visits to New York, he began to speak to senior staff in the UN. It became his mission. He was particularly keen to convince Paul Hoffman, the UNDP administrator at the time, and the Executive Director of UNICEF, Henry Labouisse. He also spoke to U Thant. The result was that the UN, UNDP and UNICEF jointly sent him to Asia for further research, to organize some demonstrations of communication in development and to write a major policy paper on the subject. In 1967 Childers and Vajrathon established a project called the Development Support Communication Service (DSCS) in Bangkok, financed by UNDP and UNICEF. Its purpose was to serve other development projects in Asia by advising them on communication strategies and by producing communication materials for them The policy paper Childers was requested to write appeared in 1968. It was so perceptive and innovative about change and development that it is as relevant today as it was then (Fraser and Restrepo Estrada 1996). Childers wrote in the paper.

> *No innovation, however brilliantly designed and set down in a project plan of operations, becomes development until it has been communicated. No input or construction of material resources for development can be successful unless and until the innovations – the new techniques and surrounding changed attitudes which people will need to use those resources – have been communicated to them.*

According to Jack Ling, former UNICEF communication specialist and partner in the DSCS Uniit in Bangok, Childers was a conceptualizer and a prolific writer who should be fully recognized for his pionneering role in development communication. While Childers did not write books on development communication like those of Lerner, Rogers or Schramm, he wrote the papers and made presentations that foreshadowed some of the concepts and methods that have emerged during the following decades (Colle 1996).

In 1990 he wrote, "The development profession has rediscovered the primacy of people over money, concrete and machinery. …with a little luck—and above all a lot of communication—the 1990s might turn out to be the decade of development by the people, of the people and for the people" (Childers 1990).

Perhaps the strength of his leadership in development support communication is demonstrated in Childers' own words. In a FAO's video program on communication for sustainable development, Childers said:

> *"If you want development to be rooted in the human beings who have become the agents of it as well as the beneficiaries, who will alone decide on the kind of development they can sustain after the foreign aid has gone away, then you have to communicate with them, you*

have got to enable them to communicate with each other and back to the planners in the capital city. You have got to communicate the techniques that they need in order that they will decide on their own development. If you do not do that you will continue to have weak or failing development programs. It's as simple as that" (FAO video 'Sharing Knowledge' 1992).

As a result of Childers' ideas in 1969 UNDP sent a circular to all UN agencies requesting them to include communication components in the projects they were operating with UNDP financing. Also a number of DSC Units were set up with different names in a number of UN agencies.

Childers came to FAO in 1969 to promote the establishment of a DSC Unit. The proposal was found interesting by the then Director of the Public Information Division, Theodore Kaghan. Kaghan was a liberal American who had worked in information with the Allies in Europe following the Second World War. The FAO extension division that would have been the natural home for the discipline, was instead negative and suspicious of the new discipline that they considered to be in competition with extension services. They did not promote an integrated and collaborative relationship.

Following Erskine Childers' visit to FAO, in 1969 Ted Kaghan established the Development Support Communication Branch (DSC) under the leadership of Colin Fraser. The Branch was located in the Public Information Division and made use of its media resources, but it did not deal with corporate communication. Its mission was to improve field project planning, participation and capacity development.

The Environment

The initial years were difficult to receive recognition. The Organization was very technical and devoted to the hard sciences and transfer of technology. Many officers came from colonial backgrounds. They followed the modernization approach to development (Servaes 1999). They believed they knew best what people needed and that diffusion of innovation and transfer of knowledge was what was required. They thought that it would be sufficient to spread the word for the knowledge to trickle down and for people to accept new ideas and put them into practice. Besides they did not understand what communication was all about. Many believed it dealt with telephones, telegraphs and roads. In addition they thought it was about publicity and corporate communication since the Branch was in the public information division. It was a new frontier and little was known in those days about communicating with rural people in developing countries. As Colin Fraser used to say it was like painting on an empty canvas. No one in the Branch had an academic background in communication. Some in the Branch had backgrounds in media production or learning methodologies. Colin himself was a trainer with Massey Ferguson, and he was a born communicator. The group started learning by doing, especially from its first mistakes. For example, a few white elephants were designed, but never to become operational. Most of the requests for assistance were for the production of visual aids to transfer technical

knowledge and support extension services. Participation was never mentioned in the terms of reference. Requests came from UNDP projects and governments. The UNDP circular to include communication components in projects did not actually help DSC. Project managers interpreted it to mean production of visual aids or a video describing project activities The media applied were simple and appropriate to conditions in rural areas of developing countries such as radio, slide sets and portable video. But even the use of portable video was contested by many government representatives as being too sophisticated for communities in rural areas.

Gender Diversity

The organization was male dominated. There were few professional women, and practically none at higher grades. It was only in the year 2000 that three women were appointed assistant director generals, the highest grade In the Organization. The author attended many meetings with male colleagues as the only woman. When it was her turn to take the floor smiles appeared on their faces, whether it was because she was a woman or because they knew she would promote DSC, both not to be taken seriously. There was only a home economics division that dealt with women in the field. Contrary to the general pattern in the organization the Branch had a mix of men and women in equal numbers. The same was true for DSC projects in the field. But also following the general pattern the women in the Branch were not allowed to travel to the field alone. The author remembers a senior FAO representative requesting a DSC mission, and when Colin Fraser suggested her name he replied that a woman would not be acceptable. Then slowly the women in the Branch were allowed to go on mission with a male colleague. Only Florita Botts, the audio visual aids producer, was allowed to go on photo missions alone, because she was a well known and a highly respected photographer.

Recognition at Last

Development paradigms started changing in the 1980s, and more emphasis was given to the human aspects of development and participatory processes. In FAO the term communication for development replaced development support communication. Communication started being recognized as a social process to improve the lives of rural people and increase participation. Starting with the needs of people. The practical experience gained by the Branch brought about the development of a number of innovative communication systems and approaches. This was thanks to the work of a number of project managers in the field, the so called “champions” (Quarry and Ramirez 2009).

In Peru an audio visual training methodology based on the use of portable video was developed for the training of illiterate communities. Attention was paid to peasant culture and traditional technologies.

In Mexico, the rural communication system in Proderith,an integrated rural development program financed by the World Bank, participatory video was applied to consult with communities based on needs identified by them. Young farmers were trained to produce and use communication materials with their communities. Messages were produced by the farmers, with the farmers and for the farmers.

Based on the oral tradition in Africa radio was considered the most effective medium to reach large numbers of audiences over vast distances. Rural radio services were brought to the villages and programs produced in local languages with their participation.

Another successful approach was the use of traditional media such as local artists, musicians, storytellers, theater groups and puppets. Combined with qualitative research, group discussions and other participatory tools this approach was successfully applied in several countries in Africa.

After some 20 years of pragmatic experience, it was considered important to have a more strategic approach. For this purpose an Expert Consultation was organized in 1987 and participants included academics as well as communication specialists from all regions, the so called champions. The consultation contributed to a better understanding of the role of communication in agricultural and rural development. It provided directions for future work and defined a strategic framework and guidelines that are still valid today.

The Expert Consultation defined communication as "a social process designed to seek a common understanding among all the participants of a development initiative, creating a basis for concerted action. It promotes knowledge sharing and participation. Sharing is not a one way transfer of information; it implies rather an exchange between communication equals: on the one hand technical specialists learn about people's needs and their techniques, on the other hand people learn of the techniques and proposals of the specialists. Communication technology and the media are useful tools to facilitate this process, but should not be considered an end in itself. What is important is the process, rather than the product or the technology/media used" (FAO, Report of Expert Consultation 1967).

Another milestone in the history of communication for development in FAO was the World Congress held in Rome in October 2006, organised by FAO, the World Bank and the Communication Initiative. Without communication there is no development, was the primary message of the meeting, as Erskine Childers stated back in 1968. Some 900 participants gathered to discuss the role of communication in development programs. The many voices at the meeting was evidence of how the discipline had evolved, the variety of specialists now working in the discipline and the richness of practices in the field. The Rome consensus adopted by the Congress provided a definition of Communication for Development which is now adopted by all UN agencies (Rome Consensus 2006):

"Communication for Development (ComDev) is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is about seeking change at

different levels including listening, establishing trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. The process goes beyond information dissemination to facilitate active participation and stakeholder dialogue. It highlights the importance of raising awareness, the cultural dimensions of development, local knowledge, experiential learning, information sharing and the active participation of rural people and other stakeholders in decision making" (World Bank, 2006).

Reasons for Success

Thus in the 1980s and 1990s FAO was recognised internationally as a pioneer and leader in the field of communication for development. There were a number of reasons for this recognition:

- Following the Expert Consultation, a strategic approach was applied. FAO activities at Headquarters and in the field followed a common vision.
- There was mainstreaming. The activities of the Branch were integrated into the Organization's policy, programs and budget. Its activities were presented to the Program and Finance committees for supervision and review.
- The Branch produced a number of supporting multimedia materials for advocacy. These materials were presented to FAO senior management and distributed to other UN agencies member governments and NGOs.
- The projects in the field supplied evidence of the added value of Communication for Development. Projects lasted 5–10 years and were thus able to develop innovative communication methods and document them with case studies distributed widely. The program had skilled project managers, the "champions" for communication for development (Ramirez and Quarry 2009). Three communication project managers, Paul Daniel for rural radio in Benin, Manuel Calvelo Rios for audio visual training methodology in Peru, and Santiago Funes for the Proderith rural communication system were given the B.R. Sen award as best FAO field experts.
- The field experts had capacity building and ownership as their main objective supporting local and national institutions that would be able to continue communication for development activities when the projects ended. Respect for local traditions, language and culture, was paramount. In the majority of projects half of the national staff were women, as for the program at Headquarters.
- The Branch had up to nine professional staff as well as supporting general staff. It had expertise in different aspects of communication, ranging from audio visual media, radio, ICTs to planning, research and evaluation.

Downgrading

Unfortunately, starting in 2000 the Branch was downgraded during a reform process of the organisation. Communication was no longer considered an important strategic component. The operational mode adopted on results-based management and logical frameworks was not conducive to participatory approaches. The financial crisis did the rest, funds for projects were limited with fewer resources available for participatory development and communication. Furthermore, the Group had a weak research capacity to document results and generate evidence. In particular the group lacked sufficient quantative data on impact to be able to prove the value of Communication for Development to policy makers with a background in the hard sciences. This was a serious weakness. Finally, following the reform process the term communication was used to relable public information officers thus deepening the misunderstanding that existed from the beginning between communication for development, corporate communication and publicity.

Lessons Learned

What can the lessons learned in the first fifty years of communication for development provide to future change agents.?

Compared with the first years the discipline has come of age and presently there is a wide spectrum in terms of academic training, technologies and development approaches.

Communication for sustainable development and social change now requires listening and dialogue with communities, starting with the people, their needs and integration with indigenous knowledge and culture. At the same time new challenges have developed that require new communication approaches. Future change agents. will need to develop new practices to address the complexity of the problems posed by these new issues (Chin Saik Yoon 2010). While seeking to address these new communication approaches it is important not to forget the guiding principles and approaches accumulated over the years that are still valid. Practitioners will need to draw upon the best practices and methods of the past and merge them with the new approaches required to meet the changing needs of our society.

Academic Training

Any candidate for a communication post today will need to have some academic training.

There are several universities and academic programs in both the North and the South that provide courses in communication. Some are online.

The FAO Expert Consultation defined DSC as part science, part art and part craft.

- It is part science, because it draws heavily on social science theory and methodology,
- It is part art because it includes artistic talents and skills such as graphics, photography, radio, video, instructional technology, etc..
- It is part craft because it employs a wide variety of tools and technology such as cameras, projectors, computers, and broadcasting and telecommunication equipment for preparing, projecting and sharing messages (Report of Expert Consultation 1967).

Thus candidates with training from these disciplines also can qualify for communication posts. But more than academic training, what is required is commitment to sustainable development and social change. Willingness to work in the field with rural communities and dirty their feet in the mud.

Research and Evaluation

Today's participatory communication approaches require participatory research and evaluation to be carried out with the ownership of the communities concerned. There are several participatory methods that can be applied. In the beginning, some research and evaluations were carried out. But mainly using marketing methods, and implemented by outsiders. The major weakness of the Branch was the lack of sufficient results of research and evaluations that could convince policy makers of the importance of communication for development.

Indigenous Knowledge and Culture

In the beginning there was scarce understanding of rural people's traditional knowledge and culture. Today field experience and literature have provided significant knowledge. Thus communication programs must respect and build on indigenous knowledge and culture. Indigenous groups have a large volume of traditional knowledge about their environment and of available resources that have been crucial for their survival. Also communities in rural areas have a wealth of traditional cultural resources, a rich heritage that risks being lost with the advent of modern technology and globalization. Communication efforts must take into account the values and culture of rural people rather than bringing in strategies that promote change from outside without consideration for local culture (DeCock 2000).

The Special Requirements of Women

For some 50 years the empowerment of rural women has been on the international development agenda. And now a new challenge is the increasing violence that women are subject to in situations of conflict and post-conflict. Yet the special needs of women are still overlooked in development strategies. Their voices are still not heard. Women in rural areas have communication requirements that are different from men, but often these are not taken into account. Yet in their communities they are active participants in social communication networks using traditional forms of communication to disseminate knowledge and strategies for survival (Balit 1999). The empowerment of women and their special requirements should always be included in rural communication programs.

Political Space and Context

Participatory communication requires support on the part of government and local authorities. Real participation directly addresses power and its distribution in society. Usually authorities do not want to upset the status quo even if they pay lip service to participation. Commitment and will on the part of the communities involved are also essential prerequisites. Participatory communication approaches should be applied in accordance with a favourable political, economic and social context. It is a mistake to plan and insist on participatory approaches unless there is political space and a favourable context. Otherwise the local people will pay the price.

Conclusion

The present development landscape is favourable to communication for development and social change. Participatory approaches and ownership by communities are an essential component of "another" development called for by international donors. Partners are multiple stakeholders and civil society in addition to traditional partners. This was not the landscape when development support communication was born in FAO. At that time governments even objected to the use of the term "social" in relation to communication. Yet today after all these years of experience there are still some of the same challenges that require action. These include mainstreaming with policy makers and institutions to ensure that communication for development and social change are included in major policy documents such as the SDGs and development institutions. There is still need for capacity building at all levels, but especially at community levels. There is still misunderstanding of the term communication for development, and action is required to ensure that it does not involve

corporate communication and publicity. Thus, although there is a favourable landscape, future change agents and practitioners still have a full agenda to ensure that communication for development and social change will find its legitimate role in development programs. Good luck to them.

References

Balit, S. (1999). *Voices for Change: Rural women and communication.* Rome: FAO.

Colle, R. (1996). Erskine Childers, a Devcom Pioneer The Journal of Development Communication; N. 2 Vol. VII Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, AIDCOM, pp. 496–506.

Childers, E. (1990). Excerpt from Unpublished paper "Communication in Popular Participation Empowering People for Their Own Development" United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Tanzania.

Decock, A. (2000). Tapping local cultural resources for development. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Walking on the oher side of the information highway: Communication, culture and development in the 21*st*century century* (pp. 128–132). Southbound: Penang.

FAO. (1987). *Report of development support communication expert consultation.* Rome: FAO.

Fugelsang, A. (1982). *About understanding—ideas and observations on cross-cultural communication.* Uppsala, Sweden: Dag Hammarskold Foundation.

Fraser C., & Restrepo-Estrada, S. (1998). Communicating for development-human change for survival. I.B. Tauris, London pp. 45–47.

Quarry, W., & Ramirez, R. 2009) Communication for another development, listening before telling. Zed Books London pp. 70–85.

Saik, Y. C. (2010). Future Imperatives. Paper presented at the international conference on future imperatives of communication and information for development and social change. Bangkok December 20–22.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development*. One World, Multiple Cultures: Hampton Press, Cresskill NJ.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2007). *Communication for development: Making a difference, a WCCD background study*. Washington DC: The Communication Initiative, FAO and the World Bank.

World Bank, FAO and the Communication Initiative. (2007). *World congress on communication for development: Lessons, challenges and the way forward*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Communication Planning Recalled

Alan Hancock

Introduction

This is not an academic essay, nor is it a memoir. It is a brief personal account of a journey begun sixty years ago and ending (or so I thought at the time) in 2010. That journey has been shaped by politics, dogmas, institutions, cultures, boundaries, glass walls and pure chance. At different times it has interlocked with development, in a broad understanding of the concept which is applicable to many different societies. And although my main theme here is the relationship between communication, social change and development, and how planning processes may help to understand and manage that relationship, my starting point has always been communication. I see through a communication lens.

For this reason, I shall not be dwelling much on theory and paradigm. Evidently, paradigms of development have changed radically over the past fifty years, moving from narrow modernisation and economic perspectives to a more holistic and participatory view. So have planning and communication paradigms, underpinned by social and technological change. But I shall leave this argument until later, and mostly to other authors, and begin, as I did fifty years ago, from a communication standpoint.

Beginnings

I have always been fascinated by communication issues. My early professional life was as a director and producer with the BBC, where the emphasis at the time was very much on rules and orthodoxies (there was a grammar of television, templates of

A. Hancock (✉)
Milton Keynes, UK
e-mail: a.hancock@aha.powernet.co.uk

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_6

good programming). But I was encouraged by some far-sighted mentors to move into the more uncertain world of educational media, especially educational television, where the models were fewer and the rules were still in the making. Working in BBC School and Further Education Television in the early sixties, I was given an unprecedented amount of freedom to experiment with presentation and production formats, including a film series illustrating a number of basic social science concepts and theories in a highly visual and accessible way. The same pioneering spirit was apparent during the first years of the Open University, where the course team model brought academics and practitioners together in a stimulating and mostly collegiate way.

It was through educational media that I first began to appreciate the significance of communication processes in a social and economic environment, both in demarcated fields such as education, health and agriculture, and more broadly as a critical factor in social development.

I should emphasise that I have learned whatever I know about communication, education, planning and development through lived experience, not through an academic process. When I started out, there were no communication or journalism schools in the UK; when I joined the BBC, professional training was brief and in-house; when I became interested in planning, it was a discipline mostly confined to business studies and administration. In many places, the prevailing view was that learning on the job was preferable, and there was much prejudice against an academic route.

My first encounter with educational media outside the United Kingdom was in 1966, when I was seconded to Singapore for a year as a consultant. My brief was to help develop an educational television service, designed to enrich teaching across the school system. (I use the term ‘enrich’ advisedly, as the debate at the time was focussed on the use of television for direct teaching, compared with the supportive role favoured in the UK). The assignment was a difficult one, as it envisaged creating a system from scratch in a very short time, including a training programme for production and technical staff and orientation for the teaching force. For me, the most important lesson to be learned, and very urgently, was adaptation: how to base the system on local needs and talents, and to query the norms and professional imperatives of Europe.

In a sense the short stint with the UK Open University which followed re-inforced my Singapore experience (basing media production on audience needs, not on a set of inflexible templates), but it also opened my eyes to the overriding importance of team working. The OU course team model, which based planning and decisions on group discussion with a range of actors and brought evaluation into the mix, was developed gradually and experimentally, but in my experience at least it has stood the test of time.

UNESCO

However, it was in late 1969, when I took up a position as a regional broadcasting adviser for Unesco, based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia but covering a very wide constituency across Asia and the Pacific, that I was first introduced directly to the role of communication in development. My main remit was to help develop a regional broadcasting training centre (which eventually became the Asia–Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development).

The project was focused on professional development across the region, providing upgrading services and production and technical training for broadcasting organisations, most of them publicly funded, but given its location it inevitably brought development issues into focus, though at the time the notion of using the media in support of development processes was in its infancy.

As the field expanded, and the role of communication in development gradually became a field of interest, the situation changed, especially internationally. Within the UN system, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was encouraged to integrate communication into its programme planning by the pioneering work of Erskine Childers, and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) was an early adopter through its Development Support Communication Unit, led by Colin Fraser and Sylvia Balit. Over time most of the UN agencies and programmes developed a distinctive approach to communication in development, usually defined by the mandate of the agency concerned (e.g. health in the World Health Organisation (WHO), labour relations in the International Labour Organisation (ILO). UNESCO cast itself as the core agency, in part because of the breadth of its mandate and interests, but also because it was the first to recognise the influence and social impact of communication.

Communication Planning

My own approach to communication and development changed radically in the mid-seventies, after I had moved to Unesco Headquarters in Paris and came into more frequent contact with other sectors and a wider debate. It was primarily a consequence of meeting and working with a pioneer in the field, Wilbur Schramm. His work at Stanford University had a major impact on an emerging group of communication scholars, but for me it was his book ‘Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries’ (Schramm 1964), published by Unesco, which had the most influence. I had the privilege of working alongside Wilbur Schramm as a Unesco staff member, in particular on the evaluation of the Indian Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) in the seventies. Schramm later invited me to join his team at the East–West Communication Institute in Hawaii, and it was during this relatively short stay that I crystallised my ideas on communication planning, leading to a monograph, the subject of my doctorate

and my first publication in the field, 'Communication Planning for Development' (Hancock 1981).

At this point I should refer back to the state and status of planning in the seventies. Planning at the time was considered to be largely a technical skill, with an emphasis on systems engineering. It was a pre-computer age, dependent on flow charts, systems analysis and spreadsheets. The social dimension was gradually being taken into account, but primarily through a prism of business studies and the need to segment audiences.

In a sense this mirrored the development debate, as it moved away from a largely economic focus to embrace social aspects and greater inclusivity. In 'Communication Planning for Development' my underlying Venn diagram interlocked Public and Development Policy with Technology and Communication Infrastructures and my planning approach was predominantly systems based. A Unesco compendium of methods of communication planning had chapter headings such as Delphi, PERT, scenarios, simulation and gaming, brainstorming, decision and cost–benefit analysis, planning indicators and inter-organisational co-ordination. My own work focussed on eliciting and codifying basic planning principles, using systems analysis to develop a step by step approach to designing a planning framework, though with many assessment and feedback loops built into the design. Looking back at 'Communication Planning for Development' I am slightly bemused by the number of charts and diagrams devised to cover every option explored.

'Communication Planning for Development' evolved from a series of planning experiences, beginning with my Singapore initiation but mostly conducted through UNESCO assignments. The first, and perhaps the most challenging, was the development of the AIBD, as this involved seeking support and consensus from almost the entirety of public broadcasters in the Asia Pacific region, initially with multilateral and bilateral support, but underpinned by a commitment to eventual sustainability through a graded contribution system. This was followed by a pre-investment study of educational mass media in Thailand (1973–4), a communication system planning survey in Afghanistan (1977) and considerably later, planning for the extension of broadcasting services in Zambia (1988). Only one of these studies was eventually realised in some form (Thailand in 1981), and apart from the valuable contribution that they made to the technical design process, the main lessons learned were strategic and political. In particular they re-inforced the need for strong sponsorship and funding, the importance of obtaining the interest and commitment of political leaders and the ability to compromise creatively, without undermining underlying objectives.

Ten years later, in 'Communication Planning Revisited' (Hancock 1992) my approach was more tentative, more evolutionary and more flexible, based on evaluated experience, case studies and above all, the need to include within the planning arsenal a form of contingency planning which could accommodate the unforeseen.

I was still in search of underlying principles, but in a spirit of greater nuance and flexibility.

I had come to understand that planning must be based on genuine needs assessment rather than on trying to impose generalised models. It had to begin with a comprehensive process of problem definition rooted in the local environment, expand the range of actors and users involved, attempt to deal with uncertainty, work through a range of options and alternatives, build in evaluation and feedback loops, avoid the sharp edges of systems analysis and recognise the significance of existing structures and resources.

Some particular themes emerged. The first of these concerned *rules*, methodologies, models, templates and stereotypes. Of course these are necessary, for the reasons discussed above, but they need to be constantly challenged, otherwise there will no innovation. I believe that each situation is different and needs to be approached on its own terms, without preconception (or at least acknowledging preconception).

Secondly, there was an old pre-occupation of mine: the need to find, and promote if necessary, links between *research* and *practice* which can overcome historic prejudices, protected fields and differences of perception. I have encountered these prejudices throughout my career and they are difficult to shift, but operational activities have to be underpinned by well-conducted, well-reasoned research, while conversely the researcher has to emerge from a sealed laboratory environment.

This led me to another pre-occupation based on a great deal of experience: the need for a *realistic* appraisal, in socio-political terms, of the external landscape, in particular of institutions, cultures and sponsors. Planning cannot be idealised to fit a theoretical model; it has to take full account of political realities, the limits of institutional change and the priorities of funders and sponsors. I am not suggesting for one moment that it has to accept all such constraints: if it did change would never occur, but the planning process has to embrace negotiation, education and dialogue.

Back to … UNESCO

Most what I have said so far relates to process: I have said very little about the international environment in which communication planning for development was located, and which determined its growth. This inevitably brings me back to Unesco, where I spent almost 27 years from late 1969 onwards. From its early years, Unesco made a basic distinction between communication as a vector of change and communication harnessed to public information, and adapted its organisational structure accordingly. For the most part, however, the bulk of its work programme was concentrated in its Communication sector, whose focus during my tenure was mainly on mass media: this was well before the spread of the internet. Within that sector, another separation was also important: a division between communication research and policy, and operational activities. Part of the (often implicit) thinking at the time was that this separation could be useful: that operational projects could be divorced from the wider political and ideological debate. There was also a strong emphasis on the technical and technological aspects of communication (social and cultural aspects being taken up for study in the research division, or in the work programme of other

sectors, such as culture or social science). All of this had an impact on approaches to communication planning, and perhaps even more so did the issue of funding.

Much of the operational work of the Communication sector was driven by funding considerations. Unesco had its own Regular Programme, resourced through contributions by its Member States, and this allowed it to maintain an eclectic programme of research and innovation, and some dedicated national and local programming (through a mechanism for meeting Member States' priorities known as the Participation Programme). But the funding available for a large operational programme was meagre when resources were divided across regions and nations, and for larger projects external (or what was known as extra-budgetary) funding was needed. A sizeable proportion of the work programme was devoted, for example, to population activities with a communication focus, with funding from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Other funding came from UN agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), from the World Bank and from bilateral and non-governmental sources, through what were known as Funds in Trust arrangements. Naturally, all of these agencies had an interest, explicit or implicit, in determining programme priorities and execution.

This was a difficult landscape to navigate, and its complexity was one of the reasons why in October 1980 the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) was set up by the 21st Session of the UNESCO General Conference. This followed an international conference (known as DEVCOM) held earlier in the same year, with the express objective of coordinating and expanding communication development activities. I attempted to describe the IPDC mechanism in 'Communication Planning Revisited' (Hancock 1992), but perhaps its main contribution was to expand and diversify the range of projects, actors and resources in the communication development field and to provide a greater sense of continuity.

Of particular significance for future models of communication development was a strand of communication activities which had less public exposure and worked away from the international spotlight: the development of local and community media projects, which could be funded with modest sums and alternative technologies. Unesco showed its interest in community access in the mid-seventies, drawing on a range of western models (Berrigan 1977), but realising their potential for development communication and promoting them through its national and regional programmes. These projects were small in size, based on local interests and where possible community driven: they used what Schramm called 'little media' (Schramm 1977)—audio-visual media, cassette tapes, community FM and cable radio, CCTV, folk media and alternative technologies—and often focused on the needs of specific groups such as women or young people, or particular applications such as health, community development or agriculture. Because of the range and diversity of approaches, there was an equal spread of successes and failures. At times, it seemed as if Unesco's starting point was to choose a model, a medium or a technology, and then to search for a local partner, rather than to base its work on an identified local need. Nevertheless, many of these small projects produced significant results in communities and cultures across the world. It was an alternative and sustainable route to communication as a development support, especially for

neglected or excluded communities, but it was inevitably under-resourced, so that it benefited from the IPDC and from the support of non-governmental agencies. In the future, it would become increasingly important as the international fabric deteriorated and new frictions surfaced, especially the overriding issue of climate change, while at the same time the range of alternative technologies expanded to embrace a revival of radio, podcasts and user-produced channels such as Youtube.

Politics and Policies

However, at that time the main political spotlight (and the main planning focus) was on the mass media. In the seventies and late eighties, UNESCO was increasingly politicised, as it became the centre piece of a struggle between ideologies fought out on the arena of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The confrontation roughly straddled the years 1972 (the year of a celebrated UN vote on Direct Broadcasting Satellites, which left the USA in a minority of one) and 1989 (the adoption of a New Communication Strategy at the 25th Session of Unesco's General Conference), and it accounted for three-quarters of the time that I spent with the organisation. Development was central to this confrontation, as it was a product of and proxy for the wider international debate on a new economic order. Within Unesco it was a pivot for much of the communication programme, including the series of conferences on communication policy (held in Latin America and the Caribbean (Costa Rica 1976), Asia and the Pacific (Kuala Lumpur 1979), Africa (Yaoundé, 1980) and the Arab States), Khartoum 1887). Unesco hosted the debate on the Right to Communicate, the so-called McBride report ('Many Voices, One World' 1980) and most controversially the Declaration on the Media, negotiated from 1972–8 but eventually adopted in 1978. This was an ideological struggle largely conducted with linguistic weapons, in which success or failure (and political consensus) depended on a subtle choice of words, the substitution of lower for upper case capitals, or the replacement of a definite by an indefinite article. The controversy culminated (for Unesco) in the 1989 General Conference, co-inciding with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

As the wall collapsed, Unesco was in the thick of a confrontation played out at its General Conference, which led to the abandonment of NWICO and the introduction of a compromise formula which was known, in carefully neutral terms, as its New Communication Strategy.

The new strategy was not so much a radical replacement strategy as a rejection of the old, recognising the collapse of international orders and the adoption of a lower key, less conceptual, more technical and more operational language. The technological emphasis was fortuitous, given the imminence of the internet and the rise of social media (at a time when the downsides of social media were little foreseen), but it was very much in keeping with the changing times.

Policies and Planning

This has been a very brief summary of what has been extensively documented elsewhere, but I would like to relate it more directly to policy and planning. In theory, a policy is a statement of intent: a collection of principles intended to guide decision-making and achieve specific outcomes. As the instigator and first stage of a planning cycle, policies are meant to provide a framework for strategy, which in turn underpins a work programme. However, in reality the resilience and effectiveness of the cycle is often fragile, mostly because of a failure in policy and strategy formulation. This is by no means confined to communication: it can be seen wherever policies and strategies remain frozen at a high or generalised level, unable to connect with operational planning because consensus cannot be reached on the modalities of the way forward.

This situation was not always the case for Unesco. Initially, in the early seventies, Unesco viewed policies and planning very much as part of a coherent system, contextualised to match individual societies (Lee 1976). However, at an international level, with very broad and diverse constituencies, many vested interests and conflicting world views, consensus can only be reached through a lengthy process of negotiation, which has to be concluded before detailed planning can begin. As reported above, Unesco's work on information flow and communication policy showed how difficult it was to agree on texts that went beyond generalities, and following the adoption of the New Communication Strategy in 1989 the policy debate shifted ground, depoliticising its agenda to become much more low key (Leye 2009). Unesco largely withdrew from political debate or from controversial norm-setting activities in the international communication field, and the field of communication policies and planning left the spotlight. Communication planning for development remained at an operational, mostly project or community-centred level,

In retrospect I do not believe that this was simply a defensive response to the NWICO debate: at least, not in the case of communication planning. In 'Communication Planning Revisited' (Hancock 1992) I can already see some acknowledgement of the limitations of the systems approach in conceptual areas: a different kind of planning was needed, one which admitted more actors, facilitated more discussion, was less prescriptive, considered more scenarios and allowed for more creative interventions.

It was hoped that modern information technologies, especially social media, would make this more achievable. Communication planning began by borrowing from other social science disciplines, in order to develop a systems framework which was appropriate to a communication environment and could help to align planning methods in such a way that they brought more discipline into operational projects. For certain kinds of communication, such as public information, public relations and advertising, this seemed feasible, because their objective was interventionist, designed to promote or change a certain kind of behaviour. Here the range of actors is smaller, they have shared interests and there is less room for dissonance or controversy. The same could be said for advocacy and awareness raising programmes in

support of development. But today, in more complex environments, where the range of media is much broader and includes social media, and where highly interactive models of engagement and expression are required, in particular for those traditionally excluded from development programmes, the demands on planning are much more extreme.

PROCEED

That was where I left the debate in Unesco. In the fall-out from the NWICO debate, in 1992 I was transferred away from the Communication Sector and asked to set up a Programme for Central and Eastern European Development (PROCEED), intended to support social reconstruction in a chaotic new landscape, working across the organisation's mandate in education, culture and the natural and social sciences (including communication). Initially I believed that I had left the development field, but I soon realised that this was not the case. Central and Eastern Europe at that time had many of the same problems and the same characteristics as the developing world. Nations in the PROCEED region were in search of new identities or struggling to recover their past; fragmented communities were trying to re-form, resources were few and alternative technologies were important. Structures and ideologies were in flux, but not for long, as neo-liberalism, in various guises, became the new normal. The old approaches to planning were no longer fit for purpose.

Post UNESCO

I retired from Unesco in 1996 and have had very little contact since. Consequently, my comments in this essay are based on recollections of a particular era and have to be judged from that perspective. Much of my time in Unesco reflected a dependency approach to development, based on the supply of international 'experts' who were primarily responsible for planning, modelling and training as part of circumscribed projects, operating under the aegis and direction of funding agencies, often detached from the communities in which they worked. But it was only after I had left Unesco and set up as an independent consultant that I fully appreciated the scope and dominance of the development industry. I worked on a number of projects funded by the European Union, the World Bank and some bilateral agencies, mostly in applied communication fields (health, energy, education, environment etc.). In the majority of cases these projects were the result of a competitive tendering process, drawing on expertise supplied by a relatively small group of agencies who had mastered the intricacies of the funding environment and the predilections of the funders. They knew how to prepare convincing tender documents, were sensitive to current priorities and preferred models, drew on a pool of professional consultants and lived off project commissions. At times this created an opportunity to develop innovative approaches

to communication, stressing community participation and public engagement, but more often it was frustrating and restrictive, following top-down models initiated and approved at a political level, rather than the result of genuine needs assessment. Much of the work was in Central and Eastern Europe and was linked to European enlargement, so was inevitably politicised. In this environment, there were many tensions between Governments and the funding agencies, including the European Commission, and inevitably many compromises. Beneath the surface, in some cases the sponsor and the recipient had a fundamentally different world view. This new environment was no less challenging than the traditional developing country setting, and while high-level compromise solutions were unlikely to be acceptable or achievable in practice, there were many instances in which local, community based projects, out of the political limelight, were able to grow unimpeded and yield practical results. I recall two examples with affection: an attempt to resolve a problem of scavenging around a waste disposal site in Latvia, and a community-building project in Ukraine which was based on a poster competition for young people.

I gave up professional work and travel almost ten years ago and believed that my development days were over. However, I was encouraged to apply my interests and skills to civil society within the new city of Milton Keynes, where I live, and chose to volunteer in the field of health and social care. Not entirely to my surprise, what I had learned in communication and development was highly applicable to my new environment. I found the same problems of poor coordination, lack of dialogue, confused objectives, continuous structural reform without adequate thought or resources, lack of real public and patient engagement. And in virtually every report or evaluation that I read, the main problem area identified as a reason for delay or failure was poor communication.

Why should this be so? Partly, I believe, because communication is used as a portfolio concept, covering a variety of activities, processes and perspectives. It is seen variously as an area of research, a set of techniques, a dynamic process, a societal vector. In order to make sense of it, we have been obliged to break it down in a variety of ways—by field of application, methodology and purpose. I recognise that this is inevitable, but I still believe that it is important to think of communication primarily in broad terms of social interaction, retaining a holistic perspective.

For my own part, I confess that I have had greater satisfaction, and probably greater success (at least in measurable terms over a shorter-term timescale) at the local and community level. This is hardly surprising, as the needs are more precise, the identification of problem areas simpler, the specification of objectives and targets easier, the range of participants smaller and the assessment of outcomes more possible over a reasonable timescale. However, I do not subscribe to the notion of a trickle-up effect: that over time, local success stories will accumulate and lead to national and international change. They can certainly help, but only if they are integrated into a larger narrative and brought into a wider debate. Radical change, at national and especially international levels, needs influential patrons, political commitment and a community consensus which is very much out of kilter with the contemporary scene.

Epilogue

To sum up, I have to emphasise that I have been writing about experience acquired in particular contexts at specific points of time. In the main, this has focussed on mass media, or versions of traditional media adapted to smaller communities. Much of that landscape has since changed beyond recognition.

Change is most often characterised in technological terms, but in fact impinges on all spheres of human activity. The impact of the internet has not simply been greater than originally foreseen, but also in more unexpected ways, with change occurring faster and more unpredictably than political, social and economic forces can assimilate, let alone manage. Not only has the rise of social media begun in many places to eclipse mass media, but the new technologies have revolutionised planning tools (and provided volumes of data which are often beyond our current capacity to analyse meaningfully).

Another change in my lifetime has been the growing disillusion and frustration with international mechanisms. The UN has lost much of its potency, locked into a post-war model which is no longer relevant but difficult to reform. Its funding, never secure, is more under threat than ever, and it has to navigate a corporate as well as a global world in which the rise of nationalism and populism has produced an environment very different from the seventies and eighties.

And while development paradigms have placed more emphasis on community-led activities, participation and holism, in reality development has grown into an industry and development funding is becoming (if not already so) a branch of national security and bilateral interest. Internationalism has been supplanted by globalism.

Finally, planning has also changed substantially, in response to the possibilities offered by new information technologies and data gathering and processing tools. Now that development has entered a new and unpredictable phase, the role of communication planning within it has still to be charted. I suspect that much of current planning simply limits itself to developing tools and techniques, without much critique of underlying purpose or motivation, fortified by the tremendous possibilities for simulation, modelling and exploring options offered by the internet.

The truism for many years has been that technology is neutral, but this view is at best disingenuous, since technology cannot be detached from its environment and use. Various options are open when applying new technologies and the choices to be made are largely ethical.

On the one hand, there is the interventionist and influencing route, which has been so prominent in recent years in the traditional spheres of advertising and public relations, but increasingly on the political front, transformed by social media, the collection and processing of big data, the arrival of fake news and sophisticated targeting techniques.

On the other hand, the new technologies have profoundly expanded our ability to explore individual and community needs, to compare options and scenarios more sensitively and to increase transparency. Overall the planning process has the potential to shift its focus away from the operational concerns of implementation, and to

concentrate more on the formative stages of needs assessment, refining information gathering, stakeholder analysis and above all genuine consultation approaches to ensure a more representative population and underpin scenario construction. This is a real challenge, in a world threatened by major new fault lines such as climate change, with many more conflicting interests to reconcile and priorities to agree.

I have no idea which route will prevail, though I have my fears. It seems to me that communication is as much a part of the problem as it is of the solution, and I can only hope that some of the lessons of the past will be revisited by the planning and decision making processes of today.

References

Berrigan, F. (Ed.). (1977). *Access: Some western models of community media.* Paris: UNESCO.
Hancock, A. (1981). *Communication planning for development*. Paris: UNESCO.
Hancock, A. (1992). *Communication planning revisited*. Paris: UNESCO.
Lee, J. A. R. (1976). *Towards realistic communication policies: Recent trends and ideas compiled and analysed*. Paris: UNESCO.
Leye, V. (2009). UNESCO's communication policies as discourse: How change, human development and knowledge relate to communication. *Media, Culture and Society, 31.*
McBride, S. (Ed.). (1980). *Many voices one world. Report by the International Commission for the study of communication problems*. London: Kogan Page; New York: Unipub; Paris: UNESCO.
Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media in national development: The role of information in the developing countries*. Paris: UNESCO.
Schramm, W. (1977). *Big media, little media. Tools and technologies for instruction*. Sage, London.

A Personal Encounter: Some Reflections on Communication for Development and Social Change

Jan Servaes

Though it may not have looked so at the time, with the benefit of hindsight we could argue that the current blossoming if not thriving of our field (though maybe not in the hard reality of everyday practice, at least in academia), started in the eighties.

Let me point at a few events and projects, which started in that period.

Participatory Communication Research

The first project that comes to mind is the Participatory Communication Research or *PCR Section* of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR). After a number of very successful working group meetings at IAMCR conferences from 1986 onwards, the PCR Network got established at the Bled Conference in 1990, and formally accepted as a Section at the 1994 Seoul Conference of the IAMCR.

From the start it was agreed that "the work of the Participatory Communication Research Section/Network (PCRN) is not based on any specific definition of participation. Rather, participation is a term used to refer to a number of social and planning processes occurring in many different places and in many different contexts. The Network exists to help support people working across this variety of participatory contexts, by providing contacts, by locating relevant information sources, and by

This chapter builds on a paper presented at the Panel on the 'History and Future of Participatory Communication Research', IAMCR Conference, Paris, 23 July 2007, and published in Servaes, Jan (2007) "Participatory Communication for Development and Social Change: Some reflections and suggestions", *Journal of Development Communication*, 18, 2, December, 11–23.

J. Servaes (✉)
UNESCO Chair in Communication for Sustainable Social Change, Amherst, MA, USA
e-mail: 9freenet9@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_7

working toward theoretical clarification" (from the opening statement in the first issue of the *PCR-Newsletter*, An occasional publication, 1(1), Spring 1993). The Section meetings were also meant to work toward theoretical and methodological clarification. Therefore, both papers discussing theoretical or methodological perspectives and/or documenting specific case studies were welcome.

The section has always collaborated with other international, national and grassroots organizations, both at academic and professional levels, to explore and advocate issues on participatory communication research. It has been involved in the organization of the UNESCO-IAMCR and the Inter-agency Roundtables on Development Communication.

Two books with papers earlier presented and discussed during Section meetings were published: a general introduction on *Participatory Communication for Social Change* (Servaes et al. 1996), and an exploration of a number of *Theoretical Approaches to Participatory Communication* (Jacobson and Servaes 1999).

Communication and Human Values

The Sage *Communication and Human Values* Series with White and Traber as Series Editors needs to be mentioned as well. Apart from introducing Jesus Martin Barbero to an English-language audience, they also published two books on participatory communication: White et al. (1994), and the already mentioned (Servaes et al. 1996). Though the series has been discontinued, other editors and publishers (for instance, AidCom, Hampton Press, Palgrave, Rowman, and Littlefield, Springer, Southbound) have taken over, resulting in a much better visibility of communication for development and social change books on the market.

The number of journals with an interest in the field of development communication has been growing as well. Traditionally it has been difficult to find innovative articles on the themes of development communication or communication for (sustainable) social change published in mainstream academic journals. One of the major reasons may be the interdisciplinary and applied nature of the field. The situation improved in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A few journals, such as the Journal of Development Communication, the professional journal Media Development, Communication for Development and Social Change, and the online journals the African Journal of Communication, the Glocal Times: the Communication for Development Journal, and Communication and Social Change, directly address communication and social change issues on regional, general, and global levels. Related topics are often published in general academic journals, such as Communication Research Trends, Development and Change, and the International Communication Gazette, or in applied journals, like Development in Practice, Health Communication and the Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension. In addition, from time to time both professional and academic journals affiliated with regional organizations, such as Revista Chasqui, Media Asia or the Asian Congress for Media and Communication Journal publish interesting contributions.

Communication and Change (Honolulu, 1987)

Most important, in my opinion, has been the 1987 seminar on *Communication and Change*, organized by Joung Im-Kim and Godwin Chu, and hosted by the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center in Honolulu (July 20–August 1, 1987). Like the two previous ten-year seminars, sponsored by the East-West center in 1964 and 1975 and coordinated by Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner, this seminar was meant to review and synthesize the status of the field of development communication. The proceedings of these seminars were published in two seminal and even up-to-today very useful texts which provide a sense of perspective to our field (at least in the Anglo-Saxon world) (see Lerner and Schramm 1967; Schramm and Lerner 1976a).

The proceedings of the 1987 seminar were never published. I did not attend the 1964 nor 1975 seminar, but was invited to the 1987 one together with a number of other specialists, mainly from the US and Asia. Though more Europeans were invited, I was the only one who made it to Honolulu (see Servaes 1987). It was an interesting experience.[1]

One could observe a gradual shift in focus and perspective, which was not appreciated by all participants. While a number of mainstream specialists opened the seminar with their mainly US-based assessments and models, the comments from the floor and exchanges during coffee breaks expressed the need for '*another*' way of looking at development communication. Gradually these critiques on the dominant modernization perspective, and its underlying methodological and epistemological assumptions, became more pronounced during the paper presentations scheduled at a later stage of the seminar. As a result, some of the speakers who were scheduled during the opening days decided or had planned to leave (after all, Honolulu is a tourism destination!).

Those who stayed started exploring the 'newness' of emerging models, especially from an Asian perspective. Everett Rogers arrived late and had missed the debate of the opening days. He obviously was briefed, and was invited (and graciously accepted) to present his final remarks during the closing ceremony. Before, during the remaining sessions, he quietly observed the ongoing discussions and took notes.

Then, in his concluding address, he presented an excellent summary of what had happened at the seminar (Rogers 1987). He started by noting that "the mood and tone of the 1964, 1975 and 1987 seminars differed considerably… A general *optimism* about development communication was evident in 1964 … A *questioning stance* about the field characterized the 1975 seminar … The 1987 seminar was pervaded by a viewpoint of *pluralism*, a willingness to recognize that many different ideas or approaches may be valid, but this did not mask our important differences

[1] Schramm (1954, 1964, 1967) attended the conference as the guest of honour. After my presentation, Schramm, who was sitting on the first row next to Godwin Chu, called me to his side and said something along the lines of "Though you will understand that I do not agree to your analysis, I cannot deny that it is an intelligent assessment of my writings." I was a bit baffled and smiled shyly. Afterwards Goodwin came to tell me that Schramm appreciated my paper very much. It was the last time I met Schramm before he died on 27 December 1987.

and disagreements about the nature of development communication" (Rogers 1987: 1–2). He continued with elaborations and references to some of the papers presented during the seminar, and raised a number of key questions for future study: When is the dominant paradigm of development communication appropriate, and when is another theory more appropriate (1) to a national setting, (2) to a particular development program, or (3) to other conceptual factors? Or, on development and democracy: (1) Does increased development lead toward participatory democracy?, and (2) Does a participatory democracy facilitate or retard development in a Third World nation?

Ev Rogers concluded as follows:

> In this paper, I argued that the 1987 conference (and the field of development communication which it seeks to assess) was characterized by greater pluralism among the conference participants, but also by a wider diversity of opinion (and less agreement) about the nature of development communication (than at the previous 1964 and 1975 Hawaii conferences), it is certainly much less dominant. Instead, contemporary development communication programs put a main emphasis (1) upon achieving equality in the distribution of development benefits, and (2) upon people-participation.
>
> Since the 1975 conference on development communication, the issue of communication technology has become much more important, especially the use of communication satellites for television broadcasting and for telephony. A major expansion of television audiences has occurred in several Third World nations, with entertainment as the main television content. Thus one of the main issues for development communication in the years ahead may be to explore how television can be utilized for development goals (Rogers 1987: 22–23).

The last part of his conclusion clearly forebodes his interest in Entertainment-Education (Singhal et al. 2013). As he probably also did in 1975 (see Rogers 1976), he took almost everybody by surprise. After all, wasn't he, with his *Diffusion of Innovations* (five editions since 1962, see also Rogers 1983, 1986), one of the main proponents of the traditional modernization perspective on development communication?[2]

Back to the Honolulu seminar in 1987, where Everett Rogers's presentation was on everybody's lips during the closing cocktails. Some of us decided to continue with a follow-up conference, which eventually happened in early February 1989 in Pune (India) and resulted in the book *Participatory Communication. Working for Change and development* (White et al. 1994). The introductory part of this book (pp. 9–11) vividly recalled the origins of this project (i.e. the 1987 seminar) as follows: "For about half of the participants, there had been a sense of anticipation that the theme of 'participation' could emerge from that conference as a 'ray of sunshine in the western sky,' but instead there was academic darkness" (p. 9). The Poona seminar ended on a more inspired and realistic note with the following three caveats on participatory communication (White 1994: 18):

[2]Hoffmann's (2007) close reading of the five editions is a must-read for all of us. It ends like this: "'Altogether the book … is extremely informative, stimulating, and highly readable—it needs readers who can critically check it.' This is how Hartmut Albert ended his review of the second edition from 1973. The reception of the book up to edition five indicates that this type of reader is in the minority" (Hoffmann 2007: 157–158; see also Monchak and Kim 2011; Servaes and Obijiofor 2007).

1. Participatory communication processes are not a panacea for development. Such processes are not suitable for solving all problems in all contexts or time frames. The mother whose child is dying of diarrhea does not want to 'participate'. Short-term solutions and intervention are also needed. Participatory processes unearth 'root-causes' of poverty and oppression and usually involve long-term goals.
2. The apparently opposing concepts of 'participation' and 'manipulation' can be viewed from many perspectives. The interventionist who attempts to 'sell' solutions to 'target populations' may be accused of being manipulative and may also be bringing along a whole set of alien cultural premises. However the participatory social communicator may also enter a village with a particular picture of reality and set of values, hoping the people will come to perceive their oppression the way he or she sees it. This may be equally manipulative.
3. The price people have to pay for taking part in participatory processes is often overlooked. It is often assumed that the villager has nothing better to do with his or her time. For every hour spent 'participating' there is an opportunity cost; that is, the fact that the villager may be foregoing more productive activity if the participatory process does not lead to benefits, either in the long or short term. The social communicator should take this into consideration when entering a village or slum.

A More Systematic Overview

Rains et al. (2018), in their analysis of 149 meta-analyses of quantitative communication research studies over sixty years, underscore the notion that communication is a complex and highly contingent phenomenon. They highlight some specific instances in which communication variables and processes produce (in)substantial effects. Taken as a whole, their project offers insights about the status of quantitative communication research and the collective efforts of scholars working in the discipline of communication science.

More rays of sunshine have been found in a number of systematic quantitative overviews of the more specific field of development communication.

* In her Ph.D. Thesis Fair (1988; summarized in *Gazette* 1989) examined 224 studies of communication and development published between 1958 and 1986, and found that models predicting either powerful effects or limited effects informed the research.

Development communication in the 1958–1986 period was generally greeted with enthusiasm and optimism: "Communication has been a key element in the West's project of developing the Third World. In the one-and-a-half decades after Lerner's influential 1958 study of communication and development in the Middle East, communication researchers assumed that the introduction of media and certain types of educational, political, and economic information into a social system could transform individuals and societies from traditional to modern. Conceived as having fairly direct and powerful effects on Third World audiences, the media were seen as

magic multipliers, able to accelerate and magnify the benefits of development" (Fair 1989: 145).

Three directions for future research were suggested: to examine the relevance of message content, to conduct more comparative research, and to conduct more policy research.

* As a follow-up to this research, Fair and Shah (1997) studied 140 journal articles, book chapters and books published in English between 1987 and 1996. Their findings are quite illuminating: "*In the 1987–1996 period, Lerner's modernization model completely disappears*. Instead, the most frequently used theoretical framework is participatory development, an optimist postmodern orientation, which is almost the polar opposite of Lerner who viewed mass communication as playing a top-down role in social change. Also vanishing from research in this latter period is the two-step flow model, which was drawn upon by modernization scholars … Both periods do make use of theories or approaches such as knowledge gap, indirect influence, and uses and gratifications. However, research appearing in the years from 1987 to 1996 can be characterized as much more theoretically diverse than that published between 1958 and 1986" (Fair and Shah 1997: 10).

In the 1987–1996 study, the most frequent suggestion was "the need to conduct more policy research, including institutional analysis of development agency coordination. This was followed by the need to research and develop indigenous models of communication and development through participatory research" (Fair and Shah 1997: 19) (see also Rogers and Hart 2002).

* A study by a group of development communication students of the Visayas State University (VSU) in the Philippines aimed to identify patterns and trends in development communication research (Madrid and Cagasan 2016). It examined the development context, focus, theoretical bases, methods used and the major findings of this research divided into three decades, i.e. first decade (1979–1989), second decade (1990–1999) and third decade (2000–2008). A little more than a tenth (11.8%) of the 203 thesis manuscripts included in this study were written from 1979 to 1989. Almost a fourth (22.7%) were written from 1990 to 1999, and the bulk (65.5%) from 2000 to 2008. Between 1979 to 1989, most of the students' research were on agriculture, mass media and health. In the 2000–2008 years, also other development issues such as health, environment and information communication technology were being studied. Most of the studies, however, focused mainly on two areas of communication research—audience and effects. Although communication books list more than 200 communication theories, only 18 were used in the students' research. Most of the studies used quantitative methods, but an increase in the number of qualitative studies or a combination of the two was noticed in the third period. A good number of the studies tested relationships among variables. The major findings of most of these studies were: (1) information exposure significantly influenced knowledge, attitude and practice; and (2) the socio-demographic variables that most often emerged to have significant relationship with knowledge, attitude and practice were age, sex, educational attainment and income.

By way of summary, the authors recommended that "research problems should now concentrate not only on agriculture but also on other development issues.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), previously called as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), can be a useful basis in identifying research context.

Among the concerns of the SDGs are health, gender and empowerment, education, environment, peace and governance. Instead of focusing on specific elements of the communication process (i.e., source, message, channel, receiver and effects), which have already been done in many development communication studies, DevCom studies may now start to focus on studying communication processes in different development contexts. …. This calls for the accommodation of other research paradigms (i.e., interpretive, critical and even cultural paradigms) and traditions of communication research (i.e., case study, phenomenology, ethnography, etc.), as well as the use of mixed research methods (quantitative and qualitative methods). Studies that intend to test theories should now start considering newer and less-studied theories of communication and development. Also, research emphasis may not only be on theory testing but also on theory building" (Madrid and Cagasan 2016: 185–186).

* Some of the findings researched *between 1997 and 2007* confirm what changed in previous periods. However, some 'old' trends re-emerged as well (Shah 2007, 2010; Ogan et al. 2009).

Shah (2007) completed an analysis of 167 items (123 journal articles, 38 book chapters and 6 books) covering the *1997–2005 period*. Though the meta-research technique may still need some fine-tuning, some of the findings are noteworthy:

* *Most authors work at Western institutions* (70% compared to 48% fifteen years ago), rather than in the Non-Western world (29%) or at Inter-governmental (IGO) or Non-governmental (NGO) Organizations (1.5%). Of those working in the Non-Western World, 47% work in Asia, 33% in Africa, and only 7% in Latin America and 1.6% in the Middle East. This was clearly different in the past.

* *Funding for development communication has decreased over time*: While 36.2% of studies were funded in the previous periods, only 11% were funded in this period. "In the 1997–2005 time period, US university funding disappeared almost completely. In contrast, funding of development communication research from IGOs and NGOs and US government funding (exclusively from USAID, however) increased in 1997–2005" (Shah 2007: 9).

* Surveys, secondary data analysis, content analysis and meta-research were the most popular quantitative methods used in 1997–2005; whereas on the qualitative side these are interviews, case studies, observation, focus groups and ethnography.

* On the content side, *modernization theories remain dominant* (51%), followed by participatory development (38%), dependency (22%), feminist development (19%) and globalization (6%).

* A comparative analysis of media theories used to assess media impact on national development, leads to the following interesting trends: "First, *Lerner's model of media and development has reappeared in the 1997–2005 time period* after totally disappearing in the 1987–1996 period. Second, only two other theories from the traditional US-based behavioral science approach, social learning theory and knowledge gap, appear in the 1997–2005 period… The third trend to note is that the two most prominently mentioned theories in 1997–2005—participatory communication and social learning—reflect two popular development communication project orientations that were mentioned as innovations in the 1987–1996 study: *participatory development and edutainment*" (Shah 2007: 13). Shah explains the persistence of 'old' ideas, especially Lerner's model (1958, 1977), from a *technological deterministic* perspective: "Each new technological innovation in the postcolonial world

since 1958—television, satellites, microwave, computers, call centers, wireless technology—has been accompanied by determined hope that Lerner's modernization model will increase growth and productivity and produce modern cosmopolitan citizens" (Shah 2007: 24). This point is echoed by Ogan et al. (2009) who conclude that studies have moved away from mass communication and *toward ICTs' role in development*, that they infrequently address development in the context of globalization and often continue to embrace a modernization paradigm despite its many criticisms: "We believe that the more recent attention to ICTs has to do with the constant search for the magic solution to bringing information to people to transform their lives, allowing them to improve their economic condition, educate their children, increase literacy and the levels of education and spread democracy in their countries" (Ogan et al. 2009: 667).

* The *consequences of development communication* are very much associated with the more traditional views on modernization; that is, media activate modernity (45%), and media raise knowledge levels (42%). This more traditional perspective makes a strong return, as it was less pronounced during the 1987–1996 time frame. The three other consequences listed are more critical to modernization: media create participatory society (29%), media benefit certain classes (22%), and media create development problems (22%).

– The *optimistic belief* that there are overall positive impacts of development communication on individuals, dominant in 1958–1986, has consistently dropped from 25% (in 1958–1986) to 6% (in 1997–2005). Increasingly, however, it is pointed out that *more attention needs to be paid to theory and research.* "Aside from the conclusions urging attention to development theory, the studies also urged more attention to development communication campaign planning by taking into account, as implied by other conclusions, local culture, gender issues, and multimedia delivery of information, and to improving research methods" (Shah 2007: 20).

* *Suggestions for future research* prioritize the development of new development communication models and the examination of content relevance (both 27%), the need for indigenous models (24%), the study of new technologies (21%), more comparative research (18%), the need for more policy research (8%), and the development of a new normative framework (5%).

The findings by Fair, Ogan, Shah and others (see also Servaes 2012) present us with a clear but at the same time complex picture of the CDSC field. The suggestions for future research may need to be complemented with other ones—new and old—mentioned or discussed at other pages or meetings (see, for instance, Gumucio-Dragon and Tufte 2006; Kim 2005; Lie 2003; Mody 2003; Morris 2001; or Servaes 2008).

Technological Determinism

But the implicit assumptions on which the so-called dominant modernization paradigm is built do still linger on and continue to influence the policy and planning-making discourse of major actors in the field of Communication for Development and Social Change, both at theoretical and applied levels (Servaes 1999).

The underlying assumption is one of *technological determinism* (Servaes 2014). As Ogan observes: "Despite years of research that tells us that information is necessary but insufficient to bring about this change, ICTs have become the most recent

iteration of the holy grail for development. And even if communication scholars know better because critical scholarship written over the last 30 years has told them so, newcomers to this field from other information-based disciplines may not have such close acquaintance with that literature. Furthermore, because of the appeal of the modernization paradigm, there is a tendency to forget that it cannot work" (Ogan et al. 2009: 667–668).

It shouldn't come as a surprise to see this confirmed in public opinion surveys. A Pew Research survey (Smith 2014) on *US Views of Technology and the Future* finds that most Americans (59%) believe that the technological developments of the coming half-century will have a net positive impact on society. However, 39% think these changes will lead to a future in which people are worse off than they are today. "In the long run, Americans are optimistic about the impact that scientific developments will have on their lives and the lives of their children—but they definitely expect to encounter some bumps along the way," summarizes Smith (2014: 5–6), the author of the report. "They are especially concerned about developments that have the potential to upend long-standing social norms around things like personal privacy, surveillance, and the nature of social relationships." Similar conclusions can be drawn from a Europe-wide survey *Public opinion on future innovations, science and technology*, which stated that "it was especially the Internet and mobile technology that was foremost on participants' minds when commenting on the most important developments over the last 15 years" (EC 2015: 7).

The findings of a 11-country survey of Asian Internet users (Shen and Tsui 2016) are more ambivalent. While there is strong support for Internet freedom in Asia,—78% of respondents agree that freedom of expression on the Internet needs to be protected, and nearly 90% consider access to the Internet a basic human right—, more than two thirds of respondents also agree that some form of censorship is needed on the Internet. Though there is some cross-country variation, 71% of the respondents believe online censorship currently exists in their respective countries, and therefore trust Western companies like Microsoft or Google more than local or national governments.

Where to Go from Here?

Today almost nobody would dare to make the optimistic claims of the early years any longer. The experience of the past fifty years has demonstrated that development is possible, but not inevitable. Our present-day 'global' world, in general as well as in its distinct regional and national entities, is confronted with multifaceted crises: economic and financial, but also social, cultural, ideological, moral, political, ethnic, ecological and security crises. Previously held traditional modernization perspectives have become more difficult to support because of the growing interdependency of regions, nations and communities in our *glocalized* world.

References

EC. (2015). Public opinion on future innovations, science and technology, Survey co-ordinated by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication (DG COMM "Strategy, Corporate Communication Actions and Eurobarometer" Unit), European Commission, Brussels. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/quali/ql_futureofscience_en.pdf.

Fair, J. E. (1988). *A meta-research of mass media effects on audiences in developing countries from 1958 through 1986*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation Indiana University, Bloomington IN.

Fair, J. E. (1989). 29 years of theory and research on media and development: The dominant paradigm impact. *Gazette, 44,* 129–150.

Fair, J. E., & Shah, H. (1997). Continuities and discontinuities in communication and development research since 1958. *Journal of International Communication, 4*(2), 3–23.

Gumucio-Dragon, A., & Tufte, T. (Eds.). (2006). *Communication for social change anthology: Historical and contemporary readings*. South Orange, NJ: CFSC Consortium.

Hoffmann, V. (2007). Five Editions (1962–2003) of Everett Rogers's diffusion of innovations. *Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension, 13*(2), 147–158.

Jacobson, T., & Servaes, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Theoretical approaches to participatory communication*. Cresskill NJ: Hampton.

Kim, Y. Y. (2005). Inquiry in intercultural and development communication. *Journal of Communication, 55*(3), 554–577.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the middle east*. New York: Free Press.

Lerner, D., & Schramm, W. (Eds.) (1967a). *Communication and change in the developing countries*. Honolulu: East-West Center

Lerner, D., & Schramm, W. (Eds.). (1967b). *Communication and change in the developing countries*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Lerner, D. (1977). Communication and development. In D. Lerner & Nelson L (Eds.), *Communication research: A half-century appraisal*. Honolulu: East-West Center.

Lie, R. (2003). *Spaces of intercultural communication. An interdisciplinary introduction to communication, culture, and globalizing/localizing identities*. Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press.

Madrid, A., & Cagasan, E. (2016). Patterns and trends of development communication studies conducted by students of a State University in the Philippines. *Annals of Tropical Research, 38*(2), 174–187.

Mody, B. (Ed.). (2003). *International and development communication. A 21st century perspective*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Monchak, A., & Kim, D. (2011). Examining trends of technology diffusion theories in information systems. Paper Thirty Second International Conference on Information Systems, Shanghai. Retrieved from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1dbe/7dc1d454d047c3d2ff45db1352bc73a56c4f.pdf.

Morris, N. (2001). *Bridging the gap: An examination of diffusion and participatory approaches in development communication* (p. 56). Washington, DC: The Change Project/USAID.

Ogan, C., Bashir, M., Camaj, L., Luo, Y., Pennington, R., Rana, S., et al. (2009). Development communication: The state of research in an era of ICTs and globalization. *International Communication Gazette, 71*(8), 655–670.

Rains, S., Levine, T., & Weber, R. (2018). Sixty years of quantitative communication research summarized: Lessons from 149 meta-analyses. *Annals of the International Communication Association, 42*(2), 105–124. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2018.1446350.

Rogers, E. M. (Ed.). (1976). *Communication and development*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Rogers, E. M. (1983). *The diffusion of innovations* (3rd ed.). New York: The Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. (1986). *Communication technology: The new media in society*. New York: The Free Press.

Rogers, E. (1987). Communication and development today. Paper Seminar on Communication and Change, University of Hawaii and the Easy-West Center, Honolulu, 20 July–1 August 1987, 25 pp.

Rogers, E., & Hart, W. (2002). The histories of intercultural, international, and development communication. In W. B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (pp. 1–18). Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Schramm, W., & Lerner, D. (Eds.). (1976). *Communication and change. The last ten years—And the next*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Schramm, W. (1954). *The process and effects of mass communication.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media and national development: The role of information in the developing countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

Schramm, W., & Ruggels, W. (1967). How mass media systems grow. In D. Lerner & Schramm, W. (Eds.), *Communication and change in the developing countries.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Servaes, J. (1987). The last forty years—And the next. Towards another development communication policy. Paper Seminar on Communication and Change, University of Hawaii and the Easy-West Center, Honolulu, 20 July–1 August 1987, 23 pp.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development: One world multiple cultures.* Cresskill NJf: Hampton Press.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Communication for development and social change*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage.

Servaes, J. (2012). Comparing development communication. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 64–80). New York: Routledge.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2014). *Technological determinism and social change: Communication in a tech-mad world*. Lanham: Lexington.

Servaes, J., Jacobson, T., & Shirley, W. (Eds.). (1996). *Participatory communication for social change*. New Delhi: Sage.

Servaes, J., & Obijiofor, L. (2007). Indigenous cultures and diffusion of innovations (special issue). *International Journal of Agricultural Resources, Governance and Ecology (IJARGE), 6,* 6.

Shah, H. (2007). Meta-research of development communication studies, 1997–2005: Patterns and trends since 1958. Paper ICA Conference, San Francisco, May.

Shah, H. (2010). Meta-research of development communication studies, 1997–2006. Glocal Times. *The Communication for Development Journal* #15 Retrieved from http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/gt/article/view/2589.

Shen, F., & Tsui, L. (2016, May 4). Public opinion toward internet freedom in Asia: A survey of Internet users from 11 Jurisdictions. Berkman Center Research Publication No. 2016-8. Retrieved from SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2773802 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2773802.

Singhal, A., Wang, H., & Rogers, E. M. (2013). The rising tide of entertainment-education in communication campaigns. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), *Public communication campaigns* (4th ed., pp. 323–326). Los Angeles: Sage.

Smith, A. (2014). *U.S. views of technology and the future.* Washington DC: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/2014/04/17/us-views-of-technology-and-the-future/.

White, S., Nair, K. S., & Ascroft, J. (Eds.). (1994). *Participatory communication: Working for change and development*. New Delhi: Sage.

Understanding the Promise of Communication for Social Change: Challenges in Transforming India Towards a Sustainable Future

Kiran Prasad

Introduction

India has often been hailed as one of the success stories of economic globalization. In this context, R. Prasannan, the Chief of Bureau of *The Week* raises some interesting questions on the Indian economy in his review of T. N. Ninan's book *The Turn of the Tortoise: The Challenge and Promise of India's Future* (2015). He writes:

> Which is the most common animal imagery of India? An ambling elephant? A ferocious tiger? A royally lazy lion? A sacred cow? All these animals have been dumped on us in herds and packs by economic writers… T. N. Ninan, one of India's finest economic writers, uses an animal imagery, but the most appropriate one - the tortoise. May not sound very flattering but this book is not a flattering account of the so-called India story. As the subtitle suggests, it is about both challenge and promise (Prasannan 2015: 85).

In a continuing description of the imagery, Prasannan (2015: 85) writes: "…the tortoise imagery fits India most. Slow-moving to the extent of being immobile, cautious to the extent of being cowardly: withdrawing at the slightest hint of danger. But hard-shelled, not-so-easy to break and, for all you know, the one that could win the race in the end, like in the fable. But till it wins, the bets are off". This comment is an eye opener to the slow, complex and tedious socio-economic terrain through which communities chart their journey towards social change and sustainable development in India.

India is the site where an examination of extreme inequality and glaring gaps in gender equality and social progress, could jolt the future of globalization and capitalism. While the urban-rural divide is pronounced in 26 African, Latin American and Asian countries leading to skewed development, South-Asia including India is home to the largest rural-urban disparities (UN 2014). These disparities are marked

K. Prasad (✉)
Sri Padmavati Mahila University, Tirupati, India
e-mail: kiranrn.prasad@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_8

by gender discrimination which is complicated by characteristics including residence (rural areas), ethnic background (indigenous minorities) and socio-economic status (poor households). Poverty and difficult physical and social environments are rife, in addition to women being exposed to exploitive and abusive treatment, all of which have an adverse impact on their lives (Prasad 2008, 2013a). Development would mean a revolution in the condition of the poor and women that would enable them to lead a fulfilling and dignified life; development is intrinsic to their empowerment leading to social change for a peaceful and abundant world.

The basic needs approach conceived in the 1970s to eliminate extreme poverty continues to be important as many developing countries including India have failed to provide adequate food, clean drinking water, shelter, education, livelihood, participation in decision making, dignity and self respect to its people. India being the most populous countries of South Asia is ranked 129 out of 189 countries in the 2019 Human Development Index (UNDP 2018). The Human Development Report continues to red flag gender inequality in India and places India at 122 in the Gender Inequality Index out of 162 countries. The stark economic and social inequalities that pervade many countries have led to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that calls upon nations to pause and reflect on the sustainability of the nature and approach to economic development being pursued by them. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which form this agenda have been adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015. The SDGs recognize that ending poverty and inequalities must go hand-in-hand with strategies that improve health and education, conserve environment and spur economic growth. Goal 5 of the SDGs specifically calls to achieve gender equality and empower women and girls. Goal 10 calls for reducing inequality within and among countries, developed and developing—in a global partnership. In the light of the stark development disparities and inequalities, the pursuit of SDGs must be viewed as an attempt to reconcile economic growth with social justice through alternative development approaches (Servaes 2013).

Communication is a vital resource for speedy transmission and processing of information to streamline delivery of various benefits to those who need them in a timely and efficient manner. Communication for development and social change signifies a 'broad umbrella' with activities being carried out in sub-fields that include health and family planning communication; agriculture, food security, women's development, community media, environment and sustainable development and/or green communication (Prasad in Khan 2016). The role of communication is to clearly identify the steps to be taken or provide an action plan to improve the quality of life of a community. It is often observed that formal communication is often caught in a maze of bureaucratic procedures thus delaying the implementation of crucial development services particularly in the areas of food, nutrition, health and education. As women, rural and tribal communities are often viewed as engaging in non-formal communication and excluded from the mainstream media, they make use of alternative media (Butegwa 2009) and other forms of social mobilization such as protests, campaigns and social movements so that their voices for sustainable development are heard by the citizens, industry, policy makers and the government (Prasad 2019). Women and the marginalized communities of India are playing a key role in spearheading social

movements that aim at a more equitable distribution of resources, the conservation of natural resources, the right to information and sustainable development. This chapter highlights the use of innovative and alternative forms of communication that have resulted in moving the rural, tribal communities and women through a situation of poverty, disempowerment and survival to being heard and even tasting success in their march to social justice and sustainable development. It also analyzes some of the barriers that delay development despite widespread communication to create awareness, attitude and behavior change among communities on the sustainable development goals.

Growing Inequality as a Challenge to Human Development

The Human Development Report (UNDP 2016) points out that India's Human Development Index score shrank by 27% due to the rise of different forms of inequality. While India ranks fourth on the Forbes list of billionaires, its Human Development Index was 131 in 2017. Sainath (quoted by Staff Reporter 2018:3) expresses concern over the 'stunning growth of inequalities' in India with the increasing number of Indian businessmen in the Forbes list of billionaires every year on one hand and the growing number of farmers committing suicides on the other. According to him "One the one hand, as many as 3,10,000 farmers have killed themselves in 20 years between 1995 and 2015…One the other hand, India had not a single dollar billionaire in 1991. The number of Indian dollar billionaires grew to 8 in 2000, 53 in 2012 and 121 in March 2018. These 121 dollar billionaires' wealth accounts for 22% of India's GDP" (Sainath quoted by Staff Reporter 2018:3).

India is the third largest economy in the world in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), a measure of actual standard of living, with PPP of almost $8 trillion. In 2016, India climbed 16 places from 55th place to the 39th rank on the Global Competitiveness Index prepared by the World Economic Forum with the economy characterized by improved business sophistication and goods market efficiency (WEF 2016). This remarkable economic achievement has yet to be translated into human development for the vast majority as India's rank slipped to 131 among 188 countries in terms of human development and 132 out of 146 countries in the Gender Inequality Index, which reflects the dismal status of women (UNDP 2017). The sliding human development indicators despite economic growth make it clear that the SDGs cannot be achieved without an active pursuit of gender equality, environmental conservation and social progress in India. The social movements that are underway in India are fore grounded in the struggles of communities that seek more equality in opportunities and equitable benefits of sustainable development. The following section gives an insight into the glaring gender gap in India which is the key inequality to be bridged for the achievement of SDGs.

Glaring Gender Gap in Development

The 2016 Human Development Report (UNDP 2017) red flags the stark reality that the largest gender disparity in development was in South Asia where the female HDI value was 20% lower than for males; India accounts for the largest gender disparity in the region. In rural India, where teenage marriages are common, women face insecurity regarding a regular income, food, shelter and access to health care. It is an understatement to say that violence against women is multidimensional; it is structural, brutal and a part of everyday life (Ravi and Sajjanhar 2014). Indian women marry at a median age of just 17 years and 16% of women aged 15–19 have already started bearing children, according to the 2005–2006 National Family Health Survey (IIPS 2007). With 212 per 100,000 live births India ranks among the countries with the highest Maternal Mortality Rates (MMR) accounting for one-third of maternal deaths in 2015 worldwide (RGI 2009). It was estimated that every year, 78,000 women die during pregnancy and childbirth even though 75% of these deaths can be prevented by health care (Krishnan 2010). India is ranked 170 out of 185 countries in the prevalence of anaemia among women (48% women are anaemic) and has the highest rate of malnourished children in the world at 44% and stands at 114/132 in stunted growth of children with 38.7% incidence (UNFPA 2016).

A collaborative study by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) and the Young Lives India (YLI) revealed that India stood at 11th rank in the countries worldwide with the highest incidence of child marriages accounting for 47% of all children with 39,000 minor girls being married every day in India (NCPCR and YLI 2017). The UNICEF further points out that India accounts for one-third of the global total of over 700 million women married as children leading to high levels of depression among them. The National Crime Records Bureau estimates that over 20,000 young mothers, mainly housewives, commit suicide every year making them the largest demographic group in India to commit suicide followed by farmers (Bakshi 2016). The triggers for these deaths range from an unplanned pregnancy to an abusive or alcoholic husband, pressures to have a male child and hormonal changes among others. The Programme for Improving Mental Health Care (PRIME) project in Madhya Pradesh is an intervention programme for neo-natal depression related problems, where all expecting mothers are screened (Bakshi 2016).

Gender discrimination and violence against women have had a profound effect on the sex ratio in India. The sex ratio has been dropping steadily for the past 50 years. In 2011 the sex ratio of females stood at 940 females per 1000 males, the lowest ratio after independence (RGI 2011a). The Pink Economic Survey (2018) which is the first national data of its kind gives estimates based on the sex ratio of the last child (SRLC) which is heavily male skewed to show that 21 million girls were unwanted by parents in India. These human development indices show that India has failed to convert its economic growth to transform the lives of women and children who are among the most vulnerable population.

In the light of persistent inequality of women, the gender equality survey of the World Economic Forum (WEF 2014, 2016) places India at 87 out of 142 countries in

the Global Gender Gap Index. India was ranked 126 on educational attainment, 134 on economic participation and opportunity and third last in the health and survival of women. India has the lowest rates of women's labour force participation in Asia. While only 27% of the women are in the workforce they have to contend with a 25% pay gap. According to the Gender Diversity Benchmark Survey for 2011 and 2014, Indian companies lose 11% of their female workforce every year as women are haunted by 'daughterly guilt' and maternal guilt that leads them to prioritise caring for parents, children and extended family by leaving their careers (Kumar 2016). The 2011 Census reveals that about 27 million households, constituting 11% of total households in the country, are headed by women, often among the poorest (RGI 2011b).

Violence against women including domestic violence are not random events but is a consequence and a cause of gender inequality (Kothari 2016). Studies indicate a link between women's employment and domestic violence. National Family Health Survey (NHFS-3) data report that there is much higher prevalence of violence against women who were employed at any time in the past 12 months (40%) than women who were not employed (29%) (IIPS 2007). Studies give evidence that women who have more education than their husbands, who earn more, or who are the sole earners in their families have a higher likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence than women who are not employed or who are less educated than their spouse (Sabarwal et al. 2013). This reality in India contradicts the widely held global perception that better economic status of women lowers their risk to marital and domestic violence.

It is estimated that around 30% of the sex workers in India are below eighteen years and many women have been pushed into sex work (Saggurti et al. 2011). It is even more shocking that of late several panchayats (local administrative bodies especially in North India) have begun to award punishments to women such as approving their sale to criminals, gang rape, excommunication from the village (along with their families) and social boycott by the community. Such local bodies are not instruments of political empowerment, as presently they are emerging as instruments of oppression against women.

Notwithstanding the glaring gender gap in development, women have assumed the leadership of many crucial social movements in India that have been recognized as responsible for a paradigm shift to sustainable development (Prasad 2013a). The right to information campaign led by Aruna Roy, the struggle for natural resources led by Medha Patkar, the sustainable agriculture movement led by Vandana Shiva and a host of local agitations led by women like C. K. Janu and Mayilamma have played a stellar role in steering social movements for justice and grounding sustainable development in India (Prasad 2013a). These social movements have raised many crucial issues on the inequitable processes, costs and benefits of economic growth often projected as the most important measure of development.

Converging Media and Social Movements for Sustainable Development

The low status of human development and rising income inequalities belied the popular perspective that the benefits of development would trickle down and reduce the development gaps. Development paradigms have relied heavily on top-down approaches with information, knowledge and expertise flowing from scientists, development planners, policy makers and bureaucrats who advocated the 'lab to land' approach symbolized by the green revolution in India. As Vandana Shiva puts it:

> The so-called green revolution was neither green, nor revolutionary. It has dispossessed small peasants, pushed our rich agro biodiversity to extinction, mined our aquifers, desertified our soils and undermined our nutrition and health…It was supposed to create prosperity, but it left farmers steeped in debt. Both in financial and ecological terms, industrial agriculture and chemical farming is based on a negative economy – it uses more inputs than it produces. The consequence is impoverished eco-systems and impoverished and indebted farmers (Shiva 2009:25).

Buttressing the above argument is the case of Punjab. Once regarded the cradle of the Green Revolution, the prosperity of Punjab was the success story across urban and rural India for decades. Presently, Punjab has 7,000 farmers who have committed suicide with eleven villages put up for sale and a phenomenal debt of farmers estimated to a tune of over 1500 million (Dey 2014). While it is well documented that over a quarter million farmers have committed suicides from 1995 to 2010 in India, more and more farmers across India are being pushed to the brink of debt and suicide. Rural communities have realized that the key to economic progress should be ecologically sustainable and satisfy the basic needs of the community.

The right to information was among the first of the many development issues to witness a mass concerted movement across India. The Magsaysay awardee and the guiding spirit behind the right to information law, Aruna Roy, led the path breaking experiment in social audit over two decades ago. A mass organization of workers and peasants—Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), founded by Aruna Roy in 1990, made use of the public right to scrutinize official records at the village level and uncovered misuse of public funds meant for local development. The MKSS compelled the administration to release details of specific development projects and then conducted *jan sunwayis* (public hearings) in 1994. The *jan sunwayis* were so successful in unmasking corrupt officials that they had to endure public humiliation and even return the money taken, back to the villagers (Bhaumik 1996; Basu 1997). This campaign is striking and worthy of emulation in poorer parts of the world, especially since it is the illiterate and oppressed rural folk who spearheaded it and not the urban, politically aware and educated people (Prasad 2008).

The Right to Information Act gave a fillip to the nationwide anti-corruption people's campaign led by veteran social activist Anna Hazare, who fasted for 13 days in August 2011. Hazare broke his fast only after both houses of the Indian Parliament agreed to consider the draft of the Lok Pal Bill by Team Anna that proposed an ombudsman with legal powers to act against corruption. The movement for a stringent

anti-corruption law across India saw a convergence of social movements, new media, and civic engagement never witnessed before in the country (Prasad 2012, 2013b). While people from all walks of life staged sit-in protests at designated venues, led marches, and took part in relay hunger strikes, the mass media in the country gave considerable support to and coverage of the movement to spur people's participation. The movement created awareness by holding candlelight vigils, fasting in support of Anna Hazare, giving media interviews, sending e-mails, tweeting, forming online forums, and sending mobile clips on the protests organized across the country and even abroad (Saxena 2011:46–48).

The right to information and the anti-corruption campaigns have combined to question many development ventures that result in environmental degradation and further impoverishment of local communities. In the Himalayan hills of Uttar Pradesh in India, people collectively rose to defend the local interests against timber logging by contractors and private agencies that has jeopardized ecological stability and reduced local people's opportunity to benefit from sound forest exploitation. The Chipko movement which originated in the hills of Uttar Pradesh was spearheaded by women who protected the trees from felling by hugging them. The Appiko movement similarly originated as a forest protection movement in Karnataka. These community initiatives have snowballed into large scale movements such as the Narmada anti-dam movement spearheaded by Medha Patkar for more than two decades.

Medha Patkar, founder of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA or Struggle to Save Narmada River) and the National Alliance of People's Movements, is a powerful voice of millions of the voiceless poor and oppressed people whose uncompromising insistence on the right to life and livelihood has compelled the post-Independence generation in India as well as around the world to revisit the basic questions of natural resources, human rights, environment, and development (The Hindu 2004). The NBA began as a fight for information by the tribal and peasant communities about the Narmada Valley Development Projects in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat and continued as a fight from 1990–1991 for the just rehabilitation of millions of people ousted by the Sardar Sarovar Dam, the world's largest river projects, and other large dams along the Narmada River. The Sardar Sarovar Dam would displace upon completion 320,000 tribals and submerge over 37,000 hectares of land (The Hindu 2010). When it became clear that the magnitude of the project precluded accurate assessment of damages and losses, and that rehabilitation was impossible, the movement challenged the very basis of the project and questioned its claim to "development." The NBA has been able to drive home the message that 'There Are Many Alternatives' as against the global media refrain that 'There is no Alternative' (TINA). There are rational, cost-effective and environmentally more benign alternatives to the Sardar Sarovar Project (Bidwai 1998) such as check dams, rain water collection tanks, and mini water projects, with the active involvement of the local people in several states, have evinced greater support and participation rather than large dams involving massive funds with heavy costs of submergence, environmental impact, rehabilitation and resettlement of the affected people. The NBA which has completed 30 years of the people's movement is oxygen for other movements (Gaikwad 2010). The NBA has become symbolic of the global movement

against big dams. A major thrust in the reinvention of communication for development has been to take citizen-led initiatives more seriously, debunking the notion that development always flows from 'lab to land', that is, from experts to the grassroots; sustainable development is emanating from successful community-based action for development.

The NBA has inspired many local communities to protest against mining and logging rights given to big commercial business houses. The agitation led by C. K. Janu for asserting the right of the tribal people over forest land in Muthanga, Kerala, has been another long struggle. In Kerala the southernmost state of India, several protest movements have been launched against the unregulated drawing of ground water by the Coca Cola and Pepsi companies from Plachimada and Kanjikkode in Palakkad championed by the adivasis or local tribes led by Mayilamma. The Plachimada struggle attracted global attention when reports of the BBC and the New Delhi-based Centre for Science and Environment confirmed that Coca Cola sold by the company contained more than the admissible level of harmful chemicals. Medha Patkar and Vandana Shiva along with several environmental activists and global NGOs arrived in Plachimada and extended their support to the agitation. After long legal battles the Supreme Court ruled against the company and gave the community the right to draw water and natural resources. This is a defining moment in the struggle for sustainable development where the local tribes engaged the multinational giant in a protracted legal battle that ended at the Supreme Court and forced them to shut operations in their village.

A similar struggle ensued in Odisha, an eastern state of India where a massive protest reminiscent of a real-life *Avatar* led by the indigenous communities saved the mountains that are sacred to the tribes and is their only habitat, from a corporate giant, Vedanta from the United Kingdom (Prasad 2013a). The Dongria and Kutia Kondh, the tribes that live in the 250 sq. km Niyamgiri Hill Ranges of western Orissa's Kalahandi district have been officially recognized as primitive tribal communities that need special protection. The Niyamgiri Hills, which the Dongria Kondhs worship, are the centre of rich deposits of bauxite that Vedanta wanted to mine. The Saxena Committee that enquired into Vedanta's business suggested that the Vedanta operations endangered nearly 750 sq. km of forest land. The Environment Ministry also stepped into keep Vedanta from developing its plans to mine in the Niyamgiri Hills after the tribes won a court verdict in their favour.

In a high profile case PepsiCo filed court cases in 2019 against potato farmers of Gujarat who were growing a protected variety used to make its very popular Lays chips. The farmers contested that since they had land rights they were entitled to grow crops that would enhance their productivity and corporate business had no right to prevent them from growing the potato that were being protected by business groups in their own monopolistic interests. PepsiCo claimed huge damages (Rs. 4.2 crore) in court from the farmers but were forced to withdraw their cases against the Gujarat farmers (Jebaraj 2019). Business giants have often intimidated farmers and local communities to exert their rights over natural resources but relent fearing a backlash in their operations such as in the case of Coca Cola.

People's movements in favour of environmental conservation are also involved in finding sustainable eco-friendly solutions to the challenges posed by large scale commercial exploitation of natural resources and forests. While the international development debate continues to grapple with the challenges of climate-smart agriculture for improving water and food security in the developing world, there are some successful initiatives in India that can offer solutions in this area. In 25 villages across Rayagada district of Odisha of India, tribal village women have reclaimed the denuded commons and achieved a remarkable turnaround in food security and livelihoods through eco-friendly alternatives to shifting cultivation (Mohanty 2014). The Ama Sangathan (Women's Federation) – a sister organization of Agragamee (the State Resource Centre for Adult and Continuing Education in the district) having a membership of 25 women's organisations known as Mahila Mandals (MM) and 1200 tribal women members proposed a project entitled, "Reclaiming the commons with women's power: Eco-village development in tribal Odisha" to the Indigenous Peoples Assistance Facility (IPAF) which was sanctioned in 2012. This initiative enabled village communities to develop a model for reversal of ecological degradation of their lands and commons by combining traditional knowledge systems with agro ecological models. The initiative was able to establish a women-centred model for the governance of the commons that would provide for the livelihood as well as income needs of a tribal community in a sustainable manner. They were successful in growing seasonal agro crops, millets, pulses and other herb-culture varieties in the villages through mixed cropping. This initiative made it evident that sustainable agriculture, food security and environment conservation could be achieved with women farmers at the forefront and enabled them to be self-reliant in the matter of food security and livelihood generation in a vast barren landscape with hardly any scope for water harvesting. It has offered hope to many rural women grappling with the suicide of male farmers and left to fend for themselves alone and manage the food security of their families. The paradigm shift of including hitherto fringe voices and marginalised perspectives of women, tribes, peasants and local communities into the mainstream discourse on climate change has begun to shape sustainable development that includes ecological balance (Prasad 2009, vol. 2).

It has been an arduous task for many local communities to gain the right to communicate their concerns on the cost, nature and benefits of development projects. The mainstream dominant media have been critiqued as commercial in its approach and not effectively serving local community issues and interests of the poor. This has led to a search for alternative communication media that would provide greater access to media resources and enable the voices of marginalized communities, particularly rural women, to be heard on their own terms and experiences (Prasad 2008). In this context, radio broadcasting has been the primary medium for entertainment, information and education amongst the masses in the developing countries owing mainly to the affordability and terminal portability of radio receivers. Despite the availability of diverse national, regional and local media, the main challenges to media pluralism are the inclusion of the poor (260 million) and women. In this context, women in India have begun to successfully use alternate media to promote gender justice and sustainable development. Community media in various forms- radio, video,

television, information and communication technologies such as the Internet and web based networks-are enabling women to debate about their rights and empower them through knowledge about social, political economic and environmental policies (Prasad 2006).

Community radio has tracked the difficult journey of rural women who are often home-bound, have lower exposure to mass media and have rarely appeared before the television camera for a highlight of their problems. The transformation of rural women from gaining better media exposure to finding their voice and engaging in the production and management of community radio is a fascinating story. The *Women Speak to Women Project* of the Deccan Development Society of Andhra Pradesh; the *Radio Ujjas* of Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan in earthquake ravaged Bhuj; *Chala Ho Gaon Mein* of Alternative for India Development, Bihar, in the Palamau tribal district of Jharkhand; *Namma Dhwani*, the VOICES initiative in Budikote, Karnataka; SEWA's *Rudi no Radio* in Gujarat and Agragamee's *Ujjala* in Jeypore, Orissa, have programmes designed and produced by the rural women's networks focusing on remote villages that remain untouched by the mainstream media. "*Ek kahani meri bhi*" ("I too have a story"), is a programme on Community Radio Bundelkhand that reveals the stories and histories of women in the community. These media initiatives endeavour to bring in grassroots development while building solidarities among the rural women.

Even more surprising is the entry of rural women in the management and production of newspapers given their limited levels of education. Chitrakoot, Uttar Pradesh is remote and few newspapers reach there. Those that do are in Hindi and don't address local concerns. Women form the editorial team of *Khabar Lahariya*, a fortnightly rural newspaper launched in 2002 in Bundeli, the local dialect. It is produced by a group of seven Dalit and Kol rural women. The group is responsible not only for newsgathering and writing but editing, photography, illustration, production and distribution. It is supported by Nirantar, a Delhi-based group that works with gender and education. This newspaper which started publication in May 2002 now has a print run of 1,500. It is sold in nearly 200 villages in the district. *Khabar Lahariya* provides a mix of news that touches lives and brings about change. An investigation by the paper into illegal mining rocked the local administration. A wall in the room that acts as the newspaper office has a framed copy of the Chameli Devi Jain award citation, which the group won for outstanding contribution to journalism (Chakraborty 2004). The team of rural women journalists have now expanded their outreach by launching Chambal Media, a rural digital media start-up that aims to focus on news generated by marginalised communities and women.

Community media have facilitated participation by giving a voice to diverse stakeholders to engage in the decisionmaking process. Those who were long neglected and silenced in the development processes, particularly women and tribal communities, have been awakened by people's movements like the NBA. Owing to the networking with the NBA, women in the local collectives/federations have increased contact with the bureaucracy in the government offices. Women and tribal people who had a minimal role in the political sphere interact with government officials, network with

national organizations and take up leadership roles in their own communities and villages (Prasad 2013b).

The tribes of Chhattisgarh who are among the poorest are among the latest to enter the media sphere. Most of the news sources are in Hindi, a language alien to them. Journalists from the tribes are scarce and very few among the urban media are trained in the tribal language. Radio is the only medium suited to such an illiterate population. But unfortunately All India Radio that has programmes in 146 dialects (http:/air.kode.net) has no news service in the tribal languages. This offers scope for expansion of radio to cater to the information needs of the vast population who speak nearly 700 dialects in the country (Prasad 2011, 2015a, b).

Many of the estimated 80 million members of India's tribal communities lack access to mainstream media outlets. This often poses serious barriers to their socio-economic development, as their grievances about government neglect and economic exploitation often remain unheard. In addition, certain factions (such as internal conflict by the Maoist insurgency) can exploit their frustration and isolation to violent ends. Innovative new media types have risen to address hitherto excluded populations who speak dialects that are not part of mainstream mass media language. Technological convergence has helped to overcome existing regulations to favour local communities in gaining access to new media. The innovative 'tech-tonic' of the mobile phone which is readily available has been used to cater to their media needs through CGNet Swara, a unique cell phone-based networking system that operates in the northern State of Chhattisgarh among the Adivasi Gonds, a community of tribes, to share local news (Acharya 2013; Choudhary 2013). CGNet Swara was launched in 2000 by Shubhranshu Choudhary as part of the Knight International Journalism Fellowships, a program of the International Center for Journalists. The software underlying CGNet Swara is open-source and freely available from an online repository. The system was originally developed as a project at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and is currently maintained with the support of Janastu, Microsoft Research India and several volunteers. Choudhary has trained more than 100 citizen journalists to produce audio news reports for CGNet Swara.

CGNet Swara which was started as a voice based portal to share local news with both the citizen journalists and the tribes living in remote areas (Acharya 2013; Choudhary 2013) enables ordinary citizens to report and discuss issues of local interest. To use it, they call a phone number using any mobile (or fixed line) phone. Callers are prompted to press "1" to record a new message, and "2" to listen to messages that have already been recorded. Once a message has been recorded from the field, professionally trained journalists access the system using a Web-based interface, review and verify the report. Approved reports are then made available for playback over the phone. CGNet Swara receives on an average 200 calls a day from local people for accessing those reports. The reports also can be accessed on the CGNet Swara website.

According to Choudhary (2013), while the technology for building interactive voice services (IVR) has been around for a long time, what distinguishes CGNet Swara is the ability for callers to contribute information to the system. Most IVR platforms are designed for callers to listen to messages, but on CGNet Swara, they

can also record their own messages for others to hear. The platform also includes a moderator's interface that enables privileged users to review the recordings, and optionally annotate or edit them, prior to making them public. In Barwani district of Madhya Pradesh, Choudhary discovered that over 80% of the students had Bluetooth in their mobile phones which they used actively to share audio and video files which they tribal children refer to as "Bultoo" (Choudhary 2016).

On the other end of Central India lies Balrampur district on the border of Chhatisgarh and Jharkhand with a large population of Oraon tribes who speak the Kuduk language. While eighty percent of Balrampur's gram panchayats (local administrative bodies) are connected by optical fibre cables under the Digital India project, there is broadband access but no content in the Kuduk language (Choudhary 2016). Innovative communication media also need to focus on the creation of content in the local languages of the communities. The CGNet Swara server can be easily replicated in many regions of India using languages of the tribes where no other mass media has been able to make their presence.

The rise of the internet has also led to innovative media initiatives such as the one developed by the Tech Girls of Dharavi in Mumbai which houses the largest urban slum in Asia. The Dharavi Diary programme founded by Navneet Ranjan in 2014 started with a small group of 15 girls and now has more 200 children who build apps that are designed to solve problems faced by the slum community. The Tech Girls initiative is noteworthy for its inclusion of girls and children living in slums whose problems are hardly a part of elite ICT applications. The Tech Girls have used the open-source developing tool, MIT app inventor to develop several mobile apps to tackle everyday problems in their neighbourhood (Sriram 2016).

The mobile app called Women Fight Back developed by Ansuja Madiwal a 15 year old student of class 12 is aimed to help women in distress. The app which offers features like SMS alerts, location mapping, distress alarms and emergency phone calls has already over a 100 downloads on Google Play Store. Coding their way to the future, the *Paani hai Jeevan* app (water is life) developed by 14-year old Fauzia Aslam Ansari organises water collection for each household by setting up an online queue that alerts people when it is their turn to fill water. This avoids unnecessary fights for water among families who often jump the queue for water. Girls are the main water providers for families can also save time rather than waiting at queues to fill water. Girls spend their time thus saved on finishing their homework or studies. A similar app allows users to report instances of child labour, a problem that widely affects girls of slum communities. The Tech Girls of Dharavi have also developed an app for undertaking cleanliness drives in their neighbourhoods (Clean and Green app) and learning of basic Hindi, English and maths for those who have no formal schooling through the *Padhai* (study) app (Sriram 2016). The above examples of grassroots communication innovations not only serve to build skills and entrepreneurship in local communities but also help to creatively address the goal of sustainable development.

Apart from community media, there is also a rise in citizen journalism. The newspapers and television channels that do not have reporters in many rural and remote regions of the country have now provided their media platforms to voice public

opinion and narrate stories that exploit the poor or expose corruption through the right to information. Citizen journalist shows on television regularly feature issues such as poor amenities like safe water, sanitation, proper roads, and lighting, which the local administration often fails to provide. For instance, social activists demanded a right to governmental information regarding health schemes to stem the maternal mortality rate; measures to control violence against women and children; while environmental activists demanded information on the costs and benefits of development projects like big dams, which directly concerned the survival of local people (Prasad 2015a).

Challenges for Communication in Sustainable Development

The various social movements that are working on different development opportunities and goals in livelihoods, environmental conservation, community health and promoting gender equality seek to converge to face the challenges of unsustainable development policies and activities. Communities successfully utilise a wide variety of interpersonal communication channels and community media to promote dialogue, seek information, share knowledge, encourage participation and build capacities for sustainable development (Prasad 2018). But as Servaes points out "sustainable social change can only be achieved in combination with and incorporating aspects of the wider environment that influences and constrains structural and sustainable change. These aspects include: structural and conjunctural factors, policy and legislation; educational systems; institutions; socio-political factors and the physical environment" (Servaes quoted in Khan 2016). It can be seen in the following sections that communication for social change has to contend with several cultural, structural, economic, legal and policy barriers and sheer neglect by the government in many instances that often fail to deliver the promised benefits of development programs to people.

Women's empowerment is one of the key sustainable development goals and girl child education is the primary step towards realizing it. In India, among the government initiatives to secure girl child education is the Kanyashree scheme which was launched in 2013 in West Bengal. It as an overarching scheme to combat trafficking of young girls through a conditional cash transfer of Rs. 750 annually that is paid to girls aged 13–18 and Rs, 25,000 after 18 provided they are engaged in an academic or occupational pursuit and were unmarried. The National Crime Records Bureau found that despite this scheme, in 2016 out of 8132 cases of missing girls in the country 3579 cases (around 44%) were from West Bengal (Singh 2019). The NHRC in a direction has requested for information on 11,000 women and girls missing till November 2015 who had been trafficked to other States (The Hindu 2019). Girls in the rural areas rarely benefit from the education schemes due to gender inequality, early marriage, childbirth and violence which renders the national campaign *Bachao Beti Padhao* scheme (Save the Girl Child, Educate the Girl Child) ineffective and it is a mere slogan on the mass media. The implementation of such initiatives is rarely

monitored to measure the actual success in securing girls education and enable them to lead dignified lives.

India has been communicating about family planning and welfare for over six decades. Family welfare and population communication activities range from campaigns on maternal and child health, vaccination programmes, nutrition and popularizing the small family norm of two children. The high maternal and infant mortality rates, skewed sex ratio and high prevalence of anaemia among girls and women in India reveals insufficient health infrastructure, neglect of nutritional, familial and social factors to address these important sustainable development goals. Though the family planning communication campaign addresses both men and women, there is extreme gender bias in sterilisation; the rate of female sterilisation which is complex and involves greater health risk as the method of contraception stood at 36% while the uptake of male sterilisation was negligible at 0.3% (IIPS 2017). The health delivery services include male multi-purpose health workers who do little to motivate and encourage men for sterilisation. The failure to involve men in sterilisation shows that communication has not been able to break stereotypes, change attitudes or behaviour in traditional cultural settings.

It has been predicted that India will be water starved by 2030 with little ground water resources for drinking leave alone agriculture. In 2018 and 2019 many regions in the state of Maharashtra was reeling under prolonged drought conditions which led to the supply of drinking water using trains. In the midst of such a looming water crises large sporting cricket events like the Indian Premier League were being held wherein the pitches were being watered to provide the green grass needed for the game. People of many villages and concerned citizens appealed to the Supreme Court to discontinue such wastage of water resources. The venue of the cricket matches were then shifted out of the state through a direction given by the court. There is no priority supply of water resources for drinking, agriculture and health needs over water wastage on large sporting, religious and social events (Prasad 2015a). Communication campaigns on saving water resources have yet to bring an attitudinal shift among the rich urban and higher economic strata of society towards water conservation and careful use of water resources.

The case of environmental communication campaigns is another area in which people face complex choices of action. In 2019 India announced a movement to eliminate single-use plastic and actively promoted the removal of plastic waste and their safe disposal by the local municipal corporations. While this movement has been working successfully in certain plastic items such as carry bags, plates and cutlery, consumers often have no choice in the purchase of items especially food products that are packaged using single-use plastic (Ananthakrishnan 2019). While a ban on single-use plastic is being adhered to by many communities, there is little policy intervention to promote safe and certified alternative packaging materials that are biodegradable which is often expensive and out of the reach of the poor. Consumers are also left with little choice while reducing plastic use as alternate materials are more expensive and need more maintenance as in the case of the use of glass and steel bottles, ceramic plates and cutlery.

As a scholar interested in the study of communication for development, these instances of the failure of communication campaigns can largely be attributed to a lack of clear policy, insufficient infrastructure and neglect of basic development priorities by policy makers and the government (Prasad 2009b). The National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog an apex planning body that tracks India's achievements on the SDGs revealed a baseline report in December 2018 in which Kerala and Himachal Pradesh were ranked as the top performers (NITI Aayog 2018). But both these states are extremely vulnerable to climate change and climate disasters that can undermine their progress. The report also revealed that India was maintaining its achievements on reducing poverty, decent work and economic growth and improving climate action; moderately improving on reducing zero hunger, clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, stagnating in gender equality, industry, innovation and infrastructure and sustainable cities and communities and faces significant challenges in providing quality education, responsible consumption and production and partnerships on the goals. The report on India's journey to the SDGs is an eye-opener on the good governance and dialogue needed to bring a synergy between the stakeholders, some of them with competing interests and coordination at various local, regional and national levels to produce effective outcomes in sustainable social change and development. Communication will continue to play an important role in providing the much needed information inputs, identify the gaps in development and guide action in the areas that are stagnant or neglected in the achievement of sustainable development.

References

Aayog, N. I. T. I. (2018). *SDG India index baseline report 2018*. Delhi: NITI Aayog.

Acharya, K. (2013). The new jungle drums. In *The Hindu* (p. 1). (10 Nov 2013).

Ananthakrishnan, G. (2019). A plastic emergency. In *The Hindu* (p. 12). (26 Aug 2019).

Bakshi, A. B. (2016) Depression after childbirth a silent killer in India. Retrieved July 12, 2016, from http://everylifecounts.ndtv.com/depression-childbirth-silent-killer-india-3673?pfrom=home-environmen.t.

Basu, S. (1997). Unknown faces, determined minds. In *The Hindu* (Vol. 27).

Bhaumik, S. N. (1996). Robbing the poor. In *India today* (Vol. 15, pp. 156–163). (November).

Bidwai, P. (1998). A narrow-minded approach. *Frontline* (pp 105–106). (9 Oct).

Butegwa, C. (2009). Re-visioning development communication in Africa: A feminist perspective. In S. R. Joshi & K. Prasad (Eds.), *Feminist development communication*. New Delhi: The Women Press.

Chakraborty, S. (2004). Mother India. *Outlook*. (1 Nov).

Choudhary, S. (2016). Tech tonic for the heart of India. In *The Hindu*, (p. 11). (15 Jan 2016).

Choudhary, S. (2013). 'CGNetSwara as social media', Lecture at a national seminar on 'Social Media Interventions for Rural Development: Strategies and Approaches'. National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad. (1–2 Nov 2012).

Dey, S. (2014). Cradle. Now. Grave. In *The Week* (pp. 24–32). (24 Aug 2014).

Gaikwad, R. (2010). Narmada Bachao Andolan completes 25 years The Hindu. Retrieved October 25, 2010, from http://www.hindu.com/2010/10/25/stories/2010102556941500.htm.

International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. (2007). *National family health survey (NFHS)-3, 2005–06* (Vol. II, p. 39). India, Mumbai: IIPS.
International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. (2017). *National family health survey-4, 2015–16*. Mumbai: IIPS.
Jebaraj, P. (2019). PepsiCo withdraws cases against Gujarat farmers. *The Hindu.* (7 May 2019).
Khan, R. E. (2016). The rise, fall and revival of development communication. *Media Asia, 40*(4):294–299.
Kothari, J. (2016). Violence that is not gender neutral. In *The Hindu*, (p. 9). (17 Nov 2017).
Krishnan, J. (2010). Dying to be a mother. In *The Week*, (pp. 16–24). (12 Sep 2010).
Kumar, K. B. (2016). 'Daughterly guilt' haunts Indian working women. In *The Hindu*, (p. 14). (21 Mar 2016).
Mohanty, A. (2014). *Food security, courtesy Odisha's tribal women,* 4 Nov 2014. Retrieved April 15, 2015, from http://indiatogether.org/eco-village-development-project-commons-food-security-in-tribal-odisha-agriculture.
NCPCR and YLI. (2017). *Report on incidence and intensity of child marriages*. Delhi: NCPCR and YLI.
Ninan, T. N. (2015). *The turn of the tortoise: The challenge and promise of India's future*. New Delhi: Allen Lane/Penguin.
Pink Economic Survey. (2018). *Pink economic survey*. Niti Aayog: Government of India.
Prasad, K. (2006). Cracking the glass ceiling: Rural women making news in India. *Media Asia, 33*(3&4), 229–234.
Prasad, K. (2008). Gender sensitive communications policies for women's development: Issues and challenges. In K. Sarikakis, L. R. Shade, (Eds.), *Minding the gap: Feminist interventions in international communication*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield.
Prasad, K. (2009a). The false promise of media liberalisation in India. In C. George (Ed.), *Free markets, free media? Reflections on the political economy of the press in Asia*. Singapore: AMIC, FES and Nanyang Technological University.
Prasad, K. (2009b). *Communication for development: Reinventing theory and action* (Vols. 1 & 2). New Delhi: BRPC.
Prasad, K. (2011). *Media law in India.* The Netherlands: Kluwer Law International.
Prasad, K. (2012). E-Governance policy for modernizing government through digital democracy in India. *Journal of Information Policy, 2,* 183–203.
Prasad, K. (2013a). Environmental communication from the fringes to mainstream: Creating a paradigm shift in sustainable development. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Sustainable development and green communication: Asian and African perspectives* (pp. 95–109). Virginia, USA: Palgrave MacMillan.
Prasad, K. (2013b). Burdened by Shame: Women, media, culture and identity crises in India. In M. Moshe & N. Corbu (Eds.), *The walk of Shame*. New York, USA: Nova Science Publishers Inc.
Prasad, K. (2015a). The right to information in India: A journey from survival to social justice. In J. Mair & T. Felle (Eds.), *FOI at 10: Freedom fighting or lazy journalism?*. Abramis: Bury St. Edmunds.
Prasad, K. (2015b). Incredible India: Media pluralism amidst unity in diversity. In P. Valcke, M. Sükösd, & R. Picard (Eds.), *Media pluralism: Concepts, risks and global trends*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Prasad, K. (2018). Communication of inclusive innovation for sustainable development in India. In K. Prasad (Ed.), *Communication, culture and ecology. Communication, culture and change in Asia*. Singapore: Springer.
Prasad, K. (2019). Communication policy for women's empowerment: Media strategies and insights. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Handbook of communication for development and social change*. Springer Nature: Singapore.
Prasannan, R. (2015). Slow yet sturdy India. In *The week* (p 85). (13 Dec).
Ravi, S., & Sajjanhar, A. (2014). Beginning a new conversation on women. In *The Hindu* (p 9). (21 June 2014).

Registrar General of India. (2011a). *Census of India, registrar general of India.* New Delhi: Government of India.
Registrar General of India. (2011b). *Maternal and child mortality and total fertility rates*. New Delhi: Government of India.
Registrar General of India. (2009). *Maternal mortality rates*. New Delhi: Government of India.
Sabarwal, S., Santhya, K. G., & Jejeebhoy, S. (2013). Women's autonomy and experience of physical violence within marriage in rural India: Evidence from a prospective study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 29*(2), 332–347.
Saggurti, N., Sabarwal, S., Verma, R. K., Halli, S. S., & Jain, A. K. (2011). Harsh realities: Reasons for women's involvement in sex work in India. *Journal of AIDS and HIV Research, 3*(9), 172–179.
Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2013). *Sustainable development and green communication: Asian and African perspectives*. Virginia, USA: Palgrave MacMillan.
Saxena, P. (2011). The protest party. In *The week* (pp. 46–48). (4 Sep 2011).
Shiva, V. (2009). 'Food Meets Media', Opening Address, Media and Global Divides, IAMCR World Congress, Stockholm, 2008. *Nordicom Review*, (Vol. 30, pp. 11–31).
Singh, S. S. (2019). Kanyashree stipends are no shield against trafficking. In *The Hindu.* (3 Mar).
Sriram, J. (2016). Tech Girls and the making of the Dharavi code. In *The Hindu* (p. 1 and p. 12). (10 Apr 2016).
Staff Reporter. (2018). Sainath details 'stunning growth of inequalities'. In *The Hindu* (p. 3). (17 Nov 2018).
The Hindu. (2004). Q & A: Medha Patkar. 28 Mar 2004. Retrieved August 9, 2007, from http://www.hinduonnet.com/2004/03/28/stories/2004032800971300.htm.
The Hindu. (2010). Sardar Sarovar: 40,000 families still to be resettled. Retrieved October 25, 2010, from http://www.hindu.com/2010/10/25/stories/2010102562341500.htm.
The Hindu. (2019). NHRC seeks report from Odisha DGP on missing women, girls. In *The Hindu.* (29 Mar).
UN. (2014). *World urbanization prospects*. New York: UN.
UNDP. (2016). *Human development report 2015*. New York: UNDP.
UNDP. (2017). *Human development report 2016*. New York: UNDP.
UNFPA. (2016). *Global nutrition report 2016*. New York: UNFPA.
WEF. (2014). *Global gender gap index 2014*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
WEF. (2016). *Global competitiveness report 2016–2017*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Participatory Environmental Communication: Pedagogy and Practice

Usha S. Harris

Introduction: The Role of Communication in Social Change

In social change processes large numbers of people in a social system encounter new ideas, thoughts and values through networks which stimulate agency among fellow citizens. Communication is integral to this process of change. It is through communication of ideas that we are able to influence other people's thoughts and behaviour. Communication elicits relational possibilities, ferments cross-fertilisation of ideas, and enables problem solving by creating spaces for dialogue in society. The field of communication for development and social change (CDSC) studies the uses, processes and modes of communication in bringing about change in society.

Participatory communication is an important subfield of CDSC that studies bottom-up approaches to social change. Participatory communication scholars contend that people must acquire the knowledge and develop their ability to be able to develop their own communities. At its core, participatory communication fosters dialogue, empowers people on the margins, gives voice to marginalised narratives, uses horizontal communication and engages an action-reflection-action cycle (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). Participatory communication embeds local and indigenous knowledge because it is place-based and involves local communities in all phases of planning, research, project implementation and evaluation (White 2003). Paulo Freire's (1970) emancipatory pedagogy is central in this process of action and reflection (praxis) that leads the oppressed towards self transformation. Freire differentiated this from banking education where one person acts on another. Dialogue is an important aspect of learning. Participants must be actively involved for genuine learning and empowerment to take place. Through praxis individuals acquire the knowledge and skills to take control of their lives and thereby gain power. These

U. S. Harris (✉)
University of Central Asia, School of Arts and Science, Naryn, Kyrgyzstan
e-mail: usha.harris@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_9

encounters are the essential first step in engaging people in communication about their own circumstances.

Participatory media provides an important platform for communities to tell their stories and create awareness about issues from their own perspective. Storytelling uses a dialogical approach and values the agency of subaltern groups. The narrative form connects people in a meaningful way. It is transformative, enumerates the problem close-up by highlighting the struggles and adversities, and defines one's identity. By telling their own stories, community actors are able to "call into question the authority and legitimacy of established storytelling institutions" (Spurgeon 2015: 137). The communication between participants empowers endogenous networks and uncovers unique solutions to vexing problems arising from a particular context—be it historical, social, cultural, economic, political or geographic—of the community.

Participatory media is defined as media culture that enables ordinary people to collectively identify problems, gather information, analyse, design and share media content which has value to them and their network (Harris 2019). Participatory media is not solely about accessing technology. It is about ways in which participatory platforms enable people to have a voice, to organise and to demand change. Ordinary people who are excluded from participating in top down hierarchical communication systems, be it village meetings or mainstream media, where they are only passive receivers of information, become active agents of change as they gain power over their own storytelling. The process of dialogue, which engages diverse networks in finding new solutions to old problems, enables transformative thinking by their active engagement in media production. It is this area of CDSC that has informed my own research.

Lessons in Being a Good Communicator for Social Change

My initial interest in communication for development and social change began during my early years working as a media practitioner in Fiji and Australia. It later evolved into an area of research interest when I began my academic career. I realised the power of participatory media while campaigning with a group of media activists to gain the free-to-air television licence on behalf of non-English speaking background communities in Sydney, Australia. It was the 1980s and in this pre-Internet era the only source of news and information was through mainstream media with its pro-western news bias. Once the licence was gained, community television became the central node of information exchange for migrant communities from more than 30 cultural and language groupings. I came to realise how community participation in media production empowers ordinary people and creates new networks for purposes of power-sharing between disparate groups.

During my PhD research (see Harris 2008) into participatory video production with rural women in Fiji I understood the role of social capital, diverse networks and agency in the process of empowerment. The success of each shoot was dependent on the networks each participant belonged to in her community. The producer of each

video story used her supportive network and local knowledge to highlight the talents of women in her social group and the importance of their work to the whole community. It also demonstrated the importance of including diverse networks in message creation to realise the full potential of the community. My research found participatory media assisted in bridging links between diverse networks; created community cohesion through trust building and dialogue; enabled capacity building and knowledge creation on specific issues relevant to the community. I have since developed a methodology for participatory media production which strengthens and accesses community connections. As my research interest shifted towards environmental communication, I began to use my knowledge of participatory media production in raising awareness about climate change.

This chapter brings together my knowledge of participatory media pedagogy and practice—the undergirding principles, the methods and a toolbox of concepts for analysing the process of production (see Harris 2019). A step-by-step explanation of the participatory production process includes choice of project, the process of message creation, and how engagement in the participatory process invites diversity, strengthens networks and fosters agency in participants. I hope this will provide a knowledge base from which future researchers can begin their own journey of discovery.

Participatory Environmental Communication

Participatory environmental communication (see Harris 2019) engages ordinary people in communicative processes about environmental concerns so that they are able to identify the problems and are collectively empowered to make decisions to improve their situation. It incorporates three key elements: *Diversity, Network* and *Agency* (See Harris 2019, p. 36 Fig. 2.1). The *DNA* framework is a process-oriented approach that offers practitioners, researchers and decision makers strategies to integrate diverse perspectives and forge new relational links by inviting whole-of-society participation in resilience building. I offer the following definition: "The DNA framework advances collaboration and dialogue in society about environmental matters through diverse ways of knowing and being, using integrated networks to catalyse the agency of ordinary people towards collective action" (Harris 2019: 35). This may come in various forms such as face-to-face dialogue and planned forums or through the strategic use of media technology.

Diversity is both rewarding and challenging. While it replenishes and offers wider choices, it also questions dominant patterns of relationships, worldviews and group privileges. More often than not, diversity makes a society more resilient because it endows rich sources of information, resources and skills. It fosters a wide range of perspectives, and brings competing and incompatible ideas, thus challenging established patterns of knowledge (Appiah 2006). Diversity is inclusive of non-human worlds, scientific and traditional knowledge, socio-cultural values and beliefs, demographic variables such as race, gender, age, and (dis)abilities, to name a few.

Networks in natural and social systems enable the exchange of information and resources between two or more entities, species or groups. Social capital, reciprocity and trust are critical in building strong networks. The network in nature is explained by Harper (2012: 3): "The most fundamental concept for ecological understanding is the notion of a *system* as a network of interconnected and interdependent parts". An ecosystem means the "community" of things that live and interact in parts of the geophysical environment. Meanwhile, social networks are made up of nodes and relations:

> A network consists of nodes and links between those nodes. The nodes may be people, groups and organizations. The links may be social contacts, exchanges of information, political influence, money, joint membership in an organization, joint participation in specific events or many other aspects of human relationships.
>
> (Parks et al. 2005: 24)

Agency is an essential characteristic of resilience needed by adaptive systems to survive in a changing environment. Agency is the capacity of living things to act upon their environment (either social or physical) in order to bring about change. It is an empowering act by individuals or groups who have developed awareness of needs in their community. Hewson (2010: 13) notes: "Agency is the condition of activity rather than passivity. It refers to the experience of acting, doing things, making things happen, exerting power, being a subject of events, or controlling things". It is an empowering act by individuals who have developed an awareness of needs in their community. It is a process of conscientization as well as a result of it.

In the next section I discuss how the DNA framework can be embedded in participatory media production process with a focus on creating new opportunities for dialogue and establishing or revitalising relational links within and between communities.

Pedagogy and Practice

The Project

Communication for Development (C4D) practitioners use diverse forms of communication to facilitate participation. These include face-to-face meetings; participatory mapping; ICTs such as community radio, participatory video (PV), digital storytelling; entertainment education including television and radio dramas, theatre, and music; mobile phones and social media (Lennie and Tacchi 2013). Kalas and Finlay (2009: 16) recognise that ICTs such as community radio, mobile phones and Internet-based applications "facilitate networking and building of coalitions" while they simultaneously encourage partnerships between different stakeholders.

Participatory environmental communication activities enable citizens to gather information about their environment or share knowledge about adaptation methods,

land management, sustainable farming, etc. The process of production helps participants to understand immediate risks by recording changes to their environment and adaptation methods by talking to environmental experts. Participatory approaches have been used successfully for conflict resolution between communities over water, land and mining disputes. Communities and individuals empowered with appropriate skills prefer ownership of their own storytelling instead of having outsiders tell their stories. Outsiders are often surprised to find how well people are able to articulate issues and concerns in their community, and how insightful and creative they are in finding sustainable solutions. This belies common assumptions held by project planners that communities are disempowered and lack education or understanding about issues affecting them. People do not need lessons on what to say. Instead, they need support on how best to make themselves heard.

Whose Knowledge?

Both participants and project planners should establish what reciprocal arrangements exist between parties for the exchange of knowledge and resources. Has the community developed the idea? Has someone else approached the community? It is important to recognise the "tensions, contradictions, dilemmas, and power imbalances inherent in all forms of knowledge production and communication" when "scientists and citizens engage in mutual learning on the basis of the different knowledge forms that they bring with them" (Phillips et al. 2012: 4; Phillips 2011). Antonella Piccolella observes that a mutual distrust exists between scientists and local communities in relation to each other's knowledge. She used participatory three-dimensional modelling as a mapping process for climate change adaptation in Boe Boe, Solomon Islands, and advocates bridging the divide through participatory means: "The necessary integration of such diverse worldviews can be possible if adequate tools and methodologies are available for multi-stakeholder dialogue. These tools would allow scientific data to be verified against local data, and provide a medium for local communities to communicate credibly with policy-makers" (2013: 29).

Who Will Participate?

Establishing trust with the community is vital to the success of participatory projects. Finding a community leader who has the trust of all sections of the community and the authority to engage with them is essential. This may include the local social worker, faith-based leader or president of a social club.

Norris (2002: 3) states that "rich and dense associational networks facilitate the underlying conditions for interpersonal trust, tolerance and cooperation". Uslaner and Conley (2003: 333, 335) distinguish between the types of trust based on people's engagement in either outward-looking or inward-looking groups. Outward-looking

people are *generalised trusters.* They are willing to trust strangers, and believe that sharing common values and social interaction with people unlike themselves can be rewarding. They are the ones most likely to form bridging social capital. Inward looking people are *particularised trusters*, who may play an active role within their own social groups but are less likely to participate in 'civic engagement in the larger community'. Leonard and Onyx posit that isolated communities do not need to 'shift' from bonding to bridging in order to 'get ahead', but may find other ways to forge links with other communities, such as seeking the assistance of a 'trusted professional' who may become a valuable ambassador in this process.

Barriers to participation

Everyone has a voice, but there are obstacles to listening to voices of the marginalised. Participation can be used to gain power, not only over one's own life, but over the lives of others. Barriers to participation can come in many forms. Social and cultural practices or communal hierarchy suppress the voices of the marginalised, such as women and youth. Sometimes barriers are created by the very people who are in positions of power to help marginalised voices. These self-appointed benefactors who speak for marginalised groups are usually reluctant to transfer power and skills to the people they purport to represent. In my own experience of community media, the managers and technocrats who appoint themselves in training positions stage a power struggle when minority groups are ready to take over their roles. This leads to conflicts and fragmenting of community organisations and resources.

In a review of 100 case studies, Gaventa and Barrett (2012) created a typology of four democratic and developmental outcomes of citizen engagement: construction of citizenship, practices of citizen participation, responsive and accountable states, and inclusive and cohesive societies. While their study found an overall positive effect from citizen participation, they noted that bureaucratic inertia to citizen engagement was one of the biggest barriers, alongside political reprisals against those who dared to challenge institutional power (Gaventa and Barrett 2012).

Civic activities fail to include the poorest and most marginalised in society, according to Mansuri and Rao (2013). Instead, the profile that emerges from review of literature is that "participants in civic activities tend to be wealthier, more educated, of higher social status, male and more politically connected than nonparticipants" (Mansuri and Rao 2013: 5). The most educated members of participatory projects tend to hold the most influential positions in those projects, either actively self-nominating themselves or by default in the absence of a group protocol. When people communicate from a disempowered position, their voices become lost or misrepresented by those who mediate on their behalf.

Diversity Mapping Tool

A diversity mapping exercise at an early stage will ensure that a cross-section of the community is included. The diversity mapping creates a visual representation of the forms of diversity one would find in different contexts. These can be expanded further to uncover related factors. Creating a diversity matrix for a community, no matter how big or small, assists both community members and outsiders to understand the complexity of information flows and information needs, especially during disasters and for resilience building.

The map would also identify information exchanges specific to different groups in a society made up of diverse ethnocultural groupings. Unequal distribution of resources is often a cause of conflict. Neglected communities perceive aid disparity during emergencies as favouritism for one group over another, or racial discrimination, instead of a possible oversight on the part of agencies who are unaware of the appropriate channels through which information is exchanged in specific groups.

Participatory mapping of informational networks assists individuals and organisations to uncover the relational links (e.g. strong, weak, bonding, bridging), and the types of actors, resources and information that are available to them. Indigenous traditional knowledge is an important node in the wider network of knowledge holders.

Table 1 provides an example of a diversity matrix which can be considered when creating resilience-building tools. By undertaking a diversity mapping exercise, people are forced to consider their actions on the environment, including connections with non-human entities such as river systems, forests, oceans and animals that have either direct or indirect impact on a community's livelihood. Participants would identify resources, skills and knowledge already present within the group and those they should source from outside. For example, the community may have a strong base in

Table 1 Diversity matrix

Knowledge systems	Cultural factors	Social factors	Non-human	Modes of communication	Services
Scientific	Values/ beliefs	Education/ literacy	River systems	Interpersonal	Emergency/ DRR
Indigenous/ Traditional	Race/ethnic Tribe/clan	Children/ youth	Coastal ecosystems	Print	Medical
Local	Place-based	Gender/ LGBTI	Ocean	Broadcast	Community
Experiential	City/rural	Disabilities/ abilities	Animal population	Internet	Private/ commercial
Faith-based	Religion	Elderly	Plant varieties	Transport	Faith-based
Ecological	Language	Wealth	Soil biome	Non-human	Ecosystem

Source Harris (2019), p. 69

local knowledge, but require current scientific knowledge to help them understand soil salinity or reasons for a decrease in soil quality that is affecting their crop output.

In designing disaster prevention and management plans, each element in the column is identified and mapped according to the local context. The elements can be deleted or new ones added, based on different contexts and changing needs. Once the diversity matrix has been created, community members undertake a network mapping exercise to identify the relational links between nodes and their value in either strengthening or weakening individual, family or community resilience in a particular context. Once identified, communities can then engage constructively in the participatory mapping process of vulnerability assessment and adaptation planning. Diversity mapping initiates a culture of integrated problem-solving and a move away from thinking in silos. The identification of these actors and entities is the first step towards building networks.

Choosing the Right Fit

Decisions about the forms of participatory activity to use should be made in consultation with the community. Young people may prefer to use video and social media, while older members may prefer radio or traditional forms of face-to-face communication. To elicit their preferences, participants can identify appropriate community media and communication networks. Consider the audience and final dissemination of the end product. Will it be distributed globally or shared for local information only?

Equipment

Once the decision is made about the form of media, a list is drawn up based on the available budget. Diverse forms of equipment allow greater participation of people with differing abilities. For example, vision-impaired people in the community are able to use digital audio recorders to record stories and songs while digital photography may be more suitable for younger children. However, issues of sustainability must be factored in when using sophisticated digital equipment. These include maintenance and repair in remote communities and training of new members if assigned facilitators leave the community.

If using digital media, smaller and lighter cameras are recommended, due to ease of use and storage. Consumer model cameras provide good picture quality and digital storage options, simple editing features and easy playback. Some cameras incorporate a built-in projector to allow communities who don't have easy access to electricity to review the footage using battery power. Good quality sound is achieved with an external microphone or by changing settings of the in-built microphone. It is important that a sturdy weather-proof case is provided to store all equipment

and accessories. Also essential is an equipment checklist that records all equipment loaned, the names of borrowers, and all items returned. Think of incorporating a digital sound recorder for audio-only recording of interviews, songs and sound effects to produce podcasts and radio programs. Include accessories such waterproof and shockproof carrying case for easy transport and storage and tripod, headphones, cable extension and batteries.

Mobile technologies provide low budget and easy to use alternatives. Smartphones are widely accessible even in remote communities, and provide the ability to record, edit and distribute from the palm of one's hand. In recent years, I have used android smart phones and a free video-editing app to train NGO workers and youth. The apps provide easy to use editing features such as titles, transitions, and the ability to record and insert voice-over and music. The end product is easily shared on social media with specific users or for wider distribution.

My research in the Pacific islands has revealed that younger participants want access to media platforms which enable them to record and share content instantly. In training community artists and NGO workers, I found that both groups had access to smartphones with audio-visual recording capability, but neither group had proactively used these features for environmental communication. Knowledge of the mobile phone as a multi-media tool generated great excitement among participants, as it was more immediate and accessible than the process of shooting and editing stories using video cameras. Once they understood the theory and practice of participatory media, participants were enthusiastic about its use in their work. They wanted to capture interviews about community concerns and solutions while on field visits, and create better workflow by producing reports in audio-visual form. While adept at using smartphones, participants said learning to use an editing app (such as a free android video editor) had filled an important knowledge gap which made it possible for them to instantly record, edit and share content. The editing app was a midway solution, providing a more polished content with titles, voiceover and music that would have greater appeal in the wider community. Notwithstanding the aesthetics of producing content which could be considered amateur, there remains the question of what is more important to the viewer—relevance of the information being shared or the quality of content, or both. Marcus Williams, a media educator who participated in the Pacific Mama's project in New Zealand, makes an interesting observation about the quality of the finished product participatory video:

> What I discovered through this workshop is that participatory video has a mechanism that will self-regulate this problem, which might be seen as a bit of a paradox. The reflective dimension of the process ensures that the protagonists see the quality and any deficit issues, for themselves. This then creates the motivation for technical improvement in them. It takes time and you have to be patient and allow that learning to occur rather than just to come in and take control, but ultimately, the objective will be achieved because media is now a shared language and we are all a great deal more expert than we realise. By acknowledging this through the participatory video methodology, far greater insights into the subjects, community or issue at hand are possible (Saifoloi et al. 2016: 12).

The Process

This section provides an explanation of the participatory production process—breaking down the production as a transactional dialogic process. Communities' active involvement, or agency, is essential to the production process, as opposed to the product-driven media in which communities may feature but not participate. The participatory action research (PAR) approach of ongoing dialogue and action-reflection cycle (see Chevalier and Buckles 2019) enables participants to engage in a dynamic process of building relationships where "communication is truly something we do *with* others and not *to* them" (Adler and Rodman 2003: 28). Participatory media engagement in message production becomes a transformative experience as Pileggi and Morgan (2017: 161) explain: "However contradictory this may seem, as the storyteller transcends boundaries through telling the story, she opens possibilities of experiencing other ways of being in the world. This transformative quality of storytelling is a critical element in environmental communication, which also strives to transcend boundaries."

Dialogue is an important first stage of project planning in participatory environmental communication whereby the information needs of the community are identified. Dialogue engenders trust and agency. The essential first step in finding effective solutions is understanding people's concerns and aspirations. It is useful to explore with the community the assumptions and understanding of their own capacity to make a difference. Discussions can explore these questions:

I. What do we already know about the issue (awareness of the issue)?
II. What do we not know? What do we know that others don't know (gaps in knowledge)?
III. What action do we need to take to gain new knowledge (agency)?
IV. What is our intrinsic motivation for action on this issue?

1. Does it matter to me (salience)?
2. Moral responsibility to address this issue (motivation)
3. Will my action make a difference (efficacy)?
4. Will other citizens join me/will I receive organisational support (capacity for collective action)?
   (informed by Johari window in Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009)

These questions assist participants to increase their own critical thinking abilities. Participants can explore the issue keeping in mind the DNA attributes. Consider for instance, how gender perspectives, concerns of people with disabilities and indigenous knowledge can be integrated in message content. When conducting participatory media workshops I like to engage participants with some of the key terms and concepts. As an example, they may consider what the term 'participation' means to them; consider some of its challenges; identify their own methods of working with the community; and determine how they may be able to integrate participatory approaches to their work on climate change. On the second day the group is asked to collaboratively identify key themes/topics, such as climate change, in their own

community. Collaborating in teams of two or three they can then begin to develop story ideas based on these themes (see Harris 2014).

Project Design

A purpose for the project should be established with community input. This will influence the design of the participatory environmental communication project. In the project design, consider the various production phases and specific factors which may impact the process. The workshop schedule is designed to be flexible in order to accommodate participants' own needs and different skill levels. The workshop is open to a range of participants, including those lacking in skills or talent; it is open to the ideas, voices and needs of the community; it is not scripted and adopts production values which reflect the norms of the community. The production process is shown in Table 2.

There are five phases in the PV production process—camera training, story development, location shoots, viewing sessions and editing. Participants are encouraged to experience every facet of the production process with progressive transfer of knowledge and skills from the facilitator to the group. The essence of the narrative and the end product must reflect the decision-making process of the people themselves.

The first day of training is designed as a media literacy session to increase the participants' knowledge of media. It elicits responses about participants' own negative and positive experiences of media and why media access is important for lay people. Then follows a basic lesson in visual grammar, such as photo composition

Table 2 The production process

Pre-production	1. Contact with the community (trust-building) 2. Decision by individuals to participate in the project (self-efficacy) 3. Becoming part of the team (network and collaboration) 4. Focusing the project (purpose or objective)
Production	5. Sketching the idea into *our* story (finding the voice) 6. Training and rehearsal sessions. Interactions with technology (overcoming the mental and social blocks) 7. Decisions as to the roles of producer, director, actor, technical operators (finding one's capability) a. How is she/he chosen? b. Does this follow the social hierarchical order? c. How does it affect message creation? d. What is the group dynamic? 8. What and who to include (aesthetics)
Post-production	9. Viewing and Feedback. Self-reflection and changing self-perception 10. Editing. What remains and what is left out? Who decides? 11. Screening the finished project and community discussion

Source Harris (2019), p. 77

and shot sizes. The participants should gain access to the tools (smartphones, cameras and audio recorders) on the first day of training to maintain their interest and ensure their continued participation in the workshop. The first exercise teaches participants to hold the camera and take one well composed shot. In the second excercise each participant speaks directly to the camera sharing something about herself, e.g. her background, her strengths, her views on the topic covered, while being recorded by another participant. As participants gain confidence and skill using the camera, other formats can be added such as two-person and group interviews, allowing them to use a tripod and external microphones.

The editing phase is where the participatory elements can become eroded. Lunch and Lunch (2006) remind us that editing done by facilitators or donors can make the participatory video process tokenistic, because the final message may turn out to be completely different from that which the participants intended. An important part of the participatory decision-making process is the ongoing cycle that involves screening back and group discussion on what should be included and excluded from the final product. Drawing a paper storyboard is another useful method to get more people involved and to reach consensus on the type of editing required, even without the availability of a computer.

Facilitator's Role

There is a high degree of collaboration between facilitators and participants during the production process. Facilitators must have gained participatory media training themselves so that they are able to constructively assist communities during group workshops and production activities. Good communication skills between the facilitator and various groups in the community are required in order to interpret diverse needs, resolve conflicts and ensure equitable use of equipment. It is necessary for facilitators to create a road map and structure the workshop (Shaw and Robertson 1997) in a way that would allow a good idea to be integrated, reflecting Galbraith's (1991) observation that the transactional process requires "collaboration, support, respect, freedom, equality, critical reflection, critical analysis, challenge, and praxis" from both facilitator and learner. Facilitators can influence the success or failure of the PV process through their own knowledge and experience of media production, knowledge of community, enthusiasm and ability to incorporate an egalitarian approach in the facilitation of the workshop.

A crucial element of the participatory process is self-reflection. One has to be constantly self-reflective. How am I participating in the process? There is no right or wrong answer. Facilitators must learn to stop controlling the moment. Let the subject control the moment because this is a collective process of discovery.

Giving up control can be difficult for first-time participatory media facilitators, especially those who have worked in mainstream media. They approach participatory workshops with a professional mind-set where visual aesthetics and the end product

are more important than the process of engagement. This struggle is shared by Sandra Kailahi, a television broadcast journalist who participated in a PV workshop:

> In the case of broadcast media, the journalist will use a cameraperson to film the story, then edit the piece without any direct contribution from the community other than those being interviewed. There is a chain of editorial command before the final story goes to air and at no time is the community consulted over what actually goes to air. This is the complete opposite to the participatory video approach, which involves the community from the beginning to the end and it is indeed the group that decides on the final product, as they are involved with every step of the process (Saifoloi et al. 2016: 14).

As a participatory media facilitator, I have worked with migrant and refugee groups, rural women, youth groups, postgraduate students, NGO workers and academics. Every participatory media experience is different because every community is different. Some will be extremely rewarding and some will be difficult. If communities are brought together without proper consultation it is difficult to create a truly collaborative experience. Lack of trust, disengagement with the project and cultural taboos about speaking publicly also affect participation. Difficulties arise when the participants and the subject matter are chosen by the funding organisation. I have worked on projects where people were brought together in a forced way and they didn't really want to be there. Some of my most enthusiastic participants have been rural women in Pacific island communities who have self-nominated their projects.

Conflict is another major area of concern in participatory projects. Chin points to the difficulty experienced by practitioners who had "sufficient facilitation and participatory communication skills but totally untrained in conflict management and resolution" (2000: 31). The readjustment of power relationships, disagreement on priorities, goals, and methods of doing things, as well as larger underlying social issues facing the communities, may emerge as the causes of conflict (Chin 2019).

DNA Framework as an Evaluation Tool

The participatory production process enables greater diversity of voices, strengthens networks and empowers participants through the production process. The process can be evaluated using the DNA framework as illustrated in Table 3.

The process engenders diversity through cross-fertilisation of ideas between previously disparate groups. Vertical networks initiate dialogue with decision-makers on policy reform, and facilitate knowledge transfer between experts and communities. Horizontal information exchange improves information flow and networking with heterogeneous groups on a range of issues such as adaptation, disaster preparedness and coastal management. It also helps to build consensus and resolve conflict on issues such as mining, water management and environmental damage.

The process of content creation empowers individuals through their newfound agency. Experiential learning and the action-reflection cycle improves participants' capabilities for self-reliance and self-organisation. As participants engage in the

Table 3 Evaluating participatory media process using the DNA framework

Is the process facilitating the following outcome:	Identify what aspects of the production process contributes to the DNA outcome:
Diversity	
Cross-fertilisation and new connections–intercultural, intergenerational, values and beliefs	Includes diverse networks, knowledge systems and multiple perspectives in content creation
Inclusion of demographic variables (age, gender, race, identities, education, place disabilities etc.)	Acknowledgement of each person as valuable to the process irrespective of their background Respect and awareness of the 'other'
Holistic understanding Consensus building	The process of researching, interviewing, listening, viewing, and feedback
Network	
Heterogeneous and relational (form and content)	The production process links ideas, skills and knowledge across heterogeneous networks (human and nonhuman)
Social capital Reciprocity Social cohesion	Use of trusted social networks in the production cycle—planning, collaborating, negotiating, exchanging resources and sharing skills
Vertical and horizontal networks	Distribution of content upstream Cooperation and collaboration between endogenous networks
Agency	
Empowerment Action-reflection-action cycle Self-expression	Taking ownership of storytelling Awareness of the process and others' needs Gaining media literacy skills
Problem solving Mutual learning Dialogue	Collaboratively discovering new knowledge Listening and responding to other perspectives
Participatory action research Critical thinking Self-organisation	Gathering, analysing and designing messages Group viewing session and feedback Dissemination and knowledge sharing

Source Harris (2019), p. 82

production process and begin to understand visual grammar, they also become critically aware of the way in which storytelling can be manipulated by the choice of shots and the interview process. They begin to critically reflect on mainstream media's role in influencing public understanding of issues by giving greater voice to political and economic elites. Through a feedback loop of viewing and reviewing the videos, the participants also identify strengths and weaknesses in their own practice and recognise the stock of knowledge and skills available within the group.

Message Dissemination

User-generated content (UGC) is easily distributed to international audiences or to networks within minutes of completion through easy file-sharing options via the Internet and without the approval of a gatekeeper. However, it is crucial to ensure that members of the community who participate in the message-making process give their consent for distribution outside of the community. Participants must be consulted and made aware of the potential repercussions of having their work disseminated on social media. Factors that influence this decision include relevance and sensitivity of the topic, safety of those appearing on camera, especially in conflict situations, cultural taboos and intellectual property concerns.

The decentralised nature of participatory media activities means that many of these projects have a short life span and are disseminated in ways that may not reach the target audience. Sharing content online does not necessarily mean that it will get to the target audience. For example, if one of the objectives of the exercise is to reach decision-makers, strategies must be developed to share the message with relevant politicians and organisations in face-to-face meetings and conferences. Exchanges can be facilitated within the community using community screening, emails or direct messaging apps on mobile phones.

Research and Ethical Issues

There are several ethical issues to consider when engaging with participatory media activities using video and photography. These can be looked at in relation to research and consent. The standard way to gain consent is to use protocols developed by university ethics committees as part of the ethics approval process. This includes a standardised written consent form used to gain individual consent from research participants. It provides information about the project and contact details of the facilitator, and gives people the option to withdraw at any stage of their participation. The form is signed by all research participants who are interviewed. If an audio or video recording is made of the interviewees, it should be clearly explained to the participants how the organisation or researcher plans to use the material. Participants give their consent for its distribution. Participants must also be made aware of the risks arising from their attendance in workshops and from the use of the images, especially in conflict situations (Harris and Bau 2014).

Increasingly, practitioners are considering other, more culturally appropriate forms of consent which can be recorded in audio visual form either at the start or the end of the interview recording. This allows participants who don't have reading and writing skills to be able to clearly articulate their consent and any restrictions on the use of the material. In some communities, communal consent may be gained through a protocol which receives the chief's or elder's approval to film within traditional sites, villages and settlements.

Verification of user-generated content is necessary in order to guard against the spread of rumours and misinformation in emergency situations. Verification Handbook (Silverman 2014) offers useful guidelines for verifying UGC and open source information in an era of fake news and crisis journalism. It includes relevant case studies, a verification process, checklist and tools to support a professional or citizen journalist.

Conclusion

Participatory media improves collective action and knowledge exchange between diverse stakeholders across different networks; intercultural, intergenerational, interdisciplinary, inter-agency and cross-sectoral. Collaboration encourages transactional communication and reciprocity through the production process. Enabling agency of a community means providing opportunities for members to engage in collective dialogue to find solutions which improve their community and consequently improve their own lives. It asks participants to imagine a different reality. To achieve this, people need access to reliable information and the ability to act upon it collectively.

Transactional communication places great importance on how meaning is constructed in one's mind and upon reflective feedback and reflective listening. Participants' active engagement in communicative processes increases knowledge exchange and improves adaptive capacities. Community media provides a dynamic model of engagement which reflects the local context. Inviting people to participate in media production improves resilience of the whole community. It improves people's ability to identify the networks and resources available to them and helps them to make that critical link between vulnerability and resilience—a compelling reason for the necessity to adapt and change.

By studying the process, we begin to understand what elements of people's involvement in media production are empowering, the way they go about determining their message production and how they reflect their worlds through mediated communication. Through these skills, vulnerable communities are better able to communicate and represent their interest in national policy development and international fora. Most importantly, participatory media enable subaltern narratives to become alternative nodes of knowledge creation.

Acknowledgements *Sections of this chapter have been adapted from the author's book Participatory Media in Environmental Communication: Engaging Communities in the Periphery* (2019) *published by Routledge.*

References

Adler, R. B., & Rodman, G. R. (2003). *Understanding human communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appiah, K. A. (2006). Global citizenship. *Fordham Law Review, 75,* 2375–2391.

Chevalier, J. M., & Buckles, D. J. (2019). *Participatory action research* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Chin, S. Y., (2019). Participatory communication in practice: The nexus to conflict and power. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Handbook of communication for development and social change*. Springer Nature, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7035-8_19-1.

Chin, S. Y. (2000). Development communication in Asia. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Walking on the other side of the information highway: Communication, culture, and development in the 21st century*. Penang: Southbound.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Galbraith, M. (1991). The adult learning transactional process. In M. Galbraith (Ed.), *facilitating adult learning: A transaction process*. Krieger Publishing Co, Malabar, Fla. pp.

Gaventa, J., & Barrett, G. (2012). Mapping the outcomes of citizen engagement. *World Development, 40*(12), 2399–2410. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.05.014.

Harper, C. L. (2012). *Environment and society: Human perspectives on environmental issues*. Boston, MA: Prentice Hall.

Harris, U. S. (2008). *Transforming images: Participatory video and social change in Fiji*. Unpublished thesis, Doctor of Philosophy, Macquarie University.

Harris, U. S. (2014). Communicating climate change in the Pacific using a bottom-up approach. *Pacific Journalism Review, 20*(2), 77–96.

Harris, U. S. (2019). *Participatory media in environmental communication: Engaging communities in the periphery*. London: Routledge.

Harris, U. S., & Bau, V. (2014). Harnessing participatory media technology for community development: Choices and implications for practitioners. *Development Bulletin, 76,* 31–34.

Hewson, M. (2010). Agency. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications Inc.

Kalas, P. P., Finlay, A. (2009). Planting the knowledge seed - adapting to climate change using ICTs: Concepts, current knowledge and innovative examples [Online]. Building Communication Opportunities (BCO) Alliance, Melville, South Africa. https://www.apc.org/sites/default/files/BCO_ClimateChange.pdf.

Lennie, J., & Tacchi, J. (2013). *Evaluating communication for development: A framework for social change*. Oxon, OX: Routledge.

Lunch, N., & Lunch, C. (2006). *Insights into participatory video: A handbook for the field*. UK: InsightShare.

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2013). *Localizing development: Does participation work?*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Norris, P. (2002). Social capital and the news media. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/politics, 7*(1), 3–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180x0200700101.

Parks, W., et al. (2005). Who measures change? An introduction to participatory monitoring and evaluation of communication for social change, Communication for Social Change (CFSC) Consortium Inc., New Jersey.

Phillips, L., Carvalho, A., & Doyle, J. (2012). *Citizen voices: Performing public participation in science and environment communication*. Bristol, UK: Intellect Bristol.

Phillips, L. J. (2011). *The promise of dialogue: The dialogic turn in the production and communication of knowledge*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Piccolella, A. (2013). Participatory mapping for adaptation to climate change: The case of Boe Boe, Solomon Islands. *Knowledge Management for Development Journal, 9*(1), 24–36.

Pileggi, M., & Morgan, E. (2017). Storytelling as action: Exploring transformation. In T. Milstein, M. Pileggi, & E. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Environmental communication pedagogy and practice*. London: Routledge.

Saifoloi, M., et al. (2016). Participatory video and the Pacifica mamas: A pilot project. *Unitec ePress Research Report Series, 2,* 1–20.

Shaw, J., & Robertson, C. (1997). *Participatory video: A practical approach to using video creatively in group development work*. London: Routledge.

Silverman, C. (2014). *Verification handbook: A definitive guide to verifying digital content for emergency coverage.* Maastricht: The Netherlands European Journalism Centre.

Spurgeon, C. (2015). Participatory media and 'co-creative' storytelling. *Media International Australia, 154,* 132–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1515400116.

Tufte, T., & Mefalopulos, P. (2009). Participatory communication: A practical guide [Online]. The World Bank, Washington, DC. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTDEVCOMMENG/Resources/Participatorycommunication.pdf.

White, S. A. (Ed.). (2003). *Participatory video: Images that transform and empower*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Uslaner, E. M., & Conley, R. S. (2003). Civic engagement and particularized trust: The ties that bind people to their ethnic communities. *American Politics Research, 31*(4), 331–360. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X03031004001.

The Development of Documentary in Post-1990s China

Zhou Bing

Introduction

In the course of the past 27 years, there have been three major transformations in Chinese society: The first was in 1992, when the opening up and reform reintegrated China into the international community; the second was in 2001, when China joined the WTO; the third was in 2012, when Xi Jinping came into office with his ongoing anti-corruption campaign and a series of changes in political institutions. These are the three eras of China's contact and communication with the international community.

Post-"New Documenting Movement" Civilianization Perspective

Over the past three decades, China's cultural thought has witnessed drastic changes. The first era is the second liberation on thoughts in China. The first reform of Chinese television media, which was initiated by the government, marked by the birth of the China Central Television program "Oriental Horizon". The program learned from the U.S. program "60 minutes" and some of the NHK programs of Japan, breaking the traditional political propaganda-like TV program styles in China, regarded as a brand-new experiment. Firstly, "Oriental Horizon" adopts a socio-cultural perspective, breaking the tradition of propagandizing political elites and heroic deeds, turning

Translated by Dr. Yuan Zeng

Z. Bing (✉)
College of History, Nankai University, Tianjin, China
e-mail: zhoubing39@icloud.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_10

a focus to people's livelihood. Secondly, using in-depth investigative reports, the program is truth-revealing. Thirdly, the program functions as the watchdog, and has in effect pushed a number of policy changes in China.

After the "New Documenting Movement" in the 1980s, some independent documentary filmmakers emerged. Documentaries such as Jiang Yue's "The Other Shore" (1995), Duan Jinchuan's "No. 16 Bakuo South Street" (1997), and Wu Wenguang's "1996, My Red Guard Era" (1993) focused on the life of ordinary, even marginalized people. The trend of increasing independent documentaries is not only a response to the governmental shift in TV production, but also a succession and development of the philosophies of the "New Documenting Movement". Frederick Wiseman, who dissects the relationship between people and the society using cameras, and Ogawa Shinsuke, the Japanese primeval documentary master, have also greatly influenced the documentary production at that time. The mainstream documentary production at that time was more primeval and nonfiction, but the author's is more experimental.

Since 1995, the author has been experimentally imitating a new documentary production style, scene reconstruction, which was popular in the U.S. and Japan. After four years of ideation and production, the film "Memory" was completed and welcomed by professionals and critiques. "Staying loyal to the history, and having reconstructed the history by way of highly spectacular journalistic and artistic presentations, the film has reconstructed the deeds and thoughts of historical figures, and made up for the lack of photography and text records for historical details" (Chinese 2001). Bai Yansong, a well-known TV host in China, also praised "Memory" for its innovation and reconstruction of historical scenes. "Memory" is the first Chinese documentary using scene reconstruction on a large scale. In the following decade, the author has been mostly using scene reconstruction for his documentary production, and thus is regarded as one of the pioneer directors for this approach in China.

In story ideation, another trend was emerging in China. The Chinese public became more keen to know the past history of China, and those in textbooks were not able to satisfy the public quest. Documentaries set in Ancient and Early Modern China were emerging in legions. From 1993 to 2000, the mainstream in Chinese documentaries still focused on the common people's livelihood. Some representative films during that period include Liang Bibo's "San Jie Cao" (1997), Zhang Yiqing's "Zhou Zhou's World" (1997) and "Ying and Bai" (2002), Chen Xiaoqing's "Dragon's Back"(1994), and Shanghai TV Station's "Story in the Newsroom" (1992). As the producer of "Oriental Horizon" from 2000 to 2003, the author was in charge of the ideation of documentaries on social issues, and supervised the production of more than 100 such documentaries.

Innovative Experiments

During a seminar on "Chinese Documentary in the Past 20 Years", Gao Feng, the former Chief of China Central Television, noted that 1979 witnessed the rise of cultural consciences of Chinese television documentary, and the start of ideological emancipation, embodied in the expanded visual space and enhanced literary aesthetic ideology. Professor Lv Xinyu pointed out that, the New Documenting Movement is caring not only for the humanistic spirit, but also for individual perspectives. In these two decades, Chinese documentaries have been shifting their focus to some groups or some individuals, which is a desirable and necessary stage. As Chen Mang has noted, documenting today is documenting the history. The personal stories we tell about ordinary Chinese families, of 365 individuals and 365 families each year, are in effect documenting the history of Chinese people in the latter part of the 1990s. While our materialist basis has developed to a certain stage, and while our concepts and techniques have been progressing, we shall not only care for individual people, but also care for the larger environment, the Earth, and even the universe we are living in. The mission of documentary filmmaking is not only to document human being's behaviors, nor to merely document the everyday life we are directly involved in, but also to document, discover, sort out, and tell the past history and culture, the thoughts of outstanding figures. *True Reappearance* is the most important technique. It is an attempt to better express our ideas, but has been subjected to criticism from some experts and colleagues ever since 1995. The team decided not to argue, but to work on it. Documentary production at China Central Television enjoys a very diverse morphology, including both nonfiction techniques in New Documenting Movement, and the True Reappearance. As long as the authenticity principle is not violated, any technique can be applied to documentary production.

The "Imperial Palace" (2005) is a landmark Chinese documentary for both the government and business. It explored pioneering new techniques, and started the era of blockbuster documentaries by using the latest techniques and creating many classic shots. It was the first time that a Chinese audience saw international first-class quality blockbusters on Chinese television. In terms of documentary production, the author believes that the core contribution lies in the fact that Chinese documentaries have enhanced the productive force and productive relations, symbolizing an industrial upgrade and reform. It was a restructuring of the productive relations in Chinese documentary production. Since the "Imperial Palace", the production team has grown from the previously ordinary nonfiction news magazine production to the composition of a series of photography, lighting, costumes, and props. From the wave of Chinese documentary initiated since the "Odyssey of the Great Wall" (1988) to the industrial blockbuster production of "Imperial Palace" (2005), all the way to the "Bite of China" (2012) which has shaped the brand of Chinese documentary, the whole journey reflects the development and constant changes of Chinese documentary production.

Internationalized Creation and Diversified Platform

After 2010, China has become the second largest economy in the world. By this time, Chinese documentary has undergone two drastic changes. In production, an increasing number of Chinese directors are imitating the styles of National Geography and Discovery to produce documentaries on Chinese arts and culture, and more with entertaining elements and story plots. The emergence of such documentaries not only reflects that Chinese are focusing their attention on their own national culture, but also represents a return to the exploration of cultural roots and identification. It is also the development of entertainment of documentary production in China. Following the production model of the "Imperial Palace" (2005), the author produced a series of documentaries including "Dunhuang" (2010) and "When the Louvre Meets the Forbidden City" (2010). Meanwhile, a different documentary style of independent production has been getting in shape, with representatives such as Wang Bing's "Three Sisters" (2012), Du Haibing's "Youth, Xiao Zhao" (2015), and Zhou Hao's "Datong" (2015).

Season 1 of "The Bite of China" (2012), aired in 2012, is a milestone which renders documentary into a public topic, rather than serving only a minority. Since then, television stations in China, from Central China Television to local ones, started to run documentary channels. This emergence of specialized television channels is another change. A number of media platforms specializing in investing and managing documentary production have sprung up in China.

At this time, the author left China Central Television, where he had been working for 20 years, and started documentary production companies in Beijing and Hong Kong, exploring the marketization of documentary production. Since the start of such exploration in 2005, the author has been focusing on international cooperation, especially commercial cooperation, of documentary production. During the past decade, the author has established partnership with the National Geography, History Channel of the United States, Sky TV and ARTE of the UK, and Singapore National Television, in an attempt to tell China stories from a global perspective. The commercial exploration of the author's own entrepreneurship echoes the period when more and more film production companies are entering the documentary industry. At the same time, the number of independent film directors is increasing, surpassing that of the past 20 years. Some representatives include Fan Lixin's "Last Train Home" (2009) which documented the mass commuting during Spring Festival, Fan Jian's "Still Tomorrow" (2016) which told the story of the disabled poetess Yu Xiuhua, Zhou Hao's "Cotton" (2013) and "Datong" (2015), Zhao Qing's "Please Remember Me" on Alzheimer, Chen Weijun's "This is Life" (2017), and Jiao Bo's "the Village of China" (2013). All these independent films are very powerful and influential.

During this period, the author also did academic research, focusing on the development of nonfiction films since 1898, and the manuals on how to produce blockbusters. Meanwhile, the author also led a team to experimentally document other topics, such as environmental protection, outside the field of history and culture. Examples include "Snow Leopard" (2015) on animal protection, "Talking about Marriage" (2016) on

the young generation's marriage issues in contemporary China, and "E-Commerce Times" (2014) which documents the development of China's e-commerce. A new type of documentary was born in China after 2017: cinema nonfiction documentary, which is symbolized by "22" (2015). The film was shown in China in 2017 and scored more than 100 million RMB in the box office. More and more documentary directors will choose to produce such documentary films to be shown in cinemas. This has become a trend in China, in accordance with the changing market.

Another obvious change is taking place online. More people are going online to watch documentaries. The film "Talking about Marriage" has been played for 20.335 million times on the Tencent Video platform; and the film "Masters in Forbidden City" (2016) scored 3.2 million clicks on Bilibili, which is a popular video sharing platform in China, with on average as many as 71.8 million active monthly users, most of whom are the young generation born after 1990. The platform has started to promote documentary films in huge numbers, and even tries to invest in documentary production. This is a new phenomenon that, apart from traditional television stations and governmental institutions, internet companies such as Bilibili, iQIYI, and Tencent have also started to look into purchasing and investing in documentary filmmaking, comparable to the way Netflix is revolutionizing the U.S. and even global market.

The author's documentary production style has also been changing and innovating. At the time of writing this chapter, the author's production team is working on a new documentary on traditional Chinese medicine practitioners. Apart from following the techniques used in the "Imperial Palace" (2005), the team has also been innovating and integrating in content and format. The biggest innovation is the integration of three types of documentary: historical cultural, natural geographic, and scientific educational. Meanwhile, the team is also working on adopting and researching the latest animation technologies. Such innovation is not confined to documentary production per se, but also brings significant impact to conceptualize any specialized industry, and the education and promotion of the industry. For example, the currently ongoing documentary project will help promote the exploration in techniques and modern education for traditional Chinese medicine practitioners. Since 2018, the communication of documentary production is no longer confined to one single platform. With its core and ideation kept intact, the same innovative content may be circulated in various forms in different platforms from television stations, internet, to cinemas.

Conclusion

This brief overview of documentary filmmaking in China shows the different stages it went through and proves that there is a market and audience for innovative and creative approaches, both in content and style.

References

《东方时空·纪事》栏目组 (2002) 回眸：成长的足迹（上）—“中国电视纪录片20年”研讨会发言精华录. 南方电视学刊 (South China Television Journal) 4:37–40
《东方时空·纪事》栏目组 (2002) 回眸：成长的足迹（下）—“中国电视纪录片20年”研讨会发言精华录. 南方电视学刊 (South China Television Journal) 5:72–76
东东 (2001) 《东方时空》特别节目《记忆》研讨会在京举行. 现代传播 (Modern Communication) 6:124–125
张晓凤（2012）周兵纪录片创作研究（Zhou Bing’s Documentary Research）河北大学
谭天（2006）从《故宫》看中国纪录片的转机.《中国电视》(Chinese TV) 5:52–55
邱妩， 高顺青（2010）论数字高清纪录片需注意的问题.《中国广播电视学刊》China Radio & TV Academic Journal (4):92–93
张同道 (2012) 《中国纪录片发展研究报告》科学出版社，北京 纪录HD (2017), 纪录HD (2017), https://www.bilibili.com/read/cv263258/

Sure Ducks: What I Learned in the Village

Timothy Kennedy

How it started

On June 19, 2018 I embarked from Tampa, Florida on a series of flights that would take me, accompanied by a film crew, to the Lower Yukon River Yup'ik village of Emmonak, Alaska. My trip was made possible because I received a grant from my university that would allow me to document a reunion with the Emmonak leaders who I worked with as a community development field worker starting in 1969. I was told eight Yup'ik fishermen wanted to start a village owned salmon fish co-operative to stop being exploited by a Seattle based company that controlled them with credit they built up at the company store over the winter. With a short fishing season, the fishermen just had whatever they earned deducted from what they owed. The Emmonak fishermen wanted to break this cycle of exploitation.[1]

During the stopover in Anchorage, I presented an historical presentation of my seminal SKYRIVER: LOWER YUKON PROJECT at the University of Alaska, Anchorage, that included a book signing for *Where the Rivers Meet the Sky: A Collaborative Approach to Participatory Development*, published by Southbound

[1](see Kennedy 2008) Once the village owned salmon co-operative became an established entity, I had numerous discussions with the fishermen who wanted to talk about having more say in the decisions being made in the Alaska state capital that had a profound impact on their lives. These village discussions eventually led to a three-year experiment in social change that has become known as the SKYRIVER: LOWER YUKON PROJECT. My trip to Emmonak in the summer of 2018 was to celebrate the sustainable impact of the process that was created in collaboration with Emmonak leaders. The SKYRIVER: LOWER YUKON PROJECT is now considered to be a pioneering use of film and video as tools to strengthen and enhance a village level community development process within and among Native Alaskan villages to create a direct exchange with government officials for the purpose of influencing their decision making processes.

T. Kennedy (✉)
Tampa Educational Cable Consortium, Tampa, FL, USA
e-mail: skyriver.kennedy@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_11

in Penang, Malaysia in 2008. My book was included in the Communication for Development and Social Change Series. The Series Editor was Jan Servaes.

While preparing for my lecture and film presentation, I wanted to create a proper title reflecting my eleven years of experience in Alaska that began in 1966 when I was a community development field worker in a program called Volunteers In Service to America (VISTA). This domestic volunteer program was modelled after the United States Peace Corps. After finishing the six-week VISTA training at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, I was assigned to the Arctic Inupiaq village of Noorvik. During the training session at the university, we learned about the Bureau of Indian affairs (BIA) boarding schools where village children were sent to schools as far away as Oklahoma and Oregon. We learned about the high suicide rate and the overall cultural genocide that existed. During the summer of the first year in Noorvik, I met the boarding school students who were sent home for the summer. Much of what I saw when I spent time with the boarding school students, validated what I had learned about the destructive effects of the BIA boarding schools.

As my time with the boarding school students increased, I started to notice a saying they had with each other. When anyone asked them a question or asked them to do something, they would say "sure ducks." The more I heard "sure ducks," the more I started to see the saying as a below the radar act of resistance and resilience, even self-confidence, the boarding school cultural genocide system had not destroyed. It was my first profound intercultural learning experience that challenged me to look beyond the more obvious public shyness that would be more visible to the casual observer. Years later, I began to realize this initial intercultural learning experience has had a special influence on what is now my present role as a university professor and researcher. So, even though "sure ducks" is surely an unorthodox title for an academic narrative, I hope the honorific place it has had in my half century career in what has become known as Communication for Development and Social Change will be appreciated.[2]

[2](see Kennedy 2008) During my two years in Noorvik, I had many experiences that eventually led me to question my role acting on behalf of the village when government officials would seek me out for my opinion. By default, I found myself becoming an advocate for the village when officials from the War On Poverty programs came to Noorvik. I also felt pressure to find a problem I could help the Noorvik people solve that would impress the VISTA staff in Alaska to show them I was doing a good job. This all began to crumble when I acted to solve a problem I identified as blatant racism personified in the Dick and Jane reader used for first graders in the BIA Day School in Noorvik. Dick and Jane was an infamous reader that had already been challenged by minorities in schools in New York where I was from. In Where the Rivers Meet the Sky (see Kennedy 2008), I describe what happened when I became an advocate to replace the Dick and Jane reader in the BIA village schools that caused me to question my role: "During VISTA training I had been impressed with University of Alaska Professor Lee Salisbury's critique of the Dick and Jane reader that was used in BIA village schools from the point of view of an Inupiaq child: What's traffic? What's a curb? Dick and Jane's father goes to a place called an office. What's an office? What horrible thing did *Anna* (grandma) and *Ataata* (grandpa) do that they live apart from Dick and Jane in a place called the country? The reality of watching the first graders struggling with the Dick and Jane reader used in Noorvik increasingly angered me.

When I talked to Noorvik people about the reader, the general response was "what can we do, it's the BIA." When I had the chance to go to Nome to meet with the BIA Regional Education Officer, I asked a few people if they would like me to do something about the reader. They all were very excited that I might be able to do something about it.

When I got to Nome (see Kennedy 2008), I confronted the BIA official on the culturally irrelevant readers in the BIA village schools. I told him it seemed obvious to me that using these readers that showed a very white Dick and Jane living in a comfortable middle class neighborhood in the temperate zone could only serve as a hindrance to learning, and reinforced the Inupiaq children's confused sense of themselves and their culture. The BIA official listened very politely to my comments, thanked me for my input, and summarily dismissed what I said. He then proceeded to inform me that "in his eighteen years of serving Native Alaskans, he had never heard even one complaint from an Inupiaq or Athabaskan parent about the Dick and Jane reader." He made it clear he was not about to let some "cheechako" influence his opinions. I realized afterward his response was in some ways perfectly understandable. After all, his constituency was Native Alaskans, not VISTA Volunteers.

While I had my doubts about how this particular official might have responded to direct complaints from village parents, the encounter certainly raised some interesting questions for me to ponder. How could government officials be made more accountable for their actions? Was I really representing the interests of the villagers or was I setting my own agenda, meeting my own needs? Weren't the actions of advocates like me actually preventing the citizen participation we espoused? How could responsible government officials, those who were genuinely interested in being responsive to villagers needs, be brought together with villagers so positive, direct exchanges could take place? Why was it that villagers could articulate coherent ideas about local problems and solutions to me during informal conversations and then remain mute during official meetings on the same issues?

The answers to these questions were not to come for years, however, after this experience I began gradually to move away from the advocacy role. Through small and simple gestures, I started acting out my belief the villagers could act independently.[3]

One of the highlights of the trip for me was talking to Donald Snowden, the Director of Memorial University of Newfoundland's Extension Service. Snowden sponsored our visit to Prince Rupert not long after he had been hired by OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) to evaluate CEDC and to provide ongoing technical assistance to the CEDC director. I was excited about meeting him because I had seen "The Ananaks", a film documentary about Snowden's work as a cooperative organizer in

[3]While working as a Cooperative Development Specialist, at the Community Enterprise Development Corporation, Inc. (CEDC), I accompanied the Director of CEDC to a meeting with staff at a large salmon fish co-operative in Prince Rupert, British Columbia. We asked for a meeting to seek advice on how to handle a price war that was threatening the Emmonak salmon fish co-operative I was working with. When I met with one of the staff to get his advice, his response was, "Look, if you really want to have loyal members, just pay them two cents more a pound for their fish than the competition."

the Canadian Arctic. He was the Cooperative Development Officer who worked with the Inuit from the village of George River in Nouveau Quebec. The Inuit wanted to start a cooperative to market a northern trout known as Arctic Char. I had been inspired by the film when I saw it two years earlier.

During our time in Prince Rupert, I was able to talk with Snowden about a number of general community development issues until I mentioned I had been experimenting with the first small format SONY video recorder known as the "video rover" as an organizing tool for social action. This interested Snowden and he began to explain his involvement in what had become known as the Fogo Island Project. I was very excited to hear about an organizational process in such a similar remote location with fishing villages (see Kennedy 1982). I detailed what followed a few weeks later that built upon our Prince Rupert discussions: Don Snowden came to Anchorage to consult with CEDC staff. During Snowden's visits I kept up a running conversation with him on the issues we first talked about in Prince Rupert. On one such visit he brought some of the films from the Fogo Island Project for me to view. I could readily see how the process of having island fishermen expressing themselves on film for presentation to government officials helped to build their self-confidence. I particularly enjoyed the positive films about village life that put the problems in perspective.

In the meantime, my discussions with Jake Johnson and the Emmonak fisherman turned towards other issues. While we were shooting pool or just sitting around talking, they would increasingly vent their frustration about not having more say in the decisions that affected their lives. They didn't want more government make-work programs; they wanted to have some influence on the decisions being made by government officials. They said that Gussucks (white men) in Anchorage, Juneau and Washington D.C. who made the decisions that affected their lives did so with little or no participation from people living in the villages. They cited numerous horror stories of misdeeds and misunderstandings that led to their frustration. The incidents conveyed to me were identical to the ones I had experienced first-hand in Noorvik. They also expressed their frustration when they attended government public hearings, especially the hearings on Native Land claims issues where they were asked by government officials to show how they lived.

The conversations I was having in Emmonak and the ongoing one I was having with Don Snowden converged in a way I could never have imagined. The CEDC director called me into his office after one of Snowden's trips to CEDC. With a chuckle, he said that, thanks to Don Snowden, he had finally figured out a way to get rid of me. A month later Don Snowden brought the filmmaker Colin Low of the National Film Board of Canada, who directed the Fogo Island Project, to Anchorage. Anne Michaels from OEO in Washington D.C. accompanied the two Canadians. She was working with them on two projects that Low and Snowden were setting up using the Fogo process. One project was in the Chicano section of Brownsville, Texas and the second was in the black section of Hartford, Connecticut. Anne Michaels had used money from the film section she headed to support the attempts to apply the Fogo process in poor communities in the United States.

Later that evening I met with everyone to discuss what it would take to start a project in Alaska. Later that night I talked at length with Snowden and Michaels about what strings would be attached to the funding I would receive from OEO. They guaranteed me there would be none.

Soon after Snowden, Michaels and Low left Anchorage, I received a call from Snowden saying I had passed muster with Anne Michaels and Colin Low. He said I would receive $220,000 in a couple of months to begin my project. The funds would be administered through CEDC. The second year I would be receiving an additional $100,000.

After I overcame an obstacle created by the CEDC director (who told me I was going to use the grant to produce promotional films for CEDC), I went to Emmonak and met with the village council and held community-wide meetings. People flocked to the meetings and filled the community hall. I told the Emmonak people about the opportunity that had just been given to me. I discussed the Fogo Island Project and screened some of the Fogo films. I discussed my experiences in using small-format video in Anchorage, and encouraged them to play with the portable video I brought with me. I used these meetings to explain the approach I wanted to take. I described its open-ended nature, its emphasis on positive as well as negative issues, as well as cultural history and special cultural events. I also emphasized the emphasis on local control and direct communication with government officials, and let them know I felt certain I would receive funding for three years.

Emmonak people could easily understand the potential of my approach. For the first time, they would be able to present their community as they saw it, without interpretation through an intermediary. In the past, meetings with government officials were held on the officials' terms, conducted in a bureaucratic sub-language and in a formal environment that was intimidating to them. Involvement in this new project would allow for interaction with government officials on their terms, for the first time.

Knowing that people would not be able to make an immediate decision regarding participation and that time for informal discussion was needed, I left Emmonak with the understanding they would contact me if they were interested in participating. Three weeks later I received a short-wave phone call from Jake Johnson. He said that after discussing my offer, the people of Emmonak agreed to work with me and made a commitment to the project.[4]

While the SKYRIVER: THE LOWER YUKON PROJECT grew out of the Fogo Island experience, I wanted to go beyond having an outsider like Snowden who acted on behalf of the communities by taking their film statements to government officials. I wanted to provide direct communication within and among villagers, and

[4](see Casey 1974) Once the funding arrived, I returned to Emmonak to begin what I called SKYRIVER: THE LOWER YUKON PROJECT. Under the terms of the agreement I had with Anne Michaels, I was free to innovate and experiment with my own approach to participatory development and the experimental use of video and film as organizational tools. Under the terms of the agreement, no quantitative objectives such as the completion of a specific number of films were established. Within a broad framework, I was free to innovate and experiment, to test and refine, an alternative approach to community development and public participation.

a direct exchange between the villagers and government decision makers. In the process of adapting to a different environment, a different culture, and a different set of circumstances, a new creation emerged.

In preparing a written description of what I planned to accomplish with the SKYRIVER: THE LOWER YUKON PROJECT, I concentrated on broad objectives. My overall purpose was to create a non-directive participatory development process in which video and film played a role.

In clarifying my primary objectives and how I was going to implement them, I wanted to be certain a community development process would be created, encouraging the full participation of Emmonak villagers in identifying their needs and aspirations while fostering local initiatives for solutions. I wanted to insure the process we were initiating would encourage Emmonak villagers to be *actors*, rather than *reactors*, to external forces that seemed beyond their control. A strategy and tools for building a community consensus would enable Emmonak villagers to transcend extended family factions and express themselves on their own terms.

I also believed it was important that the process encourage and provide for direct communication between Emmonak villagers and government officials (see Casey). I hoped the exchange would achieve more government accountability and responsiveness. My ultimate goal was to collaborate with Emmonak villagers in creating an organizational process they could build and grow beyond the need for assistance by an outsider.

In my written Statement of Purpose I also emphasized my focus was not going to be on the video and film technologies. I did not believe video, film and other communication technologies alone could start or create an organizational process. They could only enhance and strengthen (or harm) a process that already exists between human beings. Red Burns, the founder of New York University's Interactive Telecommunications Program, expressed how I felt when she said, "Technology is an idiot. It takes people with spirit to make it work." Reflecting this attitude, I wrote, without denigrating the media, I would be attempting to put the video and film tools in their proper perspective by emphasizing the participatory strategy that would emerge from the SKYRIVER process.

One of the O.E.O. staff questions was to explain the rationale for choosing Emmonak as the site for the project. By previously assisting the Emmonak fishermen in the development of their village-owned and operated fish marketing cooperative, I had built a relationship based on mutual respect and trust. I had also worked closely with both formal and informal leaders and had a good understanding of community values, social structure, and existing factionalism. I concluded that, due to the experimental nature of this project, I felt such prior knowledge would be an asset.

Although Emmonak was typical of the Lower Yukon region, it was not the worst village in the area (what O.E.O. staff referred to as the "farthest target"). People in Emmonak were aware they had problems, but they were not so overwhelmed by their situation that they had lost hope. They just did not always know what to do to solve their problems. They were willing to discuss changing their community for the better, particularly after the success of organizing the co-op. I felt that this openness was the necessary local attitude required for an outsider like me to be of assistance. I didn't

believe than an outsider could *convince* a community it had problems that could be resolved; there must be some initial awareness of this within the community.

I also mentioned that Emmonak villagers told me that their frustration wasn't because they didn't have enough government programs. Their greatest frustration was their lack of power to influence the external forces that affected their daily lives. Decisions were made without their input, and previous efforts to affect government officials had been mostly unsuccessful. The frustrations of Emmonak people were compounded by vast geographical barriers and cultural differences that intensified their inability to influence the governmental decision-making process to any significant degree.

All of the foregoing was included in my Statement of Purpose to O.E.O. I submitted it and then prepared a checklist of specific tactical and strategic objectives for myself. After reflecting on my four years of experience in Noorvik, Anchorage and Emmonak, it didn't take long to articulate what I wanted to do strategically.[5]

I believed the *process* of identifying their needs, and selecting opinion leaders to articulate them, would enhance the Emmonak villagers' sense of collective power by giving them the opportunity to exercise control over the process, the technology and the professional film crew. The process would provide for the accountability of the opinion leaders by requiring community-wide approval of their film statements before the films were taken out of the community.

When negative issues were raised and accepted, solutions would be discussed and agreed upon. The opinion leaders would then provide thoughtful, reasoned, and mature information for the community and the government officials to respond to. Village opinion leaders would also be selected through community-wide meetings to articulate the community position on positive issues and village accomplishments, as well as cultural and other special events. This was important to keep village problems in perspective.

To ensure that government officials would feel they were being treated fairly, I would guarantee the same editing rights exercised by the Emmonak opinion leaders when they made videotaped responses which would be returned to Emmonak. If the institutional response was not satisfactory to the Emmonak people, whey would select alternative courses of action that had been discussed and agreed upon before the first action outside the village took place.

If coalition building appeared necessary and was agreed upon, the appropriate film statement would be shown to other villages to get a focused response. Each one

[5]First, (see Gwyn 1972) I wanted to provide a candid exchange among extended family factions that would lead to a consensus on community-wide needs and issues. Once this process built momentum, opinion leaders from the extended family factions would be identified and allowed to emerge without threatening the formal leaders. Video and film tools would provide a highly visible way for these opinion leaders to act out their leadership. This was important because I knew the leaders in family factions would provide a more accurate and articulate expression of the community position and their statements would be the most respected. In order to build trust, all the film and video statements made by the opinion leaders were to be approved by them before anyone else in the village could view what they had to say, and the village as a whole had to approve a film or video statement before it could be screened beyond the village.

of these meetings would be videotaped to document the response(s) that would be forthcoming. The coalition statements would then be shown to appropriate decision-makers to provide a consensus opinion from a broader constituency to more effectively influence the government officials if needed.

I believed it was important to require Emmonak to select someone from the village as the local Social Mobilizer and discussion leader who could work with me. I wanted this done because I felt strongly the person chosen would have a stake in the issues and an accountability to Emmonak I would never have, no matter how well motivated and empathetic I was. I wanted to ensure the process would have integrity beyond me as a personality. If everything worked as I expected, each stage of my approach should evolve out of the previous steps in the process.

I hired the filmmaker recommended by O.E.O. on a freelance basis. Shortly after he was hired, the filmmaker and I accompanied Don Snowden to Labrador and Newfoundland to meet with Snowden's Memorial University field staff and film crew. When we returned from Canada, I brought the portable video equipment with me to Emmonak to begin the first series of community-wide meetings.

Although Emmonak was a small village of about 450 inhabitants, bringing people together to identify needs and issues was not as simple as might appear. A number of family factions existed, as well as natural groupings by age, and there was little communication among the different groups. People generally knew what everyone else was doing, but not necessarily what everyone *felt* or *thought*.

Video was useful at this stage as a means of bringing broad segments of the community together, defusing some of the existing hostilities, and enhancing the community's sense of shared interests. I introduced video in a very informal way by teaching people to use the camera and encouraging them to make unscripted tapes of family, friends, and village scenes.

A variety of tapes were made—some of purely entertainment value, some showing vignettes of village life, others expressing opinions on a specific issue. In the evening, people gathered in the evening in the community hall to see themselves and their neighbors on tape. Video was glamorous enough to attract large crowds, and gradually informal conversations turned into more serious discussions of substantive issues. Exchanges began taking place between the various factions, as problems that were normally discussed within extended family groups were brought before the total community. By reacting to each other's video statements, the people were able to set their own agenda for discussion without intervention or interference from a third party.

After the community reached consensus on a particular problem, they decided if it could be solved locally or if outside assistance was needed. For those issues where government assistance was anticipated, an individual or small group was selected to make a film statement of the problem and possible solutions. Each of the opinion leaders exercised complete control over the film statement, including editing rights, and could talk freely in Yup'ik or English for as long as desired.

Once the opinion leaders accepted the responsibility of articulating the community positions on film, they were given whatever time they needed to get ready. When the time came for them to state their positions on film, they decided when and where the

filming was to take place, who would interview them, and what language would be used.

To avoid leading questions, the opinion leaders outlined the main points they wanted to express prior to the actual statements. The interviewer's role was limited to assisting the opinion leaders to bring out, in as focused a manner as possible, the points they wanted to cover. I wanted the interviewers to act as an "amplifier" instead of an "interpreter."

Prior to the interview, each opinion leader was given the opportunity to get acquainted with the 16 mm equipment. The members of the film crew consisting of a director, camera, and sound operators were available to explain their role in the crew, as well as explaining the equipment.

Each interview that dealt with problems or needs was structured into two parts. The first was a statement of the problem or need. The second part included the opinion leader's suggested solution(s).

At the completion of the interview, the opinion leader listened to and reviewed the audio of the interview. If the spokesperson approved, the following Pre-Release Agreement was signed with SKYRIVER:

> I agree to allow the film_____to be seen by others only
> After I have reviewed the film and given my written approval.

After the film was processed in Seattle, Washington, it was returned to Emmonak. Each opinion leader privately screened the rough, uncut footage on a double-system Siemans projector, which allowed the unedited film and sound tape to be projected in synchronization. The opinion leaders had complete control over the editing process. They could make additions, deletions, or clarifications until they were satisfied with their film statements. When the opinion leaders approved the film statement, the following Release Agreement with SKYRIVER was signed:

> I agree the film_____is a fair representation of my views and opinions, and I will allow it to be seen by others.

When the first round of film statements was completed in August, a meeting was held to decide when the community-wide screening should take place. After much discussion. everyone agreed to wait until January. They felt that people would be too busy with subsistence hunting and fishing activities, and with the holiday season, to fully participate.

For three weeks in January, the first film statements were shown to the entire community twice daily each afternoon and evening. There were three films shown at each screening—one negative, one positive and one cultural or fun film.

Ray Waska, the local Social Mobilizer selected by the community, served as the moderator of the community discussions. If there was general agreement on the statement of the problem and the solution, the film was accepted to represent the community position. IF no consensus could be reached, the film was shelved for later consideration.

Once a film statement was accepted, anyone in the community could add comments on film to the initial statement. The Positive film statements about community accomplishments, as well as cultural and special events went through the same process as the Negative issue films. Each one of the community discussions was videotaped for reference purposes and for villagers not able to attend a specific screening.

At this stage of the SKYRIVER process, I provided information to the community about the governmental decision-making process as it affected each issue on which they had just reached consensus. I explained the roles, relationships and the authority of the key governmental officials that made decisions affecting the particular problem or issue. When the community felt they had enough information about potential courses of actions, I prepare a Distribution Release, a signed by the City Council President on behalf of the community. It read as follows:

> Based on the discussions held in the community of Emmonak during the month of_____it is agreed that the film _____ is a fair representation of the opinions held
>
> By the people in the community; also based on the discussions held in the community, we want this film distributed to:
>
> _____
>
> _____
>
> _____
>
> _____

Community consensus films were shown to appropriate government officials who were given the opportunity to react on videotape. Every official who did so was given the same editing rights as the community members, and signed the same Release Agreement previously used by the Emmonak opinion leaders. If the institutional response or action was not satisfactory to the community, they selected alternative courses of action that were already discussed and agreed upon before the first action beyond the community took place.

If coalition-building was agreed upon, the appropriate film statement was shown to other communities to get a focused response, and the meetings were videotaped to document the forthcoming responses. The coalition statement was then shown to appropriate decision-makers in the hope a consensus opinion from a broader constituency would more effectively influence the government officials.

My role throughout the process was subtle, but significant. During initial discussions, I attempted to draw out community members, encouraging full expression of local ideas and opinions without imposing my agenda on the community. During videotaping and filming sessions, if I was the interviewer, I agreed to the parameters set by the community opinion leaders. This prevented me from introducing my biases by asking leading questions.

More importantly, I strived to bolster the self-confidence of the community by focusing on their competencies, not on how my expertise was going to somehow compensate for what was lacking in the Emmonak community. I truly believed Emmonak people were capable of acting independently. This belief in the community became the foundation on which my strategies and tools were applied.

During the initial stages of SKYRIVER, I served as the Social Mobilizer (see Kennedy). In time, I began working with and training Ray Waska, the young man who was selected by the community. Ray Waska worked beside me until he became more comfortable with his role as a Social Mobilizer, he gradually took over my role. Over the course of the project, this allowed me to slowly disengage. Eventually, my presence became redundant.

Case no. 1 William Trader: The Children Leave For School[6]

What is particularly interesting about this issue is the fact that it had existed for many years, and for the most part, parents had suffered in silence. It was not even discussed within extended family groups. When it was raised during community meetings…, the intensity of the response was astounding even to the community itself. Individuals had not known that their feelings were shared by others. Once it came out in the open, discussions were intense and prolonged and boarding schools quickly emerged as a priority issue.

Community members then selected William Trader to serve as their opinion leader to articulate their position on film. Trader determined the time, setting, language and format of his film statement as well as the person he would be talking to on film.

William wanted to speak while mending his nets during the subsistence fishing break in the commercial season. He wanted to talk about his daughter Martina and to speak in English. He wanted to be shot of him and his wife Martha and their children working as a subsistence family. He asked that his statement end with the cutaways of the children being put on a bush plane taking the eighth grade graduates to Chillicco Indian School in Oklahoma.

Before filming began, William explained the main points he wanted to convey. His wishes were strictly adhered to. No attempt was made to pose provocative, leading questions or to otherwise exert control over the statement being made.

The result was a simple, (see Kennedy 2008) but powerful 13-min film that no professional documentary filmmaker or community development field worker could have scripted. William, made his statement while mending his salmon net, expressed

[6](see Kennedy 2008) One of the earliest issues to emerge in Emmonak concerned the practice of sending children to BIA boarding schools. Since village schools in rural Alaska went only though the eighth grade, parents were faced with two unacceptable choices: they could keep their children at home and deprive them of the opportunity e it came out in the that further schooling might provide, or they could send them off to boarding schools as far away as Oklahoma and Oregon. The latter option often meant saying goodbye forever to the children as they knew them, since they often returned embittered and hostile toward village life, if they returned at all.

very personal terms his feelings about sending his daughter Martina to a BIA boarding school miles away from Emmonak.

> It's kinda hard for both of us while she (Martina) is out in Wrangell. …Martina has been asking in her letters to come home. Of course, it was the first time she went out; maybe next year it might be easier for her. I don't know. Seems to me it will be pretty hard for her yet, cause she's not used to being away from the folks.
>
> Before she went out to Wrangell, she never had to be told to do homework (baking bread, helping with the younger children). When she came back from school, she forgot completely her homework, and we found out she changed her way of doing things. She only learned to read, talk English, and to do her arithmetic, all that sort of thing…

William offered a potential solution to the problem:

> If we had a high school (in Emmonak) that would save the kids from going out to school. It would be real good for this whole village. Not only to this village, but to the other closer villages too. Every weekend, if there's kids from Alakanuk or Kotlik, they could go home for a weekend and come back on Sunday evening. A regional high school would be much help for the kids on either side of us, to have our kids. To learn in both ways—Eskimo ways and English ways.

When William finished his statement, he listened to himself on the headphone. Afterwards, the film crew packed the equipment in a wheelbarrow and headed back to our log cabin at the other end of the village. When discussing his statement with me, William said he wished he had said something about his real fears about sending Martina to boarding school. I asked him if he wanted me to run and get the film crew to come back so he could add to his statement. He said yes and I got the disgruntled film crew to return and film William's additional comments. William added;

> There are two reasons why I don't like to see Martina leave from here for school in wintertime. One reason is: Now suppose for instance, if I were to die suddenly or have a heart attack, and she learned about me and rushed home, if they ever sent her home. I don't know how she's going to feel if she saw me lying down covered with a white sheet, and she can't ask me no questions or didn't know anything about what happened. But if she was here with me all the time and know from the time I was going to die, she would feel much more better, I think. And another thing I don't like to have happen to her on her way to school in wintertime. Now suppose, if she crashed with a plane and that'll be the end of her life and I'll never see her again.

At the end of his additional statement, William signed a SKYRIVER Pre-Release agreement which I also signed. At William's suggestion, his remarks were interspersed with scenes of his family working together fishing for salmon in the summertime, and his film ended with footage of children boarding a bush plane on their way to BIA boarding high schools. The look of concern and sorrow on the faces of parents saying good-bye to their children needed no narration, and indeed conveyed feelings that could not have been experienced with words.

After William, accompanied by his wife Martha, screened and approved his film in August, and signed the SKYRIVER Release agreement, it was reviewed in January by the entire village during a three week period chosen by them.

William's film was shown eight times, with emotionally charged discussions following each screening. There was enthusiastic support for everything William

said. The most radical comments about William's solution came from an unexpected source: the elders. One of the oldest elders in Emmonak stood up and said in Yup'ik, "We should take our kids out of these schools. I never been to white man's schools for one day and I do pretty good for myself." This option was unthinkable for the vast majority of the villagers, (who had been to white man's schools) but the contribution these comments by the elders made to the overall discussions on the boarding school problem was to accelerate the energy in the entire community on this issue.

After William's film was approved by a consensus arrived at from the village discussions, one of the first places the film was shown was at a meeting of council presidents, representing 57 Yup'ik villages in the Southeastern Alaska region, and officials from the state Department of Education. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain local input on the educational needs of rural Alaska. Ordinarily such gatherings were quite perfunctory, with government officials listing their priorities and villagers offering a few polite suggestions accompanied by some Native drum dancing and local food tasting.

When Ray Waska screened William Trader's film and its sequel, it altered the whole tenor of the regional meeting. Village representatives were heartened by the sight of a fellow villager like themselves speaking articulately and powerfully (albeit in less than perfect English) on a matter of such vital importance. It gave their own feelings and opinions a sense of worth that only a fellow villager could give them and encouraged them to talk freely to the officials present.

The strong positive response from the Commissioner of Education and State Board of Education members was a dramatic start to the film showings around the State. Eventually, the director of the Alaska Legal Services Corporation asked to see William's film. He immediately sent staff attorney Chris Cooke to Emmonak. This led to a class action lawsuit that led to an Alaska wide plebiscite that voted to allocate $149,000,000 to build high schools in 200 rural Alaskan villages.

While William Trader's film led to very dramatic positive action, other important issues were raised and went through the same film screenings in Emmonak and with government decision-makers dealing with issues such as a government village housing project, a village electrification project, and other issues. These issues are fully covered in my book Where The Rivers Meet The Sky.

BEYOND THE DOCUMENTARY[7]

I explained to the filmmakers, although I had the highest regard for the documentary tradition as a form of expression, I did not believe it was applicable to my needs as a development field worker who was trying to increase the participation of the people I was assisting. I asked them to view the SKYRIVER films to learn how they were used.

[7](see Kennedy 1973) Not long after I became the Program Producer of the National Film Board of Canada's Challenge for Change Program, I was asked to bring some of the SKYRIVER films to Toronto and screen them for two important young NFB filmmakers. They had heard a rumor I was negating the documentary as a force for social change. I looked forward to meeting with them to clarify my position.

After watching the films, in the context of my presentation, both filmmakers recommended, in the future, prior to showing any of the SKYRIVER films, I should project a full five minutes of blank leader to impress upon my audience how much time and effort is spent on all the steps of the participatory development process before any visual media was introduced. They thought this would help the viewer put the visual media tools in their proper context.

Inevitably, I can anticipate whenever I do give a presentation on the SKYRIVER use of visual media as tools for collaboration, the audience will have a preconceived idea of how they can be used for participatory development and social change. They tend to think I am only talking about a more sensitive version of the conventional social documentary approach, in which a "concerned" filmmaker records a situation, event, or person(s) for the expressed purpose of making a film that will stand on its own, a film that will be shown through a one-way screening process to as many people as possible. The documentary filmmaker anticipates the consciousness of the audience will be raised and some people will be enlightened, experiencing a change in attitude leading to some form of action.

This approach is really another manifestation of advocacy and suffers from all of the weaknesses and problems that happen when someone acts on behalf of others. I have examined the following elements and characteristics of the social documentary to explain why I do not believe it is applicable to the SKYRIVER process.

The focus of the relationship with those being "documented" is on the expertise and concern of the filmmaker. Although filmmakers refer to the people being "documented" as film subjects, the real subject of a documentary film is the filmmaker's interpretive vision. The people being "documented" are, in effect, the objects of the filmmaker's vision,

Today, with the digital revolution, visual media has become more portable and easier to learn for non-professionals. My interest is in showing community development field workers how to use these visual tools in the SKYRIVER process. I believe this is more productive than trying to teach filmmakers how to become community development field workers.

Typology of Development Field Worker Attitudes and Roles[8]

Attitudes: Pity, Sympathy, Empathy

Pity, Sympathy and Empathy are three fundamental attitudes that determine how a person will respond to a community or group who requests our assistance. Each attitude has its unique characteristics and influences on human behavior. A person who is attempting to assist a community or group will act out one of these attitudes,

[8](see Kennedy 2008) Over time, began to identify and define the different attitudes of community development field workers during my eleven years of living and working in Alaskan Native villages. Eventually, I began to connect these attitudes to their impact on the roles I observed community development field workers acting out:

and in so doing will determine the level and degree of involvement with the people he or she is assisting.

Pity

Pity, for instance, is characterized by a concern or regret for one considered inferior, and by a condescending or paternalistic attitude. This attitude implies a disposition to help, but little or no emotional or intellectual sharing of the distress. In Native Alaskan villages I observed a pitying attitude on the part of field workers who traveled to as many as five villages a day, trying to help what they considered to be a "decimated" people. They believed the problems were unsurmountable, that the villagers were either hapless victims or brought their misfortune on themselves. The pitying person felt the most they could do was make the villagers a little more comfortable in their hopeless situation.

Sympathy

Sympathy is characterized by a feeling of sorrow for the distress of another, but connotes a spontaneous emotion rather than a considered attitude. Although the sympathetic person tends to become more involved than the individual acting out of pity, it is based primarily on the sympathetic person's terms. Because there is no interest in taking the time to determine how the other person who is being assisted perceives his or her situation, the person acting out of sympathy inevitably creates a one-sided relationship.

Empathy

Empathy goes beyond sympathy and is characterized by a conscious involvement with a person's situation, in the sense of vicarious identification. Empathy implies a willingness to take the time to learn and understand how the other person perceives a person, place, or situation. The empathetic individual is willing to become vulnerable to the other person by being involved in open-ended relationship on the other person's terms

Roles: Social Broker, Social Advocate, Social Mobilizer

Social Broker

The development field worker (see Kennedy 2008) who works as a Social Broker serves both as a "go-between" controlling the information flow between communities and groups and government decision-makers. There is a minimum amount of involvement and identification with either party. By brokering the information flow, the Social Broker effectively prevents any direct interaction between the communities, groups, and government decision-makers, thus making all of these parties dependent on the power broker. Because of this relationship the Social Broker does not raise expectations that change will occur. When the Social Broker role is acted out it leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy that leads to overt dependency

Social Advocate

The development field worker as a Social Advocate acts on behalf of the community or group he or she represents. His or her emphasis is on changing the attitudes of government decision-makers in the hope if they are properly enlightened or coerced, they will become more responsive. He or she does not assist the community or group members in acquiring the knowledge and confidence to eventually act on their own behalf. Social Advocates are usually "issue or program oriented" and do not think

in terms of an on-going process of community development. The resolution of an issue or the initiation of a program are ends in themselves. The Social Advocate role creates a self-fulfilling prophecy leading to an insidious dependency.

Social Mobilizer

Unlike the Social Advocate, whose emphasis is on changing the attitudes of government decision-makers, the Social Mobilizer's primary concern is to create an attitude change within the community being assisted. The Social Mobilizer believes the community will eventually develop a sense of collective power which, when exercised in a responsible manner, will provoke an institutional response from government decision-makers, whether they change their attitudes or not. The Social Mobilizer role also encourages a double-edged self-fulfilling prophecy, but without dependency. The community members, by acting out the process of identifying their own needs, arriving at a consensus for action, and then taking their own direct action, live up to the expectations of the Social Mobilizer, who firmly believes the community members are capable of planning and implementing their own social change process.

Roles: Social Broker, Social Advocate, Social Mobilizer

FEATURES OF THE SKYRIVER PROCESS[9]

While I was receiving much recognition for my *social invention*, some people were experiencing a letdown when I made my presentations. After hearing my presentation at USAID headquarters in Washington D.C., one official, who was responsible for the Francophone countries in Africa, asked me afterwards in an exasperated tone, "That's it?" He then whisked me into his office, closed the door, and said, "Look, I'm responsible for 14 countries. Can you give me a package I can use for all of them? I told him although I believed the SKYRIVER process could be applied in many development situations, it could never be contained in a "package." Before I could finish stating what I thought the general features of the SKYRIVER process were, I was summarily dismissed. Although the SKYRIVER process is by 11 definition impossible to package, there are general features (see Kennedy 2008) I believe are applicable to a wide variety of situations.

[9](see Kennedy 2008) Over the years since I began the seminal work in the SKYRIVER process, have received numerous requests for information on the transferable aspects of the participatory development strategy and visual tools that were used. These requests were problematic for me because my involvement in the SKYRIVER: LOWER YUKON PROJECT was originally for one purpose to leave a positive legacy for my village Alaskan friends to build on after I was gone. I did not anticipate the interest that has built up internationally over the years, especially from people working in developing nations. I found myself in the unanticipated position of being labeled as a pioneer in participatory development and intercultural communication, one who was expected to expound on the transferable aspects of an overall strategy and approach. I had great difficulty adjusting to this role.

Table 1 Roles: Social Broker, Social Advocate, Social Mobilizer

Social broker	Social advocate	Social mobilizer
Pity	Sympathy	Empathy
Social intervention	Social intervention	Social intervention
Interpretation	Interpretation	Intense invention
Citizens are consumers	Citizens are consumers	Citizens are producers
Passive-reactive	Passive-reactive	Active
Autocratic	Majority rule	Consensus
Vertical: top-down	Vertical: top-down	Horizontal: two-way exchange
Overt dependency	Insidious dependency	Collaboration leading to independence
Directed social change	Directed social change	Non-directed social change
Issue or program oriented	Issue or program oriented	Ongoing process of change
Focus on expertise of broker	Focus on expertise of advocate	Focus on citizen competencies
Maintains status-quo (no expectations raised)	Encourages social change (raise expectations)	Encourages social change (raise expectations)
Expert sets agenda	Expert sets agenda	Citizens set agenda
Expert controls parameters of discussion	Expert controls parameters of discussion	Citizens control parameters of discussion
Does not expect attitude change	Encourage external attitude change	Encourage internal attitude change leading to citizen action
Expert controls time frame—sets pace	Expert controls time frame—sets pace	Citizen control time frame—sets pace
Expert acts as spokesperson	Expert acts as spokesperson	Acts as coach, advisor, collaborator
Indirect communication (once removed)	Indirect communication (once removed)	Direct communication
Serves as 'go-between' between two or more	Acts on behalf of constituents/citizens	Mobilizer of other people's competencies
Technology and technical skills controlled by specialized expert	Technology and technical kills controlled by specialized expert	Technology and technical skills controlled by citizens—with assistance
Mass media	Mass media	Personal media
Editor/Gatekeeper	Reporter/Journalist	Teacher/Mobilizer
Leaves no legacy of skills, tools, strategies	Leaves no legacy of skills, tools, strategies	Leaves legacy of skills, tools, strategies
No respect	Respect citizens once they get organized	Respect citizens for what they are

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Social broker	Social advocate	Social mobilizer
Compensates for what is lacking	Compensates for what is lacking	Assists to recognize what skills, talents already exist
The assisted are the objects of process	The assisted are the objects of process	The assisted are the subjects of process
Product oriented	Product oriented	Process oriented
Expert controls content, structure, context	Expert controls content, structure, context	Citizens control content, structure, context
Problem solving model	Problem solving model	Collective visioning model

1. Unlike advocacy, collaboration focuses on the process of change, on organizing and mobilizing the competencies of citizens, instead of the resolution of an issue as an end in itself.
2. The SKYRIVER process contains mechanisms that insure accountability of the Social Mobilizer (and local leaders) and prevents the imposition of external agendas, parameters of discussion, and time frames.
3. The process is respectful of both citizens and responsible decision-makers by giving both parties the opportunity to present their views in a direct manner without the distortion that cfc often results from the use of an intermediary—an advocate.
4. Citizens control of all phases of the SKYRIVER process, coupled with sensitive use of visual tools, encourages the development of a sense of collective power that compensates for the inequities of social and economic status and cultural differences.
5. The SKYRIVER process begins with local issues and needs, but allows for the building of coalitions with other communities and alliances with decision-makers when strategically useful.
6. The SKYRIVER process fosters development of community initiated solutions, not just descriptions of problems or complaints, thus providing mature and constructive information for decision-makers to respond to.
7. Formal leaders at the local community level are not ignored or circumvented.
8. The SKYRIVER process provides a way to use the specialized expertise of researchers, technicians, and professional **without them driving the system**.

The flexible nature of the SKYRIVER process I have described lends itself to a variety of applications – as an alternative to the public hearing process, in worker participation and ownership efforts, conflict resolution, participatory research, organizational development, urban-rural development, and development communication – virtually any situation where public participation is a desirable goal and where problems relating to equity and communication serve as barriers to this end.

While this approach can be learned, it is not an ideology or technique that can by memorized and applied universally in a series of rigidly defined steps. It is not a formula. It is a process, in time, to be used in an open-ended and responsive manner

according to the requirements of varying circumstances. Adaptation and evolution are inherent to the SKYRIVER process and remain key determinants of its success.

REUNION IN EMMONAK

On June 21, 2018, accompanied by a film crew consisting of two faculty colleagues and a former member of the original SKYRIVER film crew, I took two connecting flights from Anchorage, ultimately arriving at the Lower Yukon village of Emmonak. With the salmon run in full force, the activity of the fishermen arriving at the fishery production plant was in full swing. Although I had kept up with the progress being made by all of the sustainable changes in housing, electrification and education as evidenced by the four high tech wind generators, the Emmonak high school, and other infrastructural advancements, I was amazed by the size and activity of the expanded fishery operation that has emerged from the initial village salmon co-op. The fishery today has become a regional operation covering an area the size of the state of Oregon. The fishery has expanded into house and boat building and has established a college scholarship fund. Large cargo planes now fly into a much larger airstrip to take the salmon to far corners of the globe.

The most heartening highlight of my time in Emmonak was being able to reunite with the most important leaders who played major roles in the SKYRIVER process. Although we talked a lot reminiscing about old times, we also spent time alone just talking as old friends. A lot of laughing and some tears. We talked quite a bit about having me return at a better time of the year to make a presentation of the films and the history changing sustainable effect of what happened almost half a century ago to the younger generation. My goal now is to make the return trip.

On December 7, 2018 a press release from the U.S. Department of Transportation announced a $23,000,000 grant was approved to build a large cutting edge pier in Emmonak that will provide infrastructure for the fishery and other economic development for the entire Lower Yukon Region, dramatically increasing the significance of Emmonak as the economic hub for this entire area of rural Alaska.

Sure Ducks!

References

Casey, R., (Ed.). (1974). Videotaping Process in Community Development. In *Instructional Technology Report,* Washington: Academy for Educational Development, (July–August) 1+3.

Fuglesang, A. (1973). *Applied Communication in Developing Countries: Ideas and Observations.* Uppsala: The Dag Hammerskjold Foundation.

Gwyn, S. (1972). *Cinema as Catalyst: Film, Videotape and Social Change: A Report on the Seminar,* St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland Extension Service.

Kennedy, T. (1973). The Skyriver Project: The Story of a Process. Access. *National Film Board of Canada Challenge for Change Program*, *12* (Summer) 3–21.

Kennedy, T. (1982). Beyond Advocacy: A Facilitative Approach to Public Participation. *The Journal of the University Film and Video Association, 34* (Summer), 33–46.

Kennedy, T. (1989). Community Animation–An Open Ended Process. *Media Development Journal, 3/1989, 5–7*. London: World Association for Christian Communication.
Kennedy, T. (1999). Implementing a New Departure for the Millenium. In *InterMedia,* 27, Vol. No. 4, London: International Institute for Communications.
Kennedy, T. (2008). *Where The Rivers Meet The Sky: A collaborative approach to participatory development*. Penang: Southbound.
Lewis, P. (1977). *Video in Non-Formal Education: A Bibliographic Study*. Paris: UNESCO.
Low, C. (1974). Media as Mirror. In *A Resource for the Active Community*. Ottawa: Broadcast Programs and Research Branches of the Canadian Radio Television Commission, Information Canada, Cat. No. BC 92c (May) 21–28.
Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for Development: One World, Multiple Cultures*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Servaes, J. (2007). *Moving Targets: Mapping the paths between communication, technology and social change in communities*. Southbound: Penang.
Servaes, J. (2008). Communication for Development and Social Change. India: Sage Publications Inc.
Snowden, D. (1998). Eyes See, Ears Hear. In D. Richardson, & I. Paisley (Eds.). Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.
Whyte, W. F. (1997). *Creative Problem Solving in the Field: ReflectIons on a Career*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Growing up with and Within an Emerging Field: A Professional-Personal Development Story

Birgitte Jallov

A Personal Introduction

As '*a reflected and reflecting practitioner*', I have always based my practice upon a combination of collected, existing evidence, and systematic collection of additional insights missing. Besides from this I have operated in fields that have been emerging during my years as a development practitioner, and where I—along with colleagues in the field—have had the privilege and challenge to co-create along the way, having thereby also had an influence on developments: community media did exist in some geographical areas, but I have accompanied the mushrooming of it in my work areas in Northern Europe, Africa and Asia—along with a focus on its importance for women; building up the first C4D unit in the ILO in the late 80s based on limited existing practice world-wide, I have since taken part in the materialisation of what is now a recognized technical field of practice; and I have taken active part in the discussion and formation of approaches to and methods for media development at the national arena, during a period where democratization of many post-socialist realities in Africa, Asia and Europe has meant dramatic changes—and struggles. I have done this as a manager of media development programmes and as an adviser to and evaluator of them. In all these areas, I have taken actively part in development discussions at the platforms where these take place.

At the same time, I entered this world of development at a point in time where there was no dedicated education to prepare yourself for this professional field through studying 'Development studies', 'Communication for Development' or the like. My engagement in this field has thus been constructed by myself, and in describing it, this process has also—for the first time—become visible to me: the political value-based

B. Jallov (✉)
Director, EMPOWERHOUSE, Gudhjem, Denmark
e-mail: birgitte@empowerhouse.dk

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_12

focus on the development of a space for personal empowerment[1] and the work to advance an enabling environment with space for democracy and justice.

Four Personal Cornerstones—The Basis for My Approach and Practice

I was born just 8 years after Eleanor Roosevelt presented the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* as the US delegate to the 'United Nations', established just three years before that. This document and all it stands for, I learnt about from a very young age in my Danish public school—celebrating the annual UN day October 24—and from my family[2] importantly engaged in the local UN association. The declaration and all that it stands for became—naturally—one of the early guiding stars in my life.

The second guiding star I picked up when interning 1982–1983 with the 'Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press',[3] a women and media think tank in Washington DC. The Institute subscribed to three principles for Feminist Journalism[4] of which the third: "*People should speak for themselves*", resonated with some deep-felt conviction and sense of justice and space for all inside me.

It was with these two early cornerstones in place I moved into the wold of work, along with *feminism*, a third one represented by an *engagement in the women's movement.* This influenced all other engagements professionally and privately, and made it a natural next step to put an important part of my civic engagement work into an organisation like 'KULU-Women and development'.[5] The fourth and final cornerstone was represented by *my MA degree and qualifications* in Strategic Communication, with focus on Alternative Media and Civic Action, Gender and Culture.

With the 'International Development Studies' not yet active at my university[6]—and its coordination with communication studies even less so—*I entered the world of communication for and in development* through my own mix and match of approaches and disciplines, all continually tested and filtered through my personal, lived experience.

---

[1] 'Empowerment' is in this article meant to represent the work by an individual to gain understanding of and thus take charge of her/his own life. I, the author of this article, have seen myself as a facilitator of these processes, as a respectful listener, asking questions, facilitating change.

[2] My father was the local chairman, my grandmother the treasurer – and related issues were at the core of many dinner talks, also when my school-teacher-father invited African, Asian and Latin American resource persons visiting the school, home for dinner.

[3] Wifp.org.

[4] The three WIFP principles of feminist journalism were, already in the late 70s and early 80s three: No attack on people; More factual information; and People should speak for themselves. http://www.wifp.org/philosophy/3-principles-of-feminist-journalism/.

[5] http://www.kulu.dk/english.

[6] I studied at Copenhagen University 1976–1980 and Roskilde University 1980–1983. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08039410.2012.709985?src=recsys&journalCode=sfds20.

My Values—My Filter for Decisions, Advice and Evaluation

Common to all my work is the recognition that working with development cannot and should not be 'neutral'. It must be based in a clear set of values.[7] And while values are often primarily unconscious, they nevertheless act like a filter and affect our assessment of what is right and what is wrong. What to do, and what not to do. In my practice I have always found it of importance to strive to be aware of my attitude—values and filters—in order to make this set of value-based filters openly known.

Developing My Core Approaches to Work with Communication for and in Development

With the cornerstones in place, the following are some of the core practices that emerged, and which continue to form the basis of my practice 50 years after I began to 'live with' the human rights standards as a very young school girl and 37 years after I adopted WIFP's feminist journalism codex.

For Sustainable Change, Ownership Is at the Core and the Agenda Should Be Set by People Themselves

An important component and approach in my 'toolbox' grew forward when I, at the alternative Forum of the UN Women's Conference in 1980 in Copenhagen, experienced how American feminists called for a campaign against female genital mutilation. This was countered by African women who also wanted its eradication but wanted to set the agenda themselves. I and many other 'northerners' were appalled alongside our African friends by the patriarchal approach, and agreed that such a framework for action should not be externally introduced: people need to speak for themselves, and then call on others for collaboration, action and solidarity.

Building on Existing Experience and Strengths Generates Empowerment—and All that Comes with It

When working with people and with communities, my entry point has always been to build on existing experience and strengths where I work, as a basis to unfold

[7] "Values are primarily an unconscious process… they are also central to how we approach our work and how we go about achieving results…." http://www.impactsolutions.com.au/?page_id=336.

visions and change. This, whether working with a community to develop their own communication systems, when facilitating (training) workshops or when evaluating a programme, a station or an organisation. Focusing on what works, on potentials and successes, and building on this, generates empowerment. As a UNDP programme officer wrote to me after an evaluation of a community radio project in Lao PDR 2006:

> …I would like to stress once again that it was a pleasure for all of us to work with you. Rather than scared and awed by the unresolved issues, your mission has left everyone here energetic and keen to tackle what is left to do – quite a remarkable outcome of an evaluation mission! …

Also, when not knowing about Appreciative Inquiry[8] until much later, the core of my approach to work—and to life—matches the core principles of the 'Appreciative Inquiry' work method.

Developing a Critical Consciousness, Understanding Your Own Space in the World—Basis for Change

Through engagement of communities actively in assessments, community mapping and research, reviews and evaluations, the insights gained by the participants through the processes, provide them with a whole new level of understanding of who they are, the context in which they live and work—the power (im-)balances and subsequently their action range in their lives. This is so many times more empowering and sustainable than any such work carried out by outsiders, simply presenting the results of the efforts to the community. It is important to be a part of the full process, engage with the data collection, the interviews—and then the analysis of it all: Really powerful![9] Bringing this methodology with me from the women's movement, it has roots in liberation thinking best known from Latin America's Liberation Theology[10] and Paulo Freire's education and activist practice and theories.[11]

The 'Most Significant Change'[12] approach to story-based evaluation is another entry point to raise a community's awareness, which I have used in different adaptations with important impact.[13] The technique among others brings the community together in defining, analysing and prioritizing change. For many community

[8] https://appreciativeinquiry.champlain.edu/learn/appreciative-inquiry-introduction/.

[9] In Jessica Noske-Turner's: "Rethinking Media Development through Evaluation – Beyond Freedom" (2017) she among others documents the use of participatory techniques in evaluation: "Of these four [(midterm-)evaluations] described as participatory, three were authored or co-authored by Birgitte Jallov, who is known among the media assistance community for her use of these kinds of approaches…".

[10] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberation_theology.

[11] https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/education-for-critical-consciousness-9781780937816/.

[12] http://www.mande.co.uk/docs/MSCGuide.pdf.

[13] http://empowerhouse.dk/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/measuring_change-BJ-article.pdf.

members this is their first experience approaching their own life situation as something that can be addressed and changed by them (moving from being objects of their own development towards becoming subjects of it) and taking an active role in setting priorities.

International Networking to Develop Strength Through Knowledge and Experience Sharing and Solidarity

A half year self-organised internship 1982–1983 at the 'Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press' in Washington D.C. gave me an insight into women's media and communication related research and action in many parts of the world, and a good network of women—also in the UN.

Upon return and based in my own alternative communication praxis within the women's movement and the budding community radio and TV movement in my native Denmark, I in 1983 travelled Europe to learn how others had worked in these areas here. Moving from country to country I thus identified—and documented—women's alternative radio stations and collectives, and their praxis, and shared it with a global audience in the first AMARC conference in Montreal 1983,[14] and in my report: "Women on Air" (1983, Roskilde University).[15]

Similarly, I focused my participation at the 1985 Alternative Forum of the UN Women's Conference in Nairobi on video-documenting how African women used media and communication for their own liberation and development purposes and shared this within my network of women's media and communication movements in many European countries upon return.[16] A trip to India in 1986 complemented the series of African documentaries with Indian voices.

I have always engaged with existing networks—or created networks—for sharing of experience and for support and solidarity. This has included the work already mentioned to find, document and network with women's alternative media and media fora in Europe, Africa and India; being a member for four years and for two the convenor of the ILO Staff group on 'Action for Equality'; on the steering committee of the first AMARC conference in Montreal, Canada (1982–1984); a member of the Panos London board for 15 years of which the chair of the board for 7; an associate of the global network of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, a US-based Women and Media think tank; a board member of the International Association of

[14]This was in the early 1980 s, before any internet search opportunities, and before community media and women's radio activists had established any collaboration platforms and no systematic documentation, directories existed. Read more here: https://empowerhouse.dk/site/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Womens-panel-presentation-by-Birgitte-Jallov-compressed3.pd3 and the 2020 foreword page 4 here: https://empowerhouse.dk/site/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Women-on-the-air-1983-womens-CR-in-Europe-Birgitte-Jallov.pdf

[15]https://tinyurl.com/yyfdot5h

[16]http://empowerhouse.dk/site/empowerhouse-publications/films-and-video/.

Women in Radio and TV; and a board member—now President—of the Community Media Forum Europe.

Systematizing Experience—A Reflected and Reflecting Practitioner

In the meantime, I had finalised my MA thesis 'A Counter Image in Sound' (1982)[17] with two colleagues. Based on our engagement with the budding community radio movement and work in the women's radio in Copenhagen, Denmark, we explore in our thesis the political and socio-cultural situation of women in view of the movement's call for refunctioning of women's reality and opportunities. And we discuss, map and propose how radio can be a platform for the debate, dialogue and encouragement needed for women to become much more visible in our own right by moving out on the public stages including the cultural ones and in the media.

This body of work: readings, travels to share and learn through interaction with women and their media, analysis and confrontation with reflections of others, came to form **the fourth cornerstone**.

A couple of beginnings of PhD studies (once at the Institute of Social Studies in den Haag, the Netherlands, with Cees Hamelink; once at my own University in Roskilde, Denmark), have always come in second, when opportunities popped up to take on practical communication and development work. However, through regular occasions to reflect on and document my work, I have had the opportunity to remain in the practical sphere, being of use, striving to equip communities, organisations and individuals with communication capacity and tools to move forward. And I have learnt a lot as part of my work, where I have had to continually develop new tools and methods in response to challenges met in my longer-term (advisory) engagements and when taking part in formative evaluation processes. Regularly stepping back to reflect on what I was doing, creating and learning along the way; what worked and what did not work. All of this has given me my reflected ensemble found in my 'toolbox'. Spaces of reflection have been when contributing to and engaging in conferences, through writing articles, or when invited to contribute to the field through university lectures and workshops.

Summarising the basis upon which I have engaged actively in the field of Communication for Development for the past more than 30 years, the personal patchwork of important cornerstones and resulting work approaches, have made up the basis for the engaging and empowering processes, which I have sought to facilitate in my work life. This is the basis upon which I in this article take on Jan Servaes' invitation and challenge to reflect on the process of being part of the creation of an emerging sector.

[17] "Et modbillede I lyd. En metodeudvikling i forhold til formidling til kvinder med særligt henblik på nærradio." by Birgitte Jallov, Birgit Skovgaard Petersen and Anne Wegeberg. Roskilde University, 1982, Denmark.

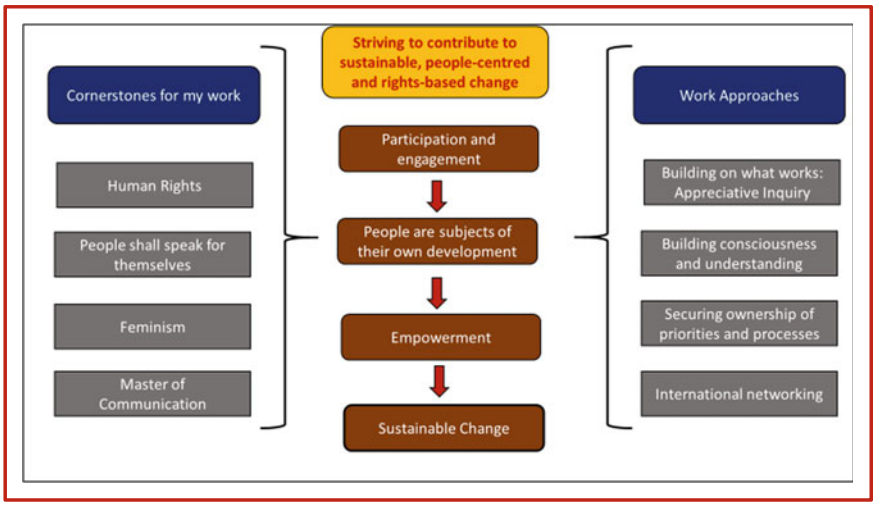

Fig. 1 Cornerstones and Work Approaches

Development of a Field: Communication and Media at the Service of People's Empowerment, Rights and Democracy

April 1st, 2018[18] marked the 30-year anniversary turning my activist engagement and my early work experience with communication and media[19] into full time employment as *a communicator for development.* This was at the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Head Office in Geneva, recruited—and working—as a journalist, covering ILO's work and priorities in Africa.

It quickly became clear to me that rather than covering the world, journalistically, *from the outside,* I wanted to use my communication and media background *inside development processes.* I wanted to take part in strengthening 'sustainable, people-centred and rights-based change', as highlighted in the model above, unfolding the different aspects driving my commitment and conviction.

[18] As April 1st 1988 was good Friday, I moved into my office some days later than that.

[19] **Media research**: 6 months research in think tank and one-year thesis; **Radio**: 4 years part time producing community radio and training newcomers; **TV**: 2 years full time work with local TV; **Print**: 1½ years as a magazine editor; and **CfSC**: 1 year empowerment-focused work including workshops for unemployed Danish women, doing video about their own life; inter-active housing estate radio.

The colleagues working with people-centred development and Women in Development in the ILO agreed that they needed such a function (for the first time[20]), and while I researched with other UN agencies and academia (no internet in 1988, but I wrote, called and travelled to meet and work with mentors-cum-colleagues), management agreed with a two-year pilot period, based on the proposal supported by the supportive collegial network, which became my formal background group.

Representing ILO in the early days of the UN interagency collaboration during and between the UN Roundtables, I worked closely with FAO and with Erskine Childers.[21] Upon his retirement, which was at the time I began to work on development communication in the UN, Childers drove a lot of the inter-agency work between meetings, some of which I took part in.

Intense discussions then, as now, dealt with what to call the work, using communication strategically and systematically in development work? With inspiration from their Bangkok Office, FAO called their work and unit "*Development Support Communication" (DSC)* from its beginning, but the overall agreement moved towards that of "Development Communication", which is the nomination we took on in the ILO. This gave space to place process over product and 'support' techniques at the service of development, where what counts is people's ability to manage their own lives.[22]

FAO write in their 1994 "Communication—a key to human development":

> Unless people themselves are the driving force of their own development, no amount of investment or provision of technology and inputs will bring about any lasting improvements in their living standards.[23]

Erskine Childers furthermore said[24]:

> If you want development to be rooted in the human beings who have to become the agents of it as well as their beneficiaries, … you have got to enable them to communicate with each other … in order that they will decide on their own development. If you do not do that you will continue to have weak or failing development programmes. It is as simple as that.

---

[20]Despite the fact that ILO had no organisation-wide commitment to the use of communication, some units working with development had been leaning on the UNFPA promoted IEC: Information, education, communication.

[21]Erskine Childers was among the pioneers to advocate for the effective and systematic use of communication in all development programmes, initially from his base in Bangkok between 1967 and 1975 as Director for the UNDP/UNICEF Regional Development Support Communication Service (Asia-Pacific). From here he urged UN specialized agencies and national governments to put more resources into communication, because, as he wrote in 1968: "No innovation, however brilliantly designed and set down in a project plan of operations, becomes development until it has been communicated." From 1975-1988 he was based in New York as Director of Information for UNDP and Senior Advisor to the UN Director General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, where he continued to advocate for the systematic use of communication in development.

[22]'Communication for another development', by Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez. Zed books 2013.

[23]From the foreword of the FAO publication 'Communication – a key to human development'. Rome 1994 (http://www.fao.org/docrep/t1815e/t1815e01.htm#part).

[24]In the FAO video 'Sharing knowledge —Communication for sustainable development' (1992).

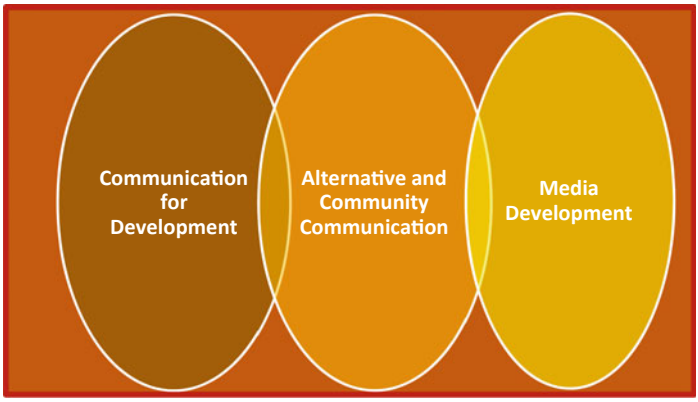

Fig. 2 Three overlapping categories

On the basis of the described development of a sensitivity, and being a sounding board for the four cornerstones presented, how did I see the field of communication for empowerment and media for democracy emerge during my period of professional praxis from 1988 and until today? The next section will explore this.

Looking to the projects and programmes, the realities I have worked within, I will address the challenge within three core work areas, which reflect different ways of strengthening the role of media and communication in development. I define how I see and use each of them below based in my lived experience.

While these are three distinctly different disciplines, they are responsible for different roles and entry points to ultimately securing individuals' and communities' informed living and participation as citizens with a voice as agenda-setters and engaging contributors to development and ways forward.

The approaches are overlapping in places, but for the purpose of this article the following three categories are used to systematize my reflections. The space provided by a democratic Media Development, is also of importance for the Alternative and Community Communication. Similarly, Alternative and Community Communication is often an important aspect of Communication for Development, but not necessarily.

- *Communication for Development (C4D) and Communication for Social Change (CfSC)* where the use of communication tools, techniques and processes are 'about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change."[25]

[25]Gumucio Dagron, Antonio: "Promoting the development of free, independent and pluralistic media and communication, participation in sustainable development through community media", Uruguay, UNESCO. Q.

- *Alternative and community communication in its own right,* where platforms for community dialogue and debate provide a space for agreeing on ways forward in all the many ways of importance in a community including conflict mediation and strengthening of women's role.
- *Media development,*[26] addressing the legal, enabling environment and the overall issues related to freedom of expression and of the press. Furthermore, it deals with the strengthening of media to become sustainable channels and platforms for accurate information and informed debate. The latter includes building the capacity of the media houses and their staff.

Communication for Development (C4D) and Communication for Social Change (CfSC)

> Communications for Development (C4D) is the application of the principles of effective communication to further development objectives. UNICEF is one of the lead international agencies in promoting and using C4D as a cross-cutting programme strategy to drive positive behavioural and social change.[27]
>
> Communication for social change is a process of public and private dialogue through which people define who they are, what they want, what they need to improve their lives.[28]

The systematic use of communication in development programmes to ensure participation and buy-in by the community and the programme's participants in formulation and implementation, has been taking on different names over time as mentioned above. Each of these reflect the intense work by many to find the most effective way of using a variety of communication tools, techniques and processes to secure positive and sustainable development changes. As the below section shows, the unfolding of the new technical discipline was intersected by the advancement and gradual 'professionalisation' of the field of development work as well.

---

[26] In UNESCO's Media Development Indicator framework, the five principal media development categories highlighted, are: The legal, policy and regulatory framework which protects and promotes freedom of expression and information; Plurality and diversity of media, a level economic playing field and transparency of ownership; Media as a platform for democratic discourse: the media, within a prevailing climate of self-regulation and respect for the journalistic profession, reflects and represents the diversity of views and interests in society, including those of marginalised groups; Professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpins freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity; and Infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media.

[27] C4D: An evaluation of UNICEF's capacity and action. Synthesis Report. 2016.

[28] Cfsc.org.

Building up a 'Development Communication Unit' Inside the ILO

In my first full time experience with this field at the ILO, the core task and role of the 'Development Communication Unit' was to focus on communication advice and support to technical units with a view to improve development results in the ILO's work area: training and employment. With my self-mobilised capable collegial coaching and mentoring by Colin Fraser, the head of the FAO Communication for Development unit[29] (still in place at the time), I took on the organisational development of the newly self-created 'Development Communication Unit', supported by my ILO background group (see above).

Together we formulated the overall principles and approaches and explained why they were important in the ILO. Based on this I developed a detailed action plan including my own tasks and results to be achieved; I developed small hand-books on core work techniques and tools; I organised 2-day workshops for technical cooperation staff of the ILO HQ; I briefed new field staff when passing through Geneva on their way to their field posting, gave them documentation and we agreed on collaboration and communication modes for continued support and coaching; and finally, all new technical assistance/cooperation project documents (as they were called then) passed by my desk, so that I could build in communication components, where they were missing, check whether the job descriptions of implementation staff included the needed communication capacity, and I ensured that the budget included the funds and other resources needed for implementation of the communication work.

The focus here was to secure that the mandate and work of the organisation would be of real, lasting (sustainable) value to the people and the organisations ILO worked with: "In an organisation like the ILO, communication needs go in primarily two directions: Information to the public about the areas within the mandate of the organisation on the one hand; on the other, there is within the organisation communication functions needed to support the programme activities of the technical departments in general and within technical co-operation in particular."[30]

At the time the distinction between Public Information and Development Communication/Communication for Development purposes was a continually needed discussion in many organisations. We had it in the ILO, and I witnessed it in FAO and UNICEF at the time.

Another ongoing challenge for those of us wanting to 'let people speak for themselves' was that it takes time. It takes time to listen, and to—not just rhetorically but really—get people to, among themselves define and engage and discuss and agree on the desired development direction.

---

[29]The Development Support Communication unit was within his department.

[30]From the 'Background and Justification" of a project outline for the continuation of the DC unit. (ILO, September 1990).

Whereas the end-result of a participatory process might on paper be similar to what could have been conceived behind an experienced developer's desk, based on some good background studies, then the locally anchored, participatory process will both generate different stepping stones, different sub-activities towards the desired results, but even more so the ownership and buy-in by the communities themselves—and hence much better end-results. Penina Mlama stresses exactly that in the opening of her then warmly anticipated book on culture and development,[31] appearing at that time, in 1991:

> Development strategies in Africa have often disregarded the grassroot view and given little consideration to the incorporation of development action into the way of life of the communities concerned. By neglecting the peoples' cultures, this approach to development has also led to a disregard of local communication processes through aspirations for development.

Mlama here highlights the importance to identify and where possible and relevant, make appropriate use of indigenous communication forms. An emerging focus of the Development Communication environment at that time, related to 'participation and ownership'.

These examples to show the intense work carried out at this time by the UN and a growing number of NGOs like Worldview International Foundation,[32] to find out how communication could best serve the overall development goals and needs for human rights to be enjoyed by all. Much like the still ongoing strife to adapt, innovate and improve.

Another outstanding – and inspiring – example at the time was anthropologist Steve Lansing and ecologist James Kremer's Work with "The Goddess & the Computer", screened in a DevComm conference in LA, called by Everett Rodgers. They documented how the Balinese rice growers through the water temples and water priests had been practicing state-of-the-art resource management for ages. To convince Government and the Banks to respect this, a computer could document and re-confirm through a computer model, that the Balinese system was one of the most stable and efficient water management and farming systems on the planet. Here, a different way to use the newest of the new communication tool – a laptop – in defence of tradition and indigenous communication and knowledge.

[31] Mlama, Penina Muhando: Culture and Development. The popular theatre approach in Africa. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 1991.

[32] Founded in 1979 with a focus on participatory communication and public education for sustainable development. http://www.wif.care/.

A related discussion at the time was between more 'external' approaches communicating **(down) to** people like Social Marketing and some of the early entertainment education spearheaded by Johns Hopkins University—and the more 'internal' approaches, where communication is used *to engage* the community through facilitated participatory processes, believing in the power of self-organisation.

The Dilemma Between Being Flexible to Match Needs and the Formalisation of Project Planning

At this time—in the early 90s—it was becoming important to write up project proposals in the log-frame logic. A well-handled log-frame-based project preparation process can be a powerful and clear presentation of a project framework, when based on a thorough participatory mapping followed by the standard problem-and power analysis. This was a fantastic qualitative advance from the more essayistic proposals before this—not rarely of only a few pages and often primarily activity-based, leaving the intended results in the heads of the planners.

The logframe requirement unfortunately in many quarters became quite mechanistically administered, and instead of helping create less ad hoc and more well-designed project frameworks, it was seen as written in stone, and projects could—in many situations—not be changed to adjust to changing realities. Many funders became fixated on the implementation of projects exactly as they looked in the logframe: every activity, and every output should be there—and the funds foreseen for a certain year should be spent within it. I remember our admin colleagues in the long corridors of the ILO towards the end of a budget year moaning over the funds not yet spent.

This was an impediment for quite some development processes—in consequence for many far more disturbing than helpful. Luckily, however, the tool was also often used constructively—but as was the case with approaches to the use of communication in development, there were 'camps' pro- and contra 'logframe'.

The field of 'Communication for Development' became one of the important 'camps' pushing for a project design, planning and implementation framework, allowing for more flexibility: when not implementing a project top-down, but rather in a dialogue with reality, approaches and tools also need to reflect that 'local development' does not unfold along a linear path, but is rather messy, contextually dependent upon a myriad of factors including seasons, droughts, inundations, conflicts… This more rigid framework for the realisation of projects including communication projects and projects with communication included, worked against the Communication for development's basic realisation that you needed to maintain flexibility to meet the ever-changing realities within which the projects were taking place.

While funders and administrators gradually realised the need for more built-in flexibility and that in the end, it was the sustainable arrival at the ultimately desired end-goals that mattered, it was not until the mid-00s that the need for change was formalised and took root. The world of development thus began to focus on 'outcomes' and 'impacts', building upon the realisation that activities and outputs, the 'deliverables' generated in a project framework, needed to be flexible for a project to actually move effectively—and efficiently—towards the desired change.

Communication for Social Change—The Interrelation Between Individual Change and the Collective

Over the past 15 years I have engaged in development of a variety of Communication Strategies with different names: ComDev Strategy, C4D Strategy or simply Communication Strategies for Development. While the overall goal has been set by the overall project and context (advances in health, agriculture, education, child rights, workers' rights, etc.), and the role of communication and the communication objectives have been identified case by case, the elements to be explored and understood are often the same no matter the labelling of the communication and development engagement.

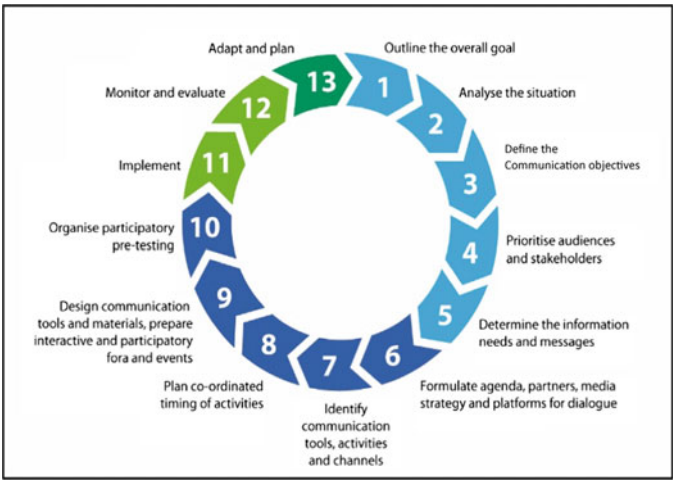

Fig. 3 From objectives to implementation in 13 steps

I have seen—and worked with—different versions of the model above. It focuses both on having a well-defined objective and more on processes and events than on products. Most often such a strategy is developed in close cooperation with the professionals working on the technical issues (agriculture, child health, women's equality, disability, transparency in mining and extraction, etc.), and the communication strategy is later integrated into the strategy and action plans of the whole project and context.

When discussing how to document the impact of communication in these development processes with a senior World Bank official, he agreed that this was not easily done, but stressed that he would be able to document how millions of dollars had been wasted in projects where communication was NOT effectively integrated.

Since the middle of the 00s, I have been engaged with—and much enjoyed—to carry out thorough media mapping in future project areas, to carefully know the environment in which an activity is about to unfold. On this basis it is possible to respect what already exists, and then build on this when supporting further strengthening needed. This would be followed by a thorough mapping of information and communication needs[33] of a clearly segmented set of communities within the community—the participant-audiences. With this in place, the local players could continue the process.

With a growing recognition that without communication, development is hard to realise; the slow increase in universities offering specializations in C4D; the hard work by organisations to document the need and the tools and practices to carry out C4D; and organisations taking up this special focus,[34] a lot has happened since the early days of the UN inter-agency roundtables, where I took part and moved from impassioned believer of the potentials to a seasoned practitioner.

Still, too many much-needed development initiatives are planned and implemented without sufficient understanding by the facilitators of the need for systematic processes of engagement and dialogue, in order to be able to challenge norms and tradition, thereby actually facilitating sustainable change.

[33] http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/civic_engagement/communication-for-empowerment-media-strategies-for-vulnerable-groups.html.

[34] http://c4dnetwork.apps-1and1.net/;; http://www.comminit.com/global/category/sites/global.

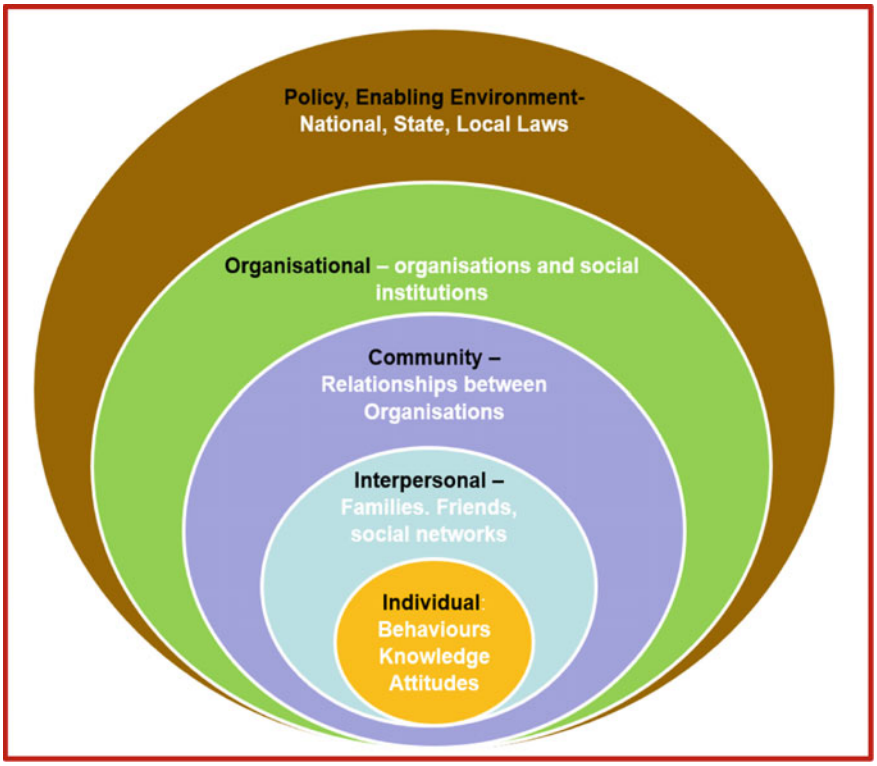

Fig. 4 Social Ecological UNICEF model

The systematic collegial advocacy work in this field of C4D thinking, development and practice, carried out not least by the forerunner, UNICEF,[35] continues to be much needed.

The move from the earlier focus on individual message-based change towards the inclusion of interpersonal, community, organisational and national levels, are promising developments clearly seen in this Social Ecological UNICEF model.[36]

Alternative and Community Communication

> At the heart of development, people [need to] have access to communication tools so that they can themselves communicate within their communities and with the people making the decisions that affect them – for example community radio and other community media.[37]

[35] Supported by Communication Initiative, Johns Hopkins University and a handful others—taking over from the early pioneering work by FAO, Worldview Foundation and a few others.

[36] http://files.unicef.org/transparency/documents/Mozambique%20CPD%20-%20Adolescents%20Strategy%20Note%20-%2028%20March%202016.pdf.

[37] Wilson M and Warnock K 2009, *At the heart of change*. Panos London, UK. (http://www.panos.org.uk/?lid=248).

Alternative and community communication has all through my work with communication in development been seen to be of central importance for development to unfold—not least for those not already active and visible on the variety local 'public stages'. This section considers alternative and community communication in its own right, as platforms for community dialogue and debate providing a space for agreeing on ways forward in all the many ways of importance in a community including conflict mediation and strengthening of women's role.

While integrated into many C4D strategies, and playing a role to amplify other efforts, these communication platforms have a scope and perspective beyond this. Growing and finding appropriate shapes depending upon where they were unfolding, started way back, as the first half of the 20th century was drawing to a close—in Latin America as a voice of the workers, the people, and in the US as an alternative to commercial and dominant communication channels (see box below).

As Eugenie Aw[38] expressed it in a video documentary I produced during the 1985 UN women's conference in Nairobi[39]: "Women do not have a proper space in the existing communication channels. We will simply have to reinvent communication!" And this is what women and men, and communities did and continue to do in community media.

A brief history of Community Radio[40]

1947	Colombia was where the first community radio in the developing world started.
1949	Bolivia's miners' community radio, created a powerful alternative voice from day one
1949	USA's first listener-sponsored community radio went on air.
1964	Rural radio began to be developed in Africa with the support of FAO.
1971	Australia's first community radio took off.
1970s	European community, alternative, free, clandestine and often pirate radios emerged in the thousands.
1981	Mahaveli community radio, Sri Lanka, was launched with support from UNESCO.
1982	Homa Bay community radio was opened in Kenya with important UNESCO support and funding.
1981–83	Scandinavian Government initiated periods of experiments which broke the monopolies.
1990s	African community radios mushroomed, following the gradual democratisation of countries.

[38] https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A9nie_Rokhaya_Aw_N%E2%80%99diaye.

[39] "African Women call for a re-invention communication", Video documentary by Birgitte Jallov, Copenhagen, 1985.

1990s	Asian community radios took off with Philippines early 1990s, followed by mushrooming movements in Nepal (1997 Radio Sagarmatha began) and in Indonesia (after Suharto's fall in 1998).
2007	India's hard work to open access for on air community radios finally succeeded.
2008	Bangladesh community radios went to air—after strong advocacy and struggle.

A wave of community radio stations, which could be called 'community radios for development and empowerment', have emerged during the past 20–25 years, especially in Africa since the 1990s and in Asia primarily in the 2000s.[41] These radio stations are as different as the communities to which they belong. What these communities have in common is the desire to use their radio as a platform for community debate and dialogue. They wish to bring out—through a multitude of voices—their experience and local knowledge to effect social change, to move towards the development vision and dreams of their community. These radios also serve their communities by bringing the increasing wealth of information into a locally understood and meaningful context.

These movements witnessed what could happen when giving people a voice, and an opportunity to speak for themselves, leading potentially to the empowerment required to trigger an avalanche of positive personal and community change. The power and potential of this type of community radio was also discovered by development partners aspiring—at the time—to meet the Millennium Development Goals. Increasing numbers of individuals, organisations and institutions have seen the powerful impact generated by community radio stations, identifying it as the potential 'missing link' between development support being provided and true development actually taking place.[42]

That community radio can in fact be an effective platform became during this period, evident. At the same time, however, it was also seen that community radio is not simply a quick fix. There is no single blueprint that can be implemented swiftly, with little money and without requiring support and backstopping: creating lasting social change takes time. With 'community radio' earning its reputation as a powerful tool to generate change, quite a few recognized organisations actually

[40] From Jallov, Birgitte: EMPOWERMENT RADIO —Voices building a community. EMPOWERHOUSE 2012. (Free e-reader: https://empowerhouse.eu/empowerment-the-radio-book/).

[41] As highlighted in the timeline, Latin America were among the pioneers in the 1940s and beyond, based in their special alternative, workers' and empowerment movements including liberation theology and all that developed with it.

[42] As expressed in EMPOWERMENT RADIO op.cit.

during this period of time (late 90s and early 00s) used the 'quick-fix' model, which works wonderfully as long as funding is available. Without community ownership and buy-in, these stations, however, either whither when funding is removed or they are taken over by economic, political or religious powers. The negative development impact of such a process for the local communities, is self-evident.

Furthermore, many development and empowerment-focused community radios are created and take root in communities with little experience of democracy and democratic practices, and where the authorities' lack of experience with open debate, information-sharing, requests for accountability and criticism, commonly pose important challenges to community radios and the people around them. This realization calls for careful preparation of the community organisers and effective ongoing communication with authorities.

Most importantly, no real impact and sustainability of 'community radios for development and empowerment' can be achieved without a deep-rooted sense of community ownership. In particular, where the initiative of an empowerment-focused community radio is also driven and supported externally, i.e. from outside the community, an important inversion process is indispensable to ensure true community ownership and the engagement, confidence, power and drive that can be derived from it.

It is, however, important to realise that there is no, there cannot be, and there should not be one model to follow, because every community radio is different, because every community is different: the history is different, the people are different, their culture and language are different, their day-to-day lives are different, and their challenges are different.

Still, the experience emerging during this period is that there are a number of common areas that need attention and reflection when engaging in the start-up or strengthening of a community radio: all radios need to map the community, all need to organise, to have a sound and effective management, to mobilise and organise community volunteer broadcasters, and to deal with the technical issues. Furthermore, all need to identify the important issues and priority themes in the community and develop skills to turn these into effective radio programmes, and all need to address sustainability issues and develop partnerships with the relevant stakeholders around it.

Community radios have, indeed, the potential to create exceptional value and positive change for poor, marginalised communities. Through my more than 30 years of work with these exceptional community development platforms—and that of colleagues and their organisations—I have seen how stations can save lives and spur development in the hardest-to-reach places in the world. Well-documented research shows that community radios can

- significantly strengthen the understanding by communities of the importance of health-seeking behaviour, including vaccinations, sanitation, hygiene and nutrition;

- empower women through increased respect and less domestic violence;
- play a crucial role in mending social tissue harmed by years of conflict;
- enhance the importance and self-esteem of local cultures;
- bridge conflicts and mend social tissue in post-conflict realities; and
- help people and communities move from being the objects of decisions made by others, to become subjects taking charge of their own development.

This is possible because the stations are by and for the community, as they are owned and managed by the community; programmes are produced by community members; and take up issues of direct relevance to the community. Information on sensitive issues is far more trusted if presented by people known and trusted by a community, in the local dialect and explained through familiar anecdotes and local proverbs. Furthermore, community radio broadcasters interact closely with communities through listening clubs, discussion groups, etc. Many of the conclusions reached are not just conveyed by broadcasters but arrived at by the active listeners themselves. By this, community radios become a true platform for debate and dialogue, and a tool of empowerment.

To meet and bridge initial challenges, some facilitation is needed as are local community development champions. But with that in place, all the benefits mentioned are possible.

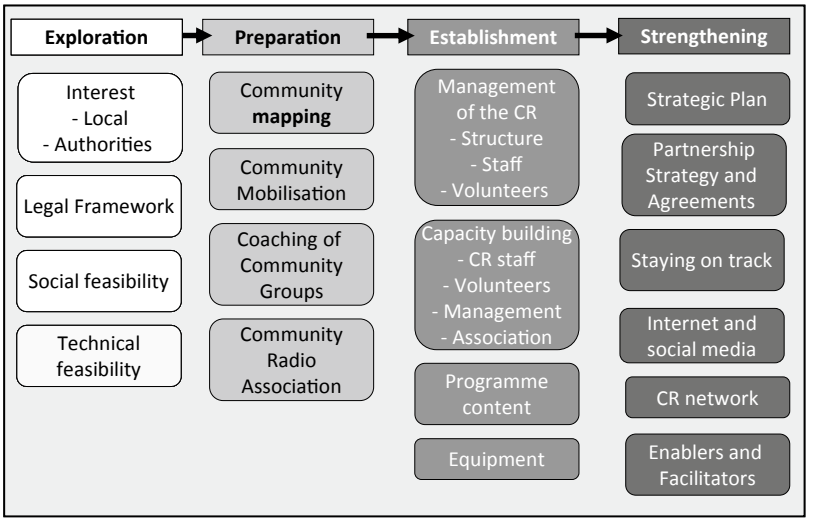

Fig. 5 Generic model in 4 phases

The generic model above can and should be modified to meet any emerging reality, but then it can be a good development tool.[43] With a readiness to abort the initiative after an unsuccessful exploratory phase, the most unproductive experiences can be omitted.

Media Development

> Media development seeks to support and promote a pluralistic, editorially independent and financially sustainable media sector. An independent media sector buttresses key governance goals such as voice, accountability, and transparency—not through dissemination of messages about these issues, but through its very existence.[44]
>
> Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD)'s… core value is to support the creation and strengthening of journalism and … strong, independent and pluralistic media environment[s], which contribute… to the development of empowered societies.[45]

The above complementary UNESCO and GFMD definitions of 'Media Development' stress the need to both develop the capacity and position of the media houses and all the actors inside them; and the need to ensure an independent and pluralistic enabling environment within which the media houses and the media actors can operate to facilitate empowered societies.

Building the Capacity of the Media Houses and the Actors Inside Them

One of the great challenges I experienced within 'Media Development' since the early 1990s was related to the fact that the focus (and related funding) to strengthen the media was, almost entirely, on journalism training. Realising the need to develop the organisational capacity of the media houses came later—and has been given a much lower priority, let alone the holistic, integrated approach where building the capacity of the sector included the review of the organisation, strategic planning, policy development, leading on to the strengthening of the capacities of the staff, identified in this process.

With the waves of democratization beginning at that time, there was an obvious need to upgrade existing journalists—or if they had, actually, not had any education to begin with, simply train them. The need to secure journalists' capacity to play their role towards development for greater justice, freedom of expression and human rights for all, is obvious. This is not where the problem was.

---

[43] Model from Jallov, Birgitte: EMPOWERMENT RADIO—Voices building the community. 2012. EMPOWERHJOUSE.

[44] Shanthi Kalathil: "A Toolkit for Independent Media Development", WB 2011.

[45] https://gfmd.info/en/site/About_GFMD/155/About-Us.htm.

The challenge was the form and framework of the training. Often a few journalists from each media house would meet up in a fancy hotel with lavish buffet lunches, often very good trainers and clear objectives. The problem identified was that these 'installations' too often generated but negligible development and change in the individual journalistic capacities and even less in the management and sustainability of the media outlets.

Training courses of a 2–3 weeks' duration focusing on all the imaginable issues from basic journalism over development, economic, political, social, health, ethical and investigative journalism over gender sensitive, HIV/AIDS sensitive journalism to media management, usually were powerful events for the individual journalists, having a good process of learning, networking and earning some pocket-money. End-of-training evaluations were often soaring high, and unfortunately rarely matched by follow-up tracer studies or the like. And the qualitative change of the media houses from where the participating journalists came, was usually hard to identify.

The organisation of numerous training courses surely was a nice and tidy way to get a lot of people through intended capacity upgrade, quite a lot of money neatly spent with clear start and end points, and with straight-forward reporting back to funding partners, i.e. a dream scenario for a logframe-managed organisation with very limited opportunities for the messy-ness and uncontrollability of more interactive and participatory development processes.

While the neatness in itself was naturally not a problem, the frequent absence of the intended end-result was: a stronger press with more powerful investigative, well-informed journalism, which could raise a dynamic debate among active citizens. This realisation started creeping in on many actors in this area. While not here challenging the quality of the training itself, the shape and form of the training was a main problem, as was the lack of connection with the issuing media houses.

As the media environments in nations in a democracy-building process however had to ensure upgrading of journalists to move from microphone holders to critical journalists, many attempts were made to increase the effect including inviting editors and editors-in-chief to follow-up lunches, informing them about the new knowledge, skills and tools that their staff had recently been equipped with. But with important exceptions, the effect of this was by many (including myself as the manager of a major media development programme in Mozambique 1998–2004) found to not match the investment, and—more importantly—to not generate the needed change in the quality of the media.

To counter this fragmented and ad hoc 'media development' approach we, when I took up the leadership of the Mozambique Media Development Project [46] in 1998, set out to have an in-depth mapping of our 'Media Pluralism Landscape' [47] carried out, as soon as we could have the funding partners' approval of this unforeseen activity

[46] The project was named: "Strengthening governance and democracy through development of the media in Mozambique": http://www.mediamoz.com

[47] 'The Media Pluralism Landscape – an overview of the media sector in Mozambique' http://www.mediamoz.com/documents/report1.pdf and http://www.mediamoz.com/documents/report2.pdf

and expense. This study became our guide in our prioritization during the six year project life, with ongoing amendments as needed to match changing realities.

Two different examples of more holistic and successful ways to overcome some of the above-mentioned challenges within my experience were both significantly more extensive, but surely also leaving more sustainable traces behind: (i) a media house focus, embedding the journalistic capacity building in a whole review of the media house; or (ii) a national media sector focus, taking a holistic review of all levels of the media from the legal framework over media education and media organisations to media houses going, ideally, also through a process like the one included in point (i). Some more details below.

Strengthening the Capacity, Sustainability and Journalistic Quality of Media in-House

The transformation of the 'eternal' journalism training courses in hotels with few participants from each media house, into an in-house 'media house development' process has been found to be a step in the right direction. Here the capacity strengthening of journalists become a component and part of the overall process, which engages a much bigger number of journalists, editors, producers etc. from each media house, in the capacity building process.

When and where possible, the starting point would be the overall orientation, organisation and management of the media house, followed by the revision of the organisation including the staffing (also in view of new technological developments, converged newsrooms etc.), securing administrative and organisational routines and capacity—ultimately training the corps of staff. This way the whole media house and all colleagues from the top to the bottom would have gone through the same process, cognisant of the overall vision, the mission and the direction in which the media house wanted to develop. And all categories of staff would be able to pull in the same direction.

It has been obvious how all staff categories—including journalists—after such a process have been able to implement the new processes and tools, and use the new skills, all led by an open, 'upgraded' management within a media house with a vision-based leadership and direction. When it has not been possible to carry out a full organisational review of the media house, an in-house training process of journalists, photojournalists and editors, has been carried out. This has proved much more powerful than the hotel-cum-per-diem-based training courses.

A further development of these step-by-step developments of approaches to secure actual learning for change, is a process I lead and managed in Tanzania, where 25 UNESCO partner community and local radio stations were invited into a process to advance their full sustainability potential. The process took half a year for the needs

assessment, 9 months for development of the documentation and materials and one year for the workshops and mentoring.

- Step 1 was a thorough needs assessment into the different aspects of sustainability (social, organisational and financial), followed by
- Step 2 which was a systematic analysis and clustering of the stations based on needs, aspirations and capacity for advancement and growth.
- Step 3 was the development of sets of learning materials in the four thematic areas identified[48] including a manual, a workbook, a guide for facilitators and a set of slides;
- Step 4 was to define the capacity building methodology—of stations and of the facilitators–cum–mentors working with the individual stations, which at the core had a 'learning by doing' approach[49];
- Step 5 included the training and final selection of the 'facilitators-cum-mentors';
- Step 6 the actual building of capacity of each of the 25 partner stations.

This is obviously a discussion that needs to continue: how to ensure the ongoing 'lifelong learning' of media houses in cost-effective, efficient, and sustainable ways? Which organisations will carry this forward—and with funding from where?

For community media, it is usually the national community media association or forum that takes on this forward-looking development process, having – as possible – a capacity building officer or unit, continuously upgrading member stations. For public service stations or other professional media houses, the bigger outfits have capacity building embedded in their organisation – also when they often do not have this holistic, strategic perspective. For others, the question remains.

[48]The four areas were: (i) Organisational sustainability and strategic planning; (ii) Engaging the community in the community radio station – Social sustainability; (iii) Financial sustainability; and (iv) Communication and Visibility.

[49]Through each of the four thematic learning processes, the stations would have representation at highest decision making level, and the workshops would interchange between presentation and discussion of the next step in the stations' development of strategic plan, community engagement plans, financial management strategies, communication strategies, etc., and then the station representatives sitting in station-groups, formulating that next step. At the end of each workshop, each station would have a document, initially finalised, to bring back to the community for discussion, revision and final validation.

After the foundation workshop, the facilitators-cum-mentors would visit each station to follow up and broaden the learning to all relevant staff and volunteers. At the end of this process, each station would have an inter-linked set of sustainability-advancing routines and – when needed – self-produced documents to lean on.

A National Vision for Strengthening the Capacity, Sustainability and Quality of Media

Ensuring an enabling environment is a different question, which, as mentioned above, has been taken up gradually, building on the principles of Article XIX of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.[50]

Based on my 'cornerstones' and within an overall perspective on freedom of expression and of the press, I have since the late 1980s when I started the work to map media landscapes for engagement in the ILO, I have always taken a starting point in the national constitution, the relevant media and sector-level legislation and development objectives, along with a mapping of national government and non-government stakeholders. This has usually resulted in an approach much like what is presented above on "Strengthening the capacity, sustainability and journalistic quality of media in-house".

Too many development programmes with which I have worked over time, have forgotten—or shun away from—addressing the enabling environment. But when national aspirations include a democratic and just society, this needs to be done. And done well. "International Media Support"[51] (IMS) is the media development actor who has most consistently used an advanced version of this approach since its foundation in 2002. A national media sector focus, taking a holistic (re-)view of all levels of the media from the legal framework over media education and media organisations, to media houses and on to citizen space and engagement.

Also this area has gone through a 'professionalisation' and streamlining. As always, there is not one size that fits all—not one 'democratic media development model' that would match the needs of all countries. But as for the case with the development of community media as presented above, there are, indeed, a set of core principles around which national specificities can be expressed. Many examples of such frameworks have been developed, but the framework presently regarded as standard, stemming from 2008, is the comprehensive UNESCO framework for 'Media Development Indicators'.[52]

> The media's contribution to the creation and sustaining of functioning democracies and their potential to serve as a catalyst for human development provide the justification for UNESCO's media development efforts. Free, independent and pluralistic media empower

[50] https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/.

[51] https://www.mediasupport.org/about/.

[52] Media Development Indicators (Endorsed March 2008). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000163102.

> citizens with information that enables them to make informed choices and actively participate in democratic processes.[53]

It is aimed at enabling the assessment of media landscapes at national level. These indicators, that cover all aspects of media development, are currently being applied in various countries worldwide to identify their specific needs in view of guiding the formulation of media-related policies and improving the targeting of media development efforts.

While the above approaches have been seen to be very promising with quite impressive results in some realities, media and media change is very much about power. An example of how much this is true is that when Mozambique, where I lived and worked with this all for six years, had the new post-socialism constitution approved in 1990, the first next piece of legislation to be passed was the new (open and democratic) media law in 1991. So, like information, media and media systems are about power. And as always about 'the art of the possible'. But with strategic—and tactical—inclusion of core stakeholders including Government and other relevant authorities along with civil society, a lot is possible. And it is important—also when the first approach and process does not work—to not give up, but to maintain this contextual, holistic approach: Much like replacing the gear in a totally broken-down car would not make it drive, no matter how central the gear is to the good driving qualities of a car, it is the full overhaul that will set the car free.

Having Grown up with and Within an Emerging Field…

Having grown up with and within an emerging field, carving out ways to bring strong media and participatory communication forward, to benefit much needed development and people's empowerment, has been extremely exciting and gratifying. I have met hundreds (maybe really it was thousands, but I forgot to count) of powerful, passionate, wise, creative, adventurous, loving colleagues with whom I have taken the strides mentioned above. People from whom I have learnt, and where I have had the joy to share my experience. And I have been invited into realities of people's lives in several continents including my own, to work with them on ways of strengthening their communication methods, their community media or their professional media houses.

There is no conclusion to this exploratory chapter as it represents a part of a process still ongoing. A process that started long before I joined, and which will continue long after I have stepped off. I have shared significant perspectives and reflections based on the 30+ years I have been a part, so far, as seen from my personal vantage point. A vantage point coloured by the four all-important cornerstones upon which my professional value-laden toolbox has been made up: human rights, 'people shall speak for themselves', feminism and an MA in Communication.

---

[53] From the introduction to the 'Media Development indicators' ibid.

If I should, still, extract some lessons to pass on about which qualities make up an effective development practitioner, as I see it, it is: Respect, Humility, Curiosity, Sincere interest, Awareness of the power of Culture (yours and mine), and Listening—a lot—before talking. After this comes the technical, professional knowledge and experience including Letting people speak for themselves and Participation! With this, not all will go wrong.

Power/Poder: Working Class Organizing, Confronting Race and Ethnic Hatred

James Lescault

Looking at the past must only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can more wisely build the future.
Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

Introduction

Currently watching the political ultra-right's escalation in perpetrating hatred towards all those deemed to be "other", while entrenching itself within the overt practices of national political discourse in the United States as well as world-wide, made me reflect upon a 1995 community organizing effort in which I was an active participant. It was an effort to expose the local antagonism and hatred that existed in the small, postindustrial city of Holyoke, Massachusetts, by reflecting upon the historical nature of each ethnic/racial group's experience independently. Using the same lens to review each group would allow comparisons to be made between the dominant group experiences. It was our intention to portray these histories within a video documentary to visually reconnect each group's memory to its factual existence and through comparison of thematic discourses, recognize the common difficulties each group had to overcome to achieve social, educational and economic betterment.

The overall objective was for us to be a part of the awakening of the city's populace to an upcoming opportunity for the City of Holyoke to apply to the Federal Energy Commission (FERC) to own and operate the Holyoke Dam. This opportunity only occurs every fifty years. It was the opinion of the lead organizers that through ownership of the production of hydro-electricity, the city could remake itself into a center for manufacturing revitalization in the economically depressed Connecticut River Valley by offering discounted electrical services.

J. Lescault (✉)
Amherst Media, 246 College St, Amherst, MA 01002, USA
e-mail: director@amherstmedia.org

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_13

Holyoke, MA

To give the reader a better understanding of the environment I am referring to, I will try to describe the city of Holyoke's deep working class history in only a few paragraphs. Backed by successful Boston industrialists, in 1847 purchase was made of the land adjacent to the natural falls on the Connecticut River in the western Massachusetts mainly farming community, then known as Irish Parish. The stockholders found themselves the owners of enormous water power and over twelve hundred acres of land for what is reported to be $120,000.

Engineers designed and planned the industrial layout of the town with a canal system supplying water from a dam on the river and able to power the planned mills on three canal levels using centrifugal force to recycle the water. This massive undertaking was the very first truly planned industrial city in the United States, one powered by hydro. But engineering alone could not build the vision, they needed labor to dig the canals, construct the dam and build the five storied mills and the tenements for the mill workers. It was the Irish, many who were immigrants who made the trip to the area known as "Irish Parish", despite being inhabited by people of English decent for 150 years. But shortly after building the initial dam, the Irish laborers found themselves in 1850 residing in the newly named city of Holyoke, presumedly renamed by the incorporators to try to provide Puritan "dignity" to their investment, while acting as absentee landlords, the city was, for all intents and purposes, a company town.

By 1859 there existed a labor shortage and agents were sent off to Canada to recruit workers for the textile mills. As with other immigration episodes, many French family members followed, to secure paid employment. The city census of 1860 reported 4632 inhabitants but mushroomed to 10,722 in 1870 and continued to approximately 14,000 by 1873. By 1870 over 50% of the population was foreign born.

The dominant national groups were pitted against each other by the industrialists' agents. Most of the textile work was lower wages than the paper making mills and the French found themselves in what became known as family economies, where many members of the family, including children, must work to be able to meet the monthly expenditures. The Irish continued to excel in manual labor as well as fitting into the tiered working jobs within the paper making industry. Traditionally, these jobs paid more than textile, but limited many of the Irish workers from climbing to the higher wage positions within the paper mills.

It wasn't just the competition for work between the two groups that created the long-lasting animosity, but the fact that the French Canadians spoke their own non-English language. Within language insulation, they established replicable communities of the English-speaking community. Franco papers were established as well as churches, businesses, schools and most importantly banks, all immersed in the French language. The French Canadians were able to create support mechanisms in the socio-economic fabric for their kin, leaving out the English-speaking Irish to fend for themselves.

These communities continued to fight for dominance in the local political scene with the French losing out to the Irish for decades. Even to this day people of Irish descent are called bastards if they are not "100% pure" Irish. However, as is usually true with hate mongering, if you can find a common enemy then there is at least an opportunity to redirect the united focus of hate.

That focus of hate would be the arrival of the Puerto Rican emigrants. Due to the fertile soil of the Connecticut River Valley, the tobacco farms were constantly reaching out to seasonal migrant farmworkers. During the 1950's the agricultural entities made efforts to recruit farmworkers from Puerto Rico to come to the valley. While picking tobacco in the area, many of the workers sought out opportunities to stay past the harvest season and seek full time employment. Some of them found their way to Holyoke and saw the opportunities for entry level factory jobs with inexpensive housing tenements nearby.

The rooting of Puerto Rican seasonal workers and their families that soon followed was further augmented with the massive displacement of farmers, known as *jibaros*, in Puerto Rico due to the United States industrialization plan known as Operation Bootstrap. Although New York City was a primary entry point for these families during the 1960's and 1970's, many found their way up through the Connecticut River Valley and into the small but established Puerto Rican community of Holyoke.

While these latest arrivals were not foreigners, but United States citizens, the general public saw the Puerto Ricans as non-English speaking foreigners who came to take advantage of public assistance such as welfare and public housing. Puerto Ricans, often referred to as "Spanish", were blamed for the loss of manufacturing jobs, the ruin of the inner-city housing stock, and the increased demand upon the public school district to provide bi-lingual services and increased special education opportunities.

The adaptation by the Puerto Rican community to New England's cold winters were found by many to be a yearlong climate condition. The blame for the city's massive loss of jobs and with it working class wages, came down upon the latest arrivals to the city of immigrants. Scapegoats were needed for the anger and hate to be directed at by those who had been in the city for generations. Newcomers who had little community purchase, constricted to the inner-city housing quadrants, little to no access to capital for business development, and for many adults the inability to communicate in English, were faced with pronounced discrimination. This inability to communicate in the dominant language was played out in the banks, hospitals, job training centers, schools and medical offices; nearly all of which lacked personnel to translate or interpret. Ridicule and public displays of disgust were directed at the Puerto Rican community through the local newspaper and most significantly, by the political actions taken by the ruling Irish and French city officials.

The City officials saw the emergence of federally funded programs aimed at helping locales improve the living conditions of those living in poverty as a viable source of funding to begin what was to be more than a decade of removing potential housing opportunities within the city's original four quadrants. Beginning in 1968, the city of Holyoke became one of the first sites for a program called Model Cities. This was shortly followed by Urban Renewal, then Community Development Block

Grants and Urban Development Action Grants. While all of these programs had the underlying mandate that the money had to be used to help improve the livelihoods of those living in poverty, for the most part the resources were used to stop the Puerto Rican Community from expanding in numbers, to reduce the existing population; thus, ensuring their inability to gain political dominance.

While one of the grants' qualifying course of actions were the removal of blighting conditions within the designated areas, the City's departments assigned the job of overseeing the implementation of the grants wasted no time in designating buildings for removal. In the case of the Urban Renewal Grant an entire neighborhood was reduced to rubble.

The Puerto Rican community and other low income residents spoke out against the massive demolition projects. During the Community Development Block Grants period, organizing drives were conducted by activists for residents to participate in the obligatory Citizen Participation Hearings. These federally mandated hearings were supposed to gather from those whom were to be the benefactors of the funded actions, what they believed they saw as the most needed programming for their community. These hearings were conducted without interpreters.

By the late seventies over three hundred community residents were showing up and testifying on behalf of their community needs. Even when the city was forced to provide interpreters, the final grant submittal had little to none of the community's stated ideas.

The accumulated frustrations and sense of being under siege, was felt through-out the community. As if these overt actions to eliminate housing opportunities within the inner-city wasn't enough, the community was further endangered by a very real public safety issue spread throughout these neighborhoods: *arson for profit*.

It was at this point, in 1979, that community residents and activists approached lawyers associated with Legal Services and asked for their help in suing the City of Holyoke for violation of their civil rights. By 1980, the court case of Ramos et al. vs. the City of Holyoke and the U.S. Office of Housing and Urban Development, was submitted and going to trial.

The city's population had peeked at 63,000 in 1917 but it had seen a decrease from 53,500 in 1961 to 44,000 by 1980. In 1980 Latinos represented 13% of the overall population. Of the approximately 6,000 Latinos, 84% of them lived in the inner-city. During the implementation of selective code enforcement and federal, state and local funds for demolition, the inner-city lost 3,068 housing units.

It was during this same time that regional and national media outlets were focusing on the rampant Arson for Profit that was devastating and endangering the low-income community. Holyoke was declared the third most arson prone city per capita in the country. These media efforts were the culmination of local organizing efforts.

It was at this time that the city decided to knock down an elementary school in the neighborhood known as South Holyoke. This action, although protested against by the immediate community, opened the city up to charges of de jure segregation. Although there existed a long history of de facto segregation in the city, the intent was to reduce the neighborhood school's elementary population by constructing a smaller building in its place. This plan was supported by the city's 1968 Master Plan,

which called for the total removal of all residential housing in the South Holyoke neighborhood. Many city officials were against replacing the school and publicly stated they should be asking surrounding businesses as to what color the interior walls should be painted, since in their opinion it would eventually become a commercial or manufacturing establishment. In 1981, a group of parents known as the Hispanic Parents Advisory Council et al. filed in the United States District Court a class action school desegregation lawsuit against the mayor Ernest Proulx, et al., City of Holyoke.

To the surprise of the dominant groups, both of these federal lawsuits prevailed for the plaintiffs. The strategic and systematic demolition of housing units by the city came to a halt. The arson for profit fires in tenements also saw a dramatic curtailing, due in part to the community's demand for the establishment of an Arson Squad within the city's fire department.

The victory against the public schools saw the immediate transformation of a structural system, reflective of the very real and visible socio-economic hill upon which the city sat. The poorest were grouped within neighborhood schools many lacking appropriate teaching materials like bi-lingual books and modern technology tools. These neighborhood schools were grouped closest to the Connecticut River and the original inner-city quadrants.

Luckily the public school leadership were led by competent and supportive administrators. The systemic racial segregation of the schools was addressed by realigning school districts to reflect a perpendicular zoning versus the long standing lateral zones, thus dismantling the district bias towards race and wealth.

To help appease the fears of many parents of children from the wealthier *upperwards* that their children would be going to un-safe schools, the school administrators implemented what are called Magnet Schools. In the U.S. education system, magnet schools are public schools with specialized courses or curricula. The desire was to have the Magnet schools draw students from across the old school zones into the restructured, perpendicular school districts. This meant offering two-way English/Spanish classes in the Kelly School in Ward I, known as the flats, to entice wealthy families to give their elementary aged children an enriched language intense bilingual education. In Ward II Lawrence elementary school became a Magnet School of Science, while a former Technical Vocational High School was converted into a Middle School, known as Magnet Middle School of the Arts. These offerings resonated with parents of all neighborhoods and their success was recognized within the state as well as nationally. Ford Foundation gave $5 million dollars for the continuation and growth of the Magnet Middle School of the Arts.

Recruitment efforts were made to staff the schools with bilingual/bicultural people, from principals to classroom instructors. After only a few years into their operations the Magnet Schools of Holyoke were pronounced by the Massachusetts Office for Education as one of the most successful, creative, and productive examples of the potential of Magnet schools. A public school system where children thrived, regardless of their class and race, and where parents were included into the fabric of the overall educational experience.

But the poverty level within the Latino population continued to increase. By 1989, 59% of all Latinos living in Holyoke were below the federal poverty level. By 1993,

the K-12 enrollment was comprised of 78% minority, predominately Latino. Of these enrolled Latino students, 75% were from low income families.

The success of these children and self-empowerment of their parents and families as a whole was resented by many from the dominant groups, a significant number who were from inside the school system itself. The rallying cry was for the schools to return to the basics. In 1991 this sentiment helped elect Mayor Hamilton, a retired Monsanto executive who embraced the desire for fiscal conservatism and change—change back to *the way we were.* The Holyoke Public Schools proposed in June of 1991 to reduce the budget by a total $8 million dollars for the 1991–92 school year. In June an override ballot question to raise initially $5 million was defeated while in November another ballot attempt to raise $3 million for the schools was also defeated, while an override to provide $1.3 million for trash collection and disposal passed.

Shortly thereafter action was put into motion and School Superintendent George Counter and his administrative assistants were discharged in what was locally called the "Counter-revolution".

Students and families felt the immediate atmospheric change, while witnessing the dismissal of 66% of the bilingual program administrative and supervisory staff. Bilingual curriculums were discontinued and materials including books destroyed. There was a 35% reduction in Transitional Bilingual Educators (TBE) and a 55% reduction in English Second Language (ESL) teachers which led to average class sizes of 35 students. For many Puerto Rican families it was all too familiar to their earlier experiences with the public schools.

Although the housing opportunities had started to open up for Puerto Ricans in previously white dominant neighborhoods, most housing units were administrated by the local Holyoke Public Housing Authority or private sector affordable complexes funded in part by Federal or State housing programs. While other two-family houses abutting inner-city wards were quietly being rented to Puerto Rican families by former Holyoke residents who retired and left the city, thus becoming absentee landlords, by far the majority of Puerto Rican families still lived within the inner-city four quadrant.

It wasn't until 1985 that the first Latino was elected to a public office, as school committee of Ward 2, while the first Latino city councilor wasn't elected until 1991, again representing Ward 2 of the inner-city.

It was during this time that a group of Puerto Rican city residents began to pull together research in preparation to file a Federal Voting Rights lawsuit. It was felt that the existing composition of the local legislative body was discriminative towards the Puerto Rican community. The legislative body was comprised of one member from each of the seven wards. There also were eight seats called *at-large*, making the total number fifteen elected officials. It was impossible for a Latino to run at-large and win, the numbers alone were against them. The fact that most of the Latino population was located within three inner-city wards, meant even if they were to elect three representatives, which they had not yet done, the legislative body would still be twelve to three on voting matters relevant to the needs of the Latino community.

The lawsuit was filed and prevailed with the plaintiffs winning. This victory was not taken lightly or very well by the dominant white population. If they were to be denied the ability to liquidate the Puerto Rican housing, at the same time witnessing the slow dispersement of Puerto Rican families into the upper wards of the city, the scales of majority control of the legislative body was at risk. Puerto Rican families were typically large, while the white population had reached advanced age with fewer number of young families. At-large seats were imperative to ensure the white legislative voting dominance even while losing to the war of attrition.

The City appealed the court's decision and the Court reversed the ruling. The at-large system was to stand as one of the entrenched monuments to the bastion of white control through electoral politics.

It is within this historical narrative in 1995 that the idea to launch a city-wide referendum campaign, to convince the city residents to undertake an economic feasibility study upon whether ownership of the Holyoke Dam was an economic opportunity that needed to be actively pursued or not, was implemented. To engage the public in dialogue the decision was made to call the effort *D.o A.sk M.ore* or DAM.

Efforts were undertaken to secure some funds to assist with a typical public education and outreach campaign needed to get the referendum question onto the fall municipal elections. Volunteers were recruited to help with signature gathering, pamphlet distribution, phone banking and sign holding. However, based upon research and small focus group findings, it soon became very obvious this wasn't a typical electoral campaign. One example was the confusion by residents on who actually owned and operated the Holyoke Dam. It was determined that the general population thought because the organization running the hydro-electric dam and its canals was the Holyoke Water Power Company, they assumed that it was a city run commercial entity. This was actually very logical, since there was a quasi-municipal Holyoke Gas and Electric company, as well as the Holyoke Water Works. However, the fact of the matter was that Holyoke Water Power was a subsidiary of Northeast Utilities Company, one of the largest electrical power providers in the United States.

What this pervasive misconception told the organizers was that there existed a major disconnect with the city's long time residents and the history of who financed and built their city. If they didn't know who owned the dam, then the question was raised as to what else did they not know of their own working class history and the struggles they all faced as emerging immigrant populations. How could this information be utilized in the overall strategy and messaging of the referendum campaign? Were there commonalities among and between the dominant groups experiences during their early years in the city and the more recent emigrant group? And if there were, how would that information be communicated to the wider audience, recognizing that many did not speak English?

To add to the mix of obstacles was a recently successful local effort to license a casino within the city limits. That referendum had promised economic revitalization and tax relief to the homeowners. While the referendum had passed in April 1995, the city would still have to be selected by the state as to whether it would be allowed

to solicit a casino to be built. The state legislation allowing casinos into the commonwealth was still pending, but many residents felt certain that it would pass and the city would be selected, relieving all of their economic worries.

Realizing that the city was divided not only along race but ethnic lines and that recent history had witnessed major legal and other actions against each group, a plan was developed to find the benefits this DAM referendum would address specific to each group's own perceived needs. The disparities between the white and non-white communities were based on income, homeownership, educational attainment, employment and most certainly language.

As the lead media consultant and content producer for the DAM efforts, I searched for sources that could provide the in-depth data on the early living conditions confronting the two prominent immigrant groups. Having grown up in the city, one heard familiar, hand-me-down stories about the discrimination which confronted the Irish with No Irish Need Apply—NINA. While also hearing about the designated boundaries between the neighborhoods, where any *interlopers*, especially French, trying to pass through the Irish-centric "Tiger town" neighborhood were met with stone throwing and tough fists. One had little sense of the how the workers gained increased wages or political seats. I needed primary sourced books from which I could extract the data and information that portrayed the true conditions and the struggles that ensued.

It was at this time I was introduced to a writer that met all of my needs; Constance McLaughlin Green. A Smith College professor of sociology and wife of a Holyoke industrialist, Green utilized the primary data sources of all of the city government departments to compile a factual recreation of the socio-economic conditions that had confronted both the residents and industrialists. The book was entitled, "Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America" (1939). I learned that Green became known as an expert in urban history, winning the 1963 Pulitzer Prize for History at a time when there were very few published women historians, but her very first work was on the city of Holyoke. I immediately began to read and notate the volumes of information that needed to be distilled and presented in a non-print medium. The decision was made to write a script for a video documentary based upon Green's writings.

So while doing the necessary research and reading the history, plans also had to be developed to address the messaging content, including images associated with all referendum material. Luckily, the organizing committee included people experienced in how to organize and conduct door-knocking and phone banking. What they needed was help in how not to over explain Hydro-electricity, megawatts and turbines and to make the referendum meaningful in very real human terms to the potential voters. But it was also emphasized that we had to stratify the messaging both in terms of Spanish/English and identifying the motivation behind why each group should/would vote *yes* for the referendum.

Given the recent April, 1995 Casino referendum victory, which was based upon tax relief and employment issues, it was decided to recapture those sentiments in this election. Since homeowners were predominantly white and English-speaking, home

taxes were their primary hook. Economic revitalization would increase the city's revenues, enabling the city officials to reduce the tax burden upon the homeowners.

While the Latino community was still reeling from the brutal dismantling of the Magnet Schools and bi-lingual education, the betterment of the public schools was predominately on their minds. New revenues could be used to upgrade the schools and rehire the Latino administrators and instructors. Very close in need was also the desire for more employment opportunities. Revitalization of industrial/commercial space due to the draw of inexpensive electricity, would provide employment and improved housing opportunities.

Community outreach was paramount in the early stages of launching the media campaign. Presentations were made before groups as diverse as the Holyoke Gas and Electric Guild membership, to a consortium of social service providers. These engagements not only allowed us to get our stories out, but to hear the questions and doubts that were raised, along with ideas and suggestions on who else should be asked to participate. From these meetings, local leaders who were in favor of the referendum were identified and asked to help in presenting the cause to their constituents. Some of these leaders would later be the voices on the local Spanish language radio asking for the community's support and vote on the referendum. Many agreed to post bilingual information in their community based organizations and to inform their staff as to the importance of getting the vote out.

Letters were being submitted to the local newspapers explaining what was at stake; a once in every fifty years opportunity for the municipality to apply to own and operate an electricity producing facility. The benefits were listed as they applied to the average homeowner and to those desiring better education for their children and better paying jobs for themselves.

It was during this early stage of the campaign that Mayor Hamilton, who was up for re-election, took a very firm stand that even if the referendum was to pass, he would veto it. The Mayor had been expected to encounter very little if any real resistance for his re-election, due in part by his huge popularity within the older white electorate. A 28-year old city councilor, Daniel Szostkiewicz, had announced his candidacy earlier, but wasn't considered a threat to the incumbent. The Mayor used his position of power to ensure the dam remained in private sector control. Having been a long time Monsanto employee, he was no supporter of municipal ownership.

Throughout this period of time the documentary script was being written. Green's book provided the necessary information and data to be able to compare the first two dominant groups of immigrants, the Irish and the French Canadians. What emerged from her documentation were the overriding themes that would be the categories for comparison. These included: housing conditions; health issues; level of formal education; labor by wage, gender and employment; and obtainment of political power. These same categories would be used to portray the evolution of the Puerto Rican community.

Since Green's book was published in 1939, additional sources of data needed to be utilized to carry the story forward. The archive room of the Holyoke Gas and Electric was a trove of documentation, including photos and newspaper clippings,

on the 1947 attempt to compete with Holyoke Water Power for the license to own and operate the dam. The material demonstrated how the then Mayor was able to stake the HG&E Commission with pro-private sector individuals, whom were eventually able to turn back the HG&E's leadership efforts for turning the dam into public ownership.

For additional data on the city's post 1939 social and economic indicators, reports submitted by the city to the Federal Office of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as well as the City Master Plan of 1968 and the statistics generated by the three community generated lawsuits were more than adequate in helping to fill in the years until 1995.

A decision was made to not have the documentary take an overt or pronounced position on the referendum question. It was an attempt to engage the citizens with their own family history and reconnect many of them back to their roots in the city. But it was our intention to have them see those histories through a wider lens, one that portrayed the horrific living conditions for not only their lineage but also those from different ethnic/cultural backgrounds. The inclusion of the previous 1947 effort to compete for the dam only needed to be reported by the facts and outcomes. We did not want the opposition to portray the work as pure propaganda.

Realizing that most people do not like to watch long documentaries, it was decided to break the show into shorter segments for installment showings. Distribution via cable television was the desired vehicle, due to public access being free and in need of local origination programming. This avenue was explored, as was the possibility of local Public Broadcast System, channel WGBY, located in neighboring Springfield MA. While the PBS option did hold more of perceived prestige, they wanted to show the documentary in its complete form not in segments, and only once. While the day and time was never finalized this option did not have the flexibility that was desired and so cable access television became the goal.

It had been decided early on that the documentary would be bilingual, English/Spanish. Shooting and producing the video in English with Spanish sub-titles was explored as the least costly choice, but the subjugation of the Spanish language as secondary or visually seen as an add-on, did not conform with the philosophy of the filmmakers. The decision was made to video record independently the English and Spanish segments. The shows would be identical in content, both visually and in text. This meant at least doubling the time required for shooting and editing each segment. The word went out to area videographers and editors who might consider reducing their rates to help with a project that could have direct impact via a major political decision, of revitalizing the economically depressed city of Holyoke. The operating budget was only $8,000. The finished project was only made possible by the kind reduction of professionals rates, especially by the videographers and editors. Aditionally the contribution of video equipment at no charge, support crew members holding cue card, and translating the English text into Spanish. There still remained the most important decision; who were to be the on-camera talent?

Given the estimated enormity of time that this project was going to need and the narrow window of time in which it had to be completed, buffered by the fact there was no money, it fell upon the filmmaker to cast himself as the host/commentator

of the English versions. It also helped that his family was well known and been in the city since the 1880's and he had been politically active within the Puerto Rican community from 1976–1982.

For the role of Spanish speaking host/commentator he turned to Magdalena Gómez, a theater teaching artist at the Magnet School of the Arts. Magdalena was well known in the city's Puerto Rican community through her work with the school children, as well as for her national reputation as being a distinguished poet in the Nuyorican Literary Movement in New York City starting at the age of 17. Magdalena had already assisted the filmmaker in two previous local video productions. One on Teen Pregnancy and the other on Peer Education. Ms. Gómez wholeheartedly agreed to donate her time and talent to the effort.

With on-camera talent and crew both paid and non-paid lined up, it was decided to begin shooting as soon as possible. It was decided that the look of the documentary would be traditional in style, relying upon old photos and graphics when quantifiable totals such as populations, would be used. It was determined that many of the white viewers had not been to the inner-city for many years. With the development of the Holyoke Mall on the outskirts of town and the closing of the State Motor Registration Office within the original mercantile district, there was very little downtown left to meet their needs. This, along with what they perceived as unsafe streets, kept them away.

It was this absence from seeing their historical inner-city institutions that would be paramount in reconnecting them to their history. The documentary needed to visually display and highlight the iconic institutions such as City Hall, churches, schools, factories, mercantile districts along with the surrounding view scapes, including the canals, dam and river. This also would include some of the original tenements and surrounding neighborhoods where their families or themselves once lived, some the same tenements now occupied by Puerto Rican families.

To incorporate these visual memories it was decided that as much as possible, the script should be recorded in the present day vicinity of what was being described, even if the script was addressing issues from the previous century. If the script was describing a massive worker walk out of the 1880's then some of that section would be shot in front of the corresponding factory. Many of those shots would be conducted as though the commentator was a news reporter on the scene. This look would play out later when the segments shifted from past historical information to current up to date reporting.

Arrangements were made with a local cable access group, called *Vecinos-Neighbors*, who for a number of years were promoting the Latino community through coverage of cultural events and conducting interviews with local and visiting personalities. They agreed to open their schedule to us for five weeks to enable us to show our documentary. While this was what we had hoped for, the ability to show it in segments, we did not expect the following: we would be able to show the English and Spanish segments each, three times a week. This was a huge advantage for us, and when the final video running time was realized, an opportunity we never would have been able to afford. The full English version was 94 min running time while the Spanish version ran at 154 min. While the segments were matched in content,

the Spanish segments needed much more time. This generous offer by the people involved with *Vecinos-Neighbors* was truly a gift, ensuring multiple opportunities for people with cable television to see the segments as they were created. Other than completing the project, all we needed to do was to generate a bilingual viewing audience.

As the summer evolved into the fall, the documentary was being both edited in post-production and the final segments being shot on location. Additionally, the DAM committee wanted to turn up their messaging through all media genres. While letters to the editors and guest opinion columns were continuing, as well as drop-off literature at homes, the desire was to create a major momentum heading into the November election. As media coordinator I was asked to write copy for radio and to write and produce a television ad.

Radio drive time, commuter's time driving to and from work, was an essential audience we wanted to reach. It was decided to purchase all of the drive time on the two most listened to radio stations for three weeks running up to the actual election. This was done early enough that the opposition did not know there was no remaining drive time to purchase until they tried a month before the election. This lock on the drive time enabled me to produce a story building narrative which pitted the thirty-year experienced HG&E manager against the fiscally conservative Republican, who had been an executive at Monsanto. The question was asked who would you trust and believe, to best understand the business of electrical power? The radio ads reflected and spoke to the messaging that was appearing in the print media as well as the distributed literature and paid ads.

For the television ad I wanted to do something a little more daring, catching the viewer by surprise while getting them motivated to vote *yes*. Due to our limited resources it was decided to do only one television ad and only in English. I wrote a script that would address some of the known fears of the city's homeowners. These issues had already been addressed in print. What would capture their attention?

One of the recurring refrains I had heard from people was how they had already passed the referendum to allow a casino into the city earlier that same year. Many people felt that the casino was going to be the fix they needed, why go through another referendum? I wanted to speak directly to that mindset and convince them that another economic revitalization effort was worth pursuing, especially since the casino wasn't a guarantee.

The ad opened with a black screen and the written words: Somewhere in Holyoke. Cards being shuffled could be heard. The opening scene consisted of a green felt card table with chips in front of two sets of hands, playing poker. The camera view never went above the hands holding the cards at table level. No faces were ever seen. The banter was of two friends comparing their situations at home and how things needed to get better. Basically, the issues were discussed in a very matter of fact way that included, not being able to sell one's house for what it was worth, and not getting to see one's children because they live so far way to be able to find a good paying job. The dealer asks how many cards the other wants drawn or dealt. The player responds, *just one and its got to be a good one*. When dealer asks what he has in his hand, he lays down the cards saying *a straight opportunity*, while camera zoomed

into the cards, each with an image of the dam and a Vote Yes Holyoke Dam written on them with The Dam, Our Future, and the date of the election. The ad resonated with the viewers, it got people's attention and they were talking about it, but would it influence their vote?

The documentary *Power/Poder* had already started and ads in English and Spanish were placed in newspapers and on radio to promote the channel and times of each segment's showing. The show was called: *A Working Class History of the City of Holyoke* and the opening referred to the multiple meanings the word power can have. It can mean political or economic, hydro or legal. The local access station reported they had never had so many calls come into them regarding information about a locally produced program. The last segment would end the Friday before the election. It would include scenes from City Council meetings that had happened the prior week. It felt more news-like by the final segment due to the inclusion of the latest comments from both sides of the issue. While the documentary was a look at the needs of the working class, it never asked the viewers to vote *Yes* for the referendum, catching the anti-license side flat-footed. They had expected to challenge the cablecasting of a political program which would have been against FCC rules, as it pertained to cable access television regulations.

The Outcome

Holyoke voters turned out in droves and voted Yes more than 5-1 to continue the dam application process. By a margin of 7,919 to 2,223, supporters of the Dam Question achieved a stunning victory. The referendum passed by a 78% Yes vote. The highest affirmative referendum vote in the state of Massachusetts up to that time. This well-defined and orchestrated effort by many committed and determined individuals had two other results.

The relatively unknown 28 year-old City Councilor, Daniel Szostkiewicz, while running a good campaign and supporting the Dam Referendum, was aided by Mayor Hamilton's self-inflected wound, when Hamilton told the voters he would veto the referendum if it was to pass. This arrogance made many voters who normally would have voted for him, throw their vote to the "kid". It was supposed to send a message to the Mayor but what it did was to help propel a new mayor into Room One.

Additionally, early on the dam issue helped to mobilize the Latino community around a slate of Latino candidates. The Latino field work to get the vote out was well organized. The City of Holyoke had a history of moving polling sites as well as using a street census to remove voters from the list if they had moved. Radio announcements were broadcast on the Spanish language radio advising people where to call if they had any questions. A phone bank was established to take calls from people wanting to know where their polling site was located. Over 250 calls were handled with offers of providing rides to those in need. This effort resulted in the doubling of Latino voting turnout in the wards where they comprised almost 65% of the voting

population. Three of the five Latino candidates were elected and the newly elected Mayor Szostkiewicz received more votes from this sector than his margin of victory.

The election resulted in both euphoria and shock through-out the city. Members of the political ruling order did not expect their vote against Mayor Hamilton would lead to his defeat. It was only supposed to get his attention not to take their vote for granted and to carry out the will of the voters concerning the referendum. Instead they woke up to a new coalition, one coalescing around a 28 year-old of Polish heritage, whose margin of victory was firmly rooted in the Latino vote. Would this new coalition be able to secure itself via appointments to City Commissions and as importantly hiring onto municipal jobs? How far would the older established political order allow this new distribution coalition to go replacing or inhibiting their own familial needs for employment? Would the young Mayor have the skills to navigate the resistance he would encounter while trying to establish a new and deeper Latino presence within the City government? Was the passing of one referendum by all races and ethnic groups that might help the city as a whole be enough to begin the dissipation of the historical discriminatory behaviors and practices by the established ruling elite? Could there be enough harmony and coexistence to allow the Latino community a seat at the table of governance?

It has been almost twenty-five years since this city-wide organizing effort across racial and socio-economic lines occurred. I would suggest any attempt in analyzing sustainable change should start by looking at some of the indicators which were first provided by Professor Green and utilized as the comparison basis through-out the documentary. Did the political mobilization of the Holyoke voting population around a common goal, the ownership of the Holyoke Dam, result in the transformation of the racial tensions, reduction of abject poverty, political control, economic revitalization and educational attainment? To provide a little information for comparison here is some data from the U.S. Census from 2014–2018.

The poverty rate continued to adversely impact the Latino community. The overall poverty rate was 28.6% in 2018, or one out of every three residents lived in poverty. While the population showed the under eighteen years of age to be 23.5%, those sixty-five and over comprised 13.9%, and the median age was 34.9 years. It is the very young who are most impacted by poverty. A local newspaper, the Springfield Republican, reported in an article titled, "War on Poverty", by Jeanett Deforge, dated 2019, that Holyoke had the third highest rate of children in poverty at 85%. The article went on to report that three of the top ten poorest schools in the state were located in Holyoke. Kelly School had 97% of students living in poverty. Of those children, 71% did not speak English as their first language. Morgan school had an even higher poverty rate at 98%. Both of these elementary schools are located in the original inner-city neighborhoods.

The city schools continued to underperform when it came to the state's standardized testing and high school graduation with only 54% overall population having a high school degree. Those with a bachelor's degree or higher was 23.4%. In 2015 the state took over the city's public schools in what is commonly referred to as "receivership", where the community lost local control of the schools.

The City did indeed pursue and obtain the license to own and operate the Dam. While the census data shows the city having 2,450 firms, only 656 or 26% were minority owned. The inner-city has only one full service bank. While the city advertises that there exists nearly three million square feet of empty mill space for potential businesses, the city is actively pursuing marijuana growers for these large facilities. None of the current license contenders are minorities. So the argument that ownership of the dam would enable the recruitment of businesses by offering lower electric rates appears to have not materialized. With those dreams went the hopes for better paying jobs, reducing the poverty rate especially among children and better performing schools.

While the city's population stayed around 40,000, the Latinos increased to 52% and others would say closer to 60% of the total population. With that increase in voting power there still has not been a Latino mayor. The City Council underwent a charter change, resulting in the reduction of the at-large seats from eight to six, with all seven wards still represented, there were now thirteen elected councilors. There are currently three Latino ward representatives and there has only been one Latino at-large councilor since 1995.

In the 2019 municipal elections witnessed a 29% voter turnout, with 7,727 of the city's 26,469 voters casting a vote. This total was 2,797 votes less than the total votes cast in 1995 for the DAM referendum. Three Latino candidates ran for the six at-large council seats with Israel Rivera coming in seventh, losing by 287 votes. This election retained the three Latino ward incumbents but had missed the opportunity to elect at least one at-large councilor.

The question of racial tensions today depends on who you talk to. The long time systemic structure of resistance and control permeates to this very day. The earlier dominant groups still wield the political power to hold the gavel and dictate the city's course of action. But the truth of the matter is raw demographics. Through attrition the Latino population has exponentially taken over the previous dominant groups growth. How long will it take for them to secure political control and what status will the infrastructure be when they do, are questions the current residents should be asking themselves and organizing to find the answers.

What Are the Takeaways?

I moved from Holyoke less than a year after the election. I don't have the first hand account of what transpired with the newly elected Mayor and the Latino leadership who helped secure his election. But it is clear to see from the cited numbers above that sustainable change in the fullest possible sense of the word did not occur. It did not sustain in economic development and job creation, or the integration and expansion of political representation and influence to include the Latino community. It did not improve the educational needs of the Latino children and the poverty of children had only gotten worst.

I have tried to describe how the use of multiple organizing strategies through various media genres were enhanced by a coordinated messaging system, both traditional and non-traditional in nature. Whether the creation of a bilingual documentary that highlighted the experiences of various groups over time, through the same lens of socio-economic conditions would find a commonality within the working classes was a gamble. But it was a gamble worth taking and one that I believe had significant impact upon the desired electoral outcome. I believe this *narrative style* should be replicated, especially around current issues confronting local cities, towns.

In this case study, it might help to undertake a sixty-year review of the struggles and accomplishments of the Holyoke Latino community. Utilizing oral histories from those who participated during those years, informing the younger generation as well as re-energizing the older population. A video documentary that can augment personal family/community stories with the truth on how they confronted the city powers, attempting to improve the livelihoods of all. But they should also look at the current conditions through the use of data and seek a course of action.

The video equipment technology and corresponding means of distribution has changed dramatically in the past twenty-five years. The advent of the mobile phone's photography and video capabilities in the hands of smart phone owners has dramatically increased the potential for capturing real time events. The very fact that the visual information can be distributed simultaneously through social media platforms, not subject to electronic interference, increases the potential for audience engagement and responses in real time. We have seen this method used successfully during the *Arab Spring* uprising, as well as more recently in the Hong Kong street demonstrations.

I am not writing to analyze the long-term development for social change these two cited cases create, but rather to demonstrate the potential of the technology on large stages. We are also witnessing the wide-spread negative use of robotic social media messaging of misinformation for disrupting and damaging political campaigns and individual's reputations.

The question for me is how would access to the existing technology and their implementation be incorporated today if the Holyoke Dam referendum was being organized? It would most defiantly alter the means by which the overall messaging was distributed. Social media platforms would be utilized and distribution networks established with other individual as well as organizational supporters. But it's one thing to check "like" on Facebook and another to be willing to go face to face to inform and recruit people. There are apps that will help door knock and register the degree of the resident's support and whether they are registered to vote. These kinds of tools are without a doubt a game changer in identifying potential *yes* or *maybe* voters for appropriate follow-up.

I still believe that visuals can convey a very deep feeling to a viewer and resonate a response. But we are confronted by the shortening of the attention span of most people, especially younger ones, who have grown up with action-video games and instant messaging. I have witnessed the running time of non-profit video promotional used for outreach and funding support from foundations reduced from fifteen minutes thirty years ago, to what most believe should be no more than three minutes in

today's high speed, multi-tasking world. Who has the time? When this comes to documentaries, which typically need significant time to unfold and tell the story, the majority of people tend not to want to give their time to watching, even if they are in support of the issue/subject being portrayed.

To tell the 150-year history of the City of Holyoke in conjunction with the DAM organizing strategy was accomplished primarily by the use of cable access television distribution. This point of origin, relegated to multiple times and days each week, where the viewer could see each weekly segment, either in English or Spanish, was hugely important. Additionally, many people used the homeowners choice of capturing television shows off the air via Video Cassette Recorders (VCR) for viewing at their convenience. The VCR technology allowed for the weekly showing of the segments in two local establishments, a Puerto Rican restaurant, and a local deli in the inner-city for those without a cable subscription.

Today I would still use the cable access distribution, since the City finally negotiated a contract with the cable provider in 2014 to fund a non-profit to run the access media center. In Massachusetts there is the capability of sharing video files with over 250 access stations, which is especially helpful if you are addressing a state-wide issue. There is also a national distribution network through the Alliance for Community Media. But I would additionally create a You Tube account so we could post and curate the videos in use for all to see, especially those who have cut the cable cord and have no cable television in their homes.

As content creator I would be confronted by the realization that people like very short, episodic messaging, when watching on mobile devices. The challenge would be to find a suitable and more importantly, acceptable length in which to edit each segment. This could very well make the use of hard data very difficult to keep the viewer engaged.

However, the increased national interest in genealogy and familial roots could very well be utilized in once again framing the issues around personal history, leading to social/community collective experiences. The digital story telling process has captured the attention of National Public Radio as well as Public Broadcast Service (PBS). Educator, Henry Louis Gates, has hosted the PBS series, "Finding Our Roots", for the past six years. The audience gets to see celebrities review their collected family histories, where many times they are surprised by what they hadn't known or thought they knew.

This need to connect our individual desires to find our families' histories, enables us to find our grounding, our link to the realities of our past. Everyday people, not just celebrities, need to situate themselves among these realities, even if they are uncomfortable, to help alleviate the sense of loss and loneliness. This state of isolation and despondency felt by many throughout the country has been greatly accelerated by the current state of hate promulgating politics.

As active players in social change we need to help reconnect people to their own realities, ones not glazed over by idealized and romantic family versions; it's an opportunity worth pursuing. We must invoke emotional connectivity with the targeted audience, possibly through sympathy or when possible through empathy. The viewers seeing themselves reflected back through the similar experiences of

others, awakens their senses to what they all have in common. It can be deeply felt. It can also invoke anger from the audience towards those individuals or institutions that created the common barriers and discriminations faced by the groups identified. This appeal often leads them to taking an action. In the case of Holyoke it was a unified electoral campaign across racial and class lines.

Before others will be moved to action they must be persuaded by facts, including statistics when available. People must believe the information they are receiving is grounded in historically trusted narratives from authorities on the subject at hand. It must be logical for them to become invested.

It is imperative to find a spokesperson or as was the case in Holyoke, persons, who can convince the audience that they are credible sources and worth listening to. This appeal must be established or the maximum potential outcome will be jeopardized. People are looking for opportunities to connect with not only their own humanity, but those around them. We need to offer them the chance to secure themselves within the knowledge that collectively we have more in common than we first believed. A commonality that can make positive change a reality, one lasting in sustainability when we become truly engaged and vested in the long-term outcomes for all.

Rethinking Social Change and Development Communication in Africa

Charles Okigbo

Introduction

One of the most dedicated promoters of social change and development communication in Africa is the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE), a pan-African nonprofit organization, which was set up by UNESCO and some of the leading scholars of communication in Africa in the late 1976. The primary goals of ACCE were to promote communication research in African universities and to encourage the application of research findings on Africa's extant problems of change and development. In its hey days, the Council had national chapters in more than 25 African countries, published an academic journal (the *Africa Media Review*) and a newsletter (*Africom*), and held very widely-attended biennial conferences across the continent from Egypt in the north, to South Africa in the south, and from Senegal in the west, to Kenya in the east. The history of the ACCE dates back to UNESCO's funding in the early 1970s for Richard Aspinal, the Chief Technical Adviser in Mass Communication, to be deployed to the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Lagos to promote journalism and communication education and research (Nwuneli 2019).

Thereafter, UNESCO provided the foundational funding and counsel to set up the African Council for Communication Education, with membership initially restricted to only heads of communication departments in sub-Saharan African universities. The inaugural conference of the young association was hosted by the School of Communication Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon, and the follow-up conference was held at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Nairobi, Kenya. Social change and development communication were at the core of the association's programs, as a reflection of the trend that started in the United

C. Okigbo (✉)
Department of Communication, North Dakota State University, Fargo 58108, ND, USA
e-mail: Charles.Okigbo@ndsu.edu

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_14

States in the preceding decade of the 1960s, which saw the publication of Wilbur Schramm's *Mass Communication and National Development* (1964), preceded a few years earlier by Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958). Whereas Britain and France played key roles in the evolution of politics and governance in Africa, as the two major colonial powers, it was the United States of America that influenced the evolution of pedagogy in development and social change communication in Africa, through the education of the pioneer African scholars in this field. Interest in development communication in Africa today, is a continuation of the research in this field, by the African pioneers, who all studied in American universities, especially those in the middle and agrarian region of the US.

The Pioneers of African Development and Social Change Communication

The 1960s had ended with the first set of Africans and Africanists, who had studied communication in American universities directing their research attention to issues of social change and development on the continent. Some of these were Malawian Joseph R. Ascroft (1966) with his 1966 master's degree research at Michigan State University, titled "A Factor Analytic Investigation of Modernization Among Kenya Villagers," followed three years later (1969) with his dissertation on "Modernization and Communication: Controlling Environmental Change." The USAID-funded field research on Diffusion of Innovations in Rural Societies of Brazil, India, and Eastern Nigeria, which was directed by Everett Rogers yielded multiple doctoral dissertations, master's theses, and more than a dozen reports. Some of the dissertations that focused on social change, innovation, and development include Hershfield's (1968) Village Leaders and the Modernization of Agriculture Among the Ibos of Southeast Nigeria, Davis' (1968) "Systems Variables and Agricultural Innovativeness in Eastern Nigeria" (Dissertation, Michigan State University), Keith's (1968) Information and Modernization: A Study of Eastern Nigerian Farmers (Dissertation, Michigan State University), and Ben (1968) "An Analysis of Polymorphic Opinion Leadership in Eastern Nigerian Communities" master's thesis, Michigan State University), among others.

The foundation for applied research on social change and development in Africa which was laid at Michigan State University overflowed to other universities leading to some of the earliest doctoral research studies at universities in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, California, Minnesota, and Michigan. At the University of Wisconsin, Ekwelie's (1971) dissertation was on "The Press in Gold Coast Nationalism: 1890–1957", while Nwuneli's (1976) doctoral research was on "Socioeconomic Status, Socioeconomic Expectation and Mass Media Exposure in Lagos, Nigeria." At the University of Illinois, Douglas' (1971) dissertation was on "The Role of the Mass Media in National Development: A Reformulation with Particular Reference to Sierra

Leone"; at Wayne State University, Ukpo (1974) researched "Communication Technology and Strategies for Rural Development: The Case for Family Planning and Health Care in Nigeria." At Sanford University, Almy (1974) studied "Rural Development in Meru, Kenya: Economic and Social Factors in Accelerating Change" and at the University of Minnesota, Ugboajah (1975) studied "Communication of Development Issues in the Nigerian Mass Media: A Sociological Perspective" and following right on his heels at the same university, Nnaemeka (1976) examined "Issue Legitimation, Mass Media Functions, and Public Knowledge of Social Issues." This was the landscape for research in social change and development communication in the period preceding the formation of the African Council for Communication Education by these pioneer scholars of African communication.

Latter-Day Scholars

The goals of many of the researches were to understand the best ways to improve the conditions of living of the people and to determine the best methods of speeding up development through better uses of communication. The work of these pioneers of social change and development communication in Africa has been sustained by the continuing research interests of contemporary scholars, most notably Agunga (1997), lake (1988), Boafo (1986), Eribo (2004), Moemeka (1989), Manyozo (2012), Nwosu (1987), Obeng-Quiadoo (1986), and Okunna (1992), among others. There is hardly any consensus among these early and latter-day scholars on the meaning of social change and development, although they agree on the import and relevance of adopting new ideas and methods to bring about desired socio-economic growth that serves the interests of the local communities.

In spite of the continuing interest in social change and development communication in Africa, the landscape for scholarship and practice in this field has been stymied by the *persistent feeling of failure* of significant sections of African society to bring about the expected benefits in the massive eradication of ignorance, promotion of higher educational standards, and the ushering in of widespread development in social, political, technological, health, agricultural, and economic areas. Communication is one of the key factors of positive change and it is expected to be a channel for transmitting new ideas, a catalyst for the adoption of new ways, and a symbol of modernization.

Social Change and Political Development in Africa

Social change is a constant fact of life in Africa and it has been so for as long as people inhabited the continent even though it is often slow, negative, and emergent or more unplanned than prescriptively strategic. Africa presents a *perennially challenging terrain for social change and development* because of its colonial history of

uncontrolled exploitation by European explorers and their governments, which were driven by greed and unbridled ambition to exercise political power over every inch of the continent. Precolonial Africa was not necessarily a tranquil idyllic environment as it witnessed much strife, inter-tribal wars and communal disruptions, which in many cases provided willing partners to the exploitative trans-Atlantic and trans-Saharan slave traders. Social change was ever-present, and it was a persistent feature of African societies which had rich cultures of positive inter-regional influences and exchanges in trade and commerce. Ancient precolonial African empires survived and thrived because of their ability to adapt to changing political, religious, and cultural influences, showing a highly developed level of cultural communication practices, continuing up to the colonial era.

The change that came with political independence in the 1950s, starting with Ghana in 1957, to as recent as 2015, when the last country, South Sudan, gained independence. Although all African states have now gained political independence, this has not necessarily favored the ordinary citizens because the African politicians who inherited the reins of government from the colonialists, to a large extent, failed to bring about genuine positive political and social change. Two broad types of social change are noticeable today in Africa. The first is the gradual processual and evolutionary change that comes from the inevitable encounter with new ideas and ways. This is often unnoticed but significant and important in its own right through *unconscious socialization and acculturation.* Examples of this are found in the domains of popular culture, personal hygiene, nutrition, and urbanization, where there are incipient changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behavior, without any empirical efforts by extant groups. The other type of social change is the purposive and purposeful introduction of new ideas and ways through education, the mass media and the other organs of social influence. It is this second form that deservedly attracts more attention because it is amenable to control, leveraging, and diminution, as the case may be. In this way, we can see social change then as purposive, planned, deliberate principles, strategies, and practices that are aimed at influencing people's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior so that they would willingly adopt or engage in new activities that lead to improvements (*desirable developments*) in their living conditions.

Social change in Africa incorporates all those designs by people and their organizations which are aimed at introducing new ideas, new ways, new values, and new methods into our social systems so that members of society and their groups and institutions would willingly accept to elevate themselves from their current levels to higher levels of wellbeing. Traditional African societies believe that change is inevitable for individual and communal progress. What Uchendu (1965: 104) observed about the Ibo people in Nigeria applies to many other African communities: "The Ibo believe that change is necessary for the realization of their long-term goals" of improving individuals and communities. Social change is manifest in the improvements that accompany the adoption of new ideas in various spheres of life from agriculture through economic activities, education, health, and social values, among others. Every aspect of life in Africa has seen some changes and incipient improvements, which have been dutifully documented and accurately captured in the statistics of life

expectancy, childhood mortality, gross domestic products and per capita earnings, and physical infrastructure, among others. In spite of the undeniable change that we see in many aspects of life in Africa, there is still much room for new changes and for more speedy or accelerated adoption of new ideas to bring about more widespread and deeper-rooted development.

We often think and talk about social change as if every aspect is positive. There is ample evidence for nefarious social change in Africa because there are many new ideas, methods, practices, and social values that portend negative consequences and are *anti-development*. The most obvious examples are the many cases of political change where pre-colonial village democracy has been replaced by false elections that have kept some African political leaders in office for decades. The two most egregious cases are Equatorial Guinea, where Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasongo has been in office since 1979, after ousting his uncle from the presidential seat, and Angola, where Jose Eduardo dos Santos is still in power since 1979 too. President Paul Biya has been in office in Cameroon since 1982, as has President Yoweri Museveni in Uganda since 1986. Dennis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo served from 1979 to 1992, came back in 1997, and has remained in office since then. The so-called change in the political arena is so disastrous some well-meaning Africans sometimes wish their countries had never been granted political independence by their colonizers. It is obvious therefore that *not every manifestation of social change is development*. We have to be more mindful of the kind of social change that portends negative consequences, and these are not in short supply in Africa as well as in other parts of the world.

Development and Modernization in Africa

Development is not necessarily synonymous with social change, and in our context of Africa, it is often wrongly associated with modernization and westernization, while in fact, there was much considerable development in pre-colonial African societies and communities. Development is a universal and timeless human attribute, which is engrained in every human society, regardless of its level of technological and industrial sophistication. It is an expression of societal wellbeing that does not necessarily imply technological sophistication or a high level of political machinery, as in western-style democracies. Every country is developing and there is none that is completely undeveloped. Kleinjans (1976: ix) said it so well when he observed in the Foreword to *Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years—and the Next*, that "All countries are developing countries. Development is the process through which a society moves to acquire the capability of enhancing the quality of life of its people, primarily through solutions to its problems." We envisage that the type of development which people in Africa would appreciate shall come from sustained positive social change. This will be a welcome situation to the people because they can see the value in adopting the new ideas or practices, which they can help promote and catalyze the speed up their wider and sustained dispersal. To a large

extent, development in Africa has been coming slowly and sporadically. Through slow and often unsteady progress in the main theaters of agriculture, education, health, politics and other areas of human activities, African societies are gradually becoming more modern, which is the goal for most African development planners and national governments. Genuine, people-oriented development in Africa is expressed in modernization concepts, which are not necessarily Western or foreign, but truly uplifting, forward-looking, and progressive, while at the same time aligning with African values, where necessary. The relationship among development, modernization, and social change is *complex and nonlinear* because any one of them is incomplete without the other two, and each can be cause or effect in some situations. More often than not, development is the immediate target for national policies that are expected to lead to modernizing ideas and practices, which would over time yield new cultures and new ways of life that constitute social change.

Modernization

There are no African countries or societies that want to be "not modern" or to retain old negative traditional practices such as the non-education of the girl child, child marriages, the avoidance of immunization, and unplanned child births. Modernization does not necessarily mean abandonment of all African cultural values in favor of new foreign ideas and practices. Modernization in Africa is a complex *multi-dimensional* process which is brought about by the widespread application of scientific knowledge to solving perceived problems of individuals and their societies, which when sustained over time would bring about societal improvement and positive social change (Hershfield 1968). In agriculture, modernization involves the strategic transformation from traditional subsistent peasant farming to modern commercial systems of production, processing, preservation, and marketing that improve output and the people's standard of living. In education, modernization means the provision of formal schooling facilities and opportunities to all citizens. This is now codified in various national policies and laws of Universal Basic Education (UBE) and the education targets which were set in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The budgetary allocation for the education sector in Africa is almost always below the standards that have been set by UNESCO and world development organizations, despite the lip service African political leaders pay to modernization through education.

Strategic and sustained modernization in the various theaters of African societies is expected to lead to a new type of social order that reinforces development and ultimately diffuses widely to constitute positive social change, which is the ultimate goal of African political leaders and African civil society. To many African political leaders, modernization is the diminution of the gaps between their African societies and the standard of living of people in the more developed nations of the world. The gaps are most noticeable in the physical infrastructure, measures of life expectancies, health indices, and business practices where African countries have some catching

up to do. More than six decades after political independence, many African countries have not realized the dreams of their pioneer nationalist leaders who had shown great impatience to become politically and economically fully developed in agriculture, education, and manufacturing. With modernization in Africa appearing to be more of a *mirage* and an unrealizable dream to many, especially in the face of perennial civil strife in some countries, many African youths are seeking greener pastures in the West, giving rise to 11 African countries being among the top 25 nations that produced refugees and asylum seekers. Modernizing African societies without throwing overboard the good aspects of African culture was an important aspect of nation building, as perceived by the pioneer nationalist politicians. Some of today's political leaders have not relented although many are sit-tight life presidents who exclude genuine democratic elections from their list of modernization practices. Political leadership is fundamental to sustainable development and social change. Experts of African development and social change wonder about the roles of communication in modernizing African politics and African development, and thereby ultimately contributing inexorably to widespread social change on the continent.

The Role of Communication in Social Change

Communication, by which we mean the technology of legacy media and new social media, the messages they embody, the people who create and send these messages, and the target publics who are the audiences, is a potent force in development and social change. The relationship among development, modernization, and social change starts with *information* or sense data which is the foundation and the first principle of all communication. Information without any organization or strategic arrangement is random and arbitrary data which serve no deliberate purpose and can indeed be a distraction and prove to be counterproductive. Development communication is the careful and purposeful selection and arrangement of information to constitute messages designed to impact the target audience in a particular manner to lead to the expected desirable outcomes. Development and change are the transition from one state to another. This necessarily requires information which when packaged purposefully and in a pre-determined manner can lead to anticipated outcomes. Stuart MacDonald (2000: 37), in explaining how change is managed from an information perspective remarked that "it is hard to see how anything new, anything different, can be done without an addition of information to that already in use." All development and social change communication must start from information that we carefully select and arrange to create campaign messages, news stories, feature articles, editorials, billboard messages, and social media posts, among others. Next to information as the first principle in development and social change communication is the target audience, whose characteristics guide us in determining the nature of the message, the channels for dissemination, and the timing and other considerations of the extant communication situation.

Many development communication and social change campaigns fail due to wrong choice of targets and segments, or misconceptions about their demographic, psychographic and life-style characteristics or their media use habits. With increasing popularity of social media in Africa, communication planners now have wider latitude in their selection of the most appropriate channels and the design of their messages, depending on the target audiences, which are now splintering into multiple important segments based on education, urban/rural location, gender, religion, life-style and other characteristics. Communication as a tool for change and development fails mostly due to not being strategic enough, by which is meant that there is poor articulation of goals and steps for attaining predetermined objectives. As Wilson and Ogden (2006: 4) explained it, "communication is strategic when it aids in formulating the organization's approach to accomplishing overall goals and then supports those efforts in a coordinated and consistent manner, working in concert with all other organizational entities." The sustainable development of Africa through addressing the pressing political, economic, agricultural, educational, and health challenges requires the engagement of great communicators for social change. Producing sufficient numbers of such communicators has been the bane of development and social change communication in Africa. Communication in Africa is an enigma and being a great communicator for social change is problematic.

Great Communicator for Social Change in Africa

Being a great communicator for social change in Africa is problematic because communication in Africa has been found to be as challenging as navigating the tempestuous African rivers by the early European explorers such as Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, and Richard Lander. This has led Ziegler and Molefi (1992) and Hachten (1971) to refer to the media in Africa as "Thunder and Silence" and "Muffled Drums", respectively. However, despite the challenges of applying communication to development in Africa, there are some areas where social change communication is well developed and practiced successfully in Africa, with exhilarating results. Some observers have noticed a growing African *renaissance* and resurgence in socio-economic development, which deserves more strategic, robust, and purposeful coverage (Hunter-Gault 2006). The question is often asked: *What does it take to be a great communicator for social change in Africa?* Whereas there is no simple set of characteristics, it is safe to argue that successful communication in this milieu requires purposeful planning, active participation, community engagement, and readiness to adopt emergent strategies. Of these four, the most important is *purposeful planning* which involves clearly articulating the reasons and rationale as well as careful selection and arrangement of the strategic communication elements, from situation analysis through goals and objectives to implementation, and formative/summative evaluations (Wilson and Ogden 2006). Next to careful planning is the communicator's active participation in all the relevant activities.

The participatory development communication paradigm is often given perfunctory treatment in social change campaigns, but this should not be the case in Africa where people characterize social change consultants and intermediaries as "outsiders" who are there because they are required by their offices or organizations, and not out of genuine interest. Great communicators for social change in Africa must be seen to be committed, passionate, fully invested, and *genuinely participatory* in the full range of communication planning and implementation that are associated with their programs. Colonial administrators in Africa were seen as heartless human machines that had no genuine intentions to bring about development, but rather were guided more by the commercial interests of their European governments. Today's communicators must cut a different image by showing genuine interest in involving their target audience as co-planners and co-implementers. Involving the local people in development planning and implementation is now a necessity so that they would contribute their cultural knowledge, and thereby experience a sense of commitment to program implementation. Active participation reinforces community engagement, which is equally critical for successful social change communication.

African society, in both rural and urban settings, is largely communal and long years of living in big cities such as Lagos, Johannesburg, and Cairo do not seem to be changing this significantly. The successful social change communicator must appreciate African people's value and high regard for *community engagement*. Hierarchy, rank, and respect for elders or for mothers in some African communities must be acknowledged and respected, as should the involvement of community leaders in the design and implementation of development projects. Engaging the community involves correctly deciding who should be consulted as well as who should not. In some African societies, it is a fine line between disrespect and patronizing conduct, which can be challenging to anyone who is not familiar with African culture. To make matters worse, some people in Africa may not give honest, truthful, and straightforward answers to innocent questions about their situations or they may speak in proverbs and use nuanced language, when they are approached by foreign development communication consultants. Relevant practical experience, actively engaging with the target publics in a genuinely participatory manner, being a perspicacious learner will place the great communicator for social change in good stead to succeed with African development communication. It is important that s/he practices emergent strategic communication so that changes and adjustments can be made on a fly.

Success begins with strategic and purposeful planning, but it also includes readiness to engage emergent strategies, if the situation changes, as is often the case. Purposeful planning is the prescriptive perspective which is based on the idea that we can define and choose our strategic development communication steps in advance and methodically implement the actions accordingly. In the real world of changing circumstances, there are often unforeseen developments that will necessitate sudden changes in plan to adjust to new evolving and emergent realities. Our strategic development communication plans do not always unfold as envisaged but rather we sometimes have to adjust to new unforeseen opportunities, new organizational learning, or accidental actions that will demand recalibration or adjustments in tactics, messaging,

media selection or any of the main elements of our communication designs. This is the perspective of emergent strategies which holds that a strategy is seldom the result of a linear process that we can predict with accuracy and precision (Lynch 2012). Great communicators for social change must be prepared to make immediate necessary adjustments and adaptations in recognition of emergent strategies in communication programming (Frandsen and Johansen 2015).

Many of the programs of the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE) reflected these characteristics of purposeful planning, active participation, community engagement, and emergent strategies, in keeping with our mandate as a pan-African organization that championed development and social change communication. As the Executive Coordinator of the ACCE, I had the responsibility of implementing the strategic plans for using communication to promote social change through the Executive Council, head office staff, and the members of our national chapters all across the continent. We had a common vision of working collaboratively in the two main languages of the association, which were French and English, because all our members were citizens of either Anglophone or Francophone African countries. Our vision defined our involvement and engagement which found expression in our corporate activities.

Our Involvement in Communication and Social Change

ACCE's involvement and engagement in corporate activities fell into three main areas which are training, research, and publications, all of which benefitted from the generous financial and material support of our international partners, especially UNESCO's Communication Division, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) of Germany, Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada, and the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA). The founding of the ACCE was initiated by UNESCO which promoted the idea of a pan-African network of communication teachers and researchers at the various fora that it convened between 1974 and 1976. Not surprisingly, when the organization was formally inaugurated in December 1976 with UNESCO's assistance, the primary purview was the training of communication teachers and the encouragement of greater interaction and mutual support among African journalism and communication educational institutions. The interest in promoting communication training and development was given a fillip in July 1983 when we established the Institute for Communication Development and Research (ACCE/ICDR) within ACCE, as a strategic initiative to channel our energy to achieving our corporate objectives relating to educational capacity building and human development. One of the cardinal objectives of the organization was "to promote regional workshops, training courses and high-level training programs for communication trainers and practitioners" (Mayo and Servaes 1994: 2). Among the regular topics for our training courses were development communication, social change communication, research methods, and the annual communication policy and planning for development which was implemented with the Institute for

Social Studies (ISS) at the University of Amsterdam, The Hague, Netherlands. Next to training was our devotion to communication research, which involved providing support for communication educators to undertake research on various aspects of African communication, especially development and social change, and political communication.

Before the founding of ACCE, there was no central body that promoted communication research on the continent because the only organization that could have done that was the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) which focused largely on political, economic, and sociological issues, inadvertently left out communication. ACCE devoted considerable resources to promoting communication research among university teachers of journalism and communication. Most of the research studies were conducted for UNESCO, and later the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP), on the topics of rural communication, the impact of radio and television programs exchange mechanisms, various activities of communication policy and planning in Africa, and the principles and methods of development and social change communication. Many of the studies were in the mode of action research that yielded results for redressing social problems. The results of our involvement in training and research fed directly into some of our publications, which is our third theater of activities.

A clear mandate of the ACCE which was precisely articulated at its founding is "to publish and disseminate research information on African communication systems" (Mayo and Servaes 1994: 2). The publication mandate was given such a serious consideration that the entire support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA) was exclusively devoted to the publication activities of the academic journal (the *Africa Media Review*) and the series of Training Modules on selected subject matter areas, including advanced writing and development communication. The *Africa Media Review* was a veritable and reliable source of new scholarly writing on African communication and devoted considerable space to communication research that reflected a wide range of intellectual traditions. Many of the books published by ACCE reflect the organization's commitment to promoting development and social change communication. Among the books published by ACCE are the following: *Film in Nigeria* (1989), *Communication Research in Africa* (1992), *Reporting Politics and Public Affairs* (1994), *Media and Sustainable Development* (1995), and *Development Communication Principles* (1996). ACCE's achievements in training, research, and publication activities reverberated beyond Africa and made it a reliable ally that was sought by international organizations such as Ford Foundation and the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), which were interested in special collaborative projects.

Our Success Stories

The performance assessments of ACCE which were conducted periodically by UNESCO's Division of Communication always returned a clean bill of health for programming successes, especially in the areas of hosting the biennial conferences, attracting professional communicators, and encouraging greater interest in communication studies at graduate level. One of the hallmarks of the ACCE in its heyday was the series of biennial conferences that held in different regions and which attracted as many as 300 participants from all over the world. Successive biennial conferences on topical thematic aspects of development and communication were held in Ghana, South Africa, Egypt, and Nigeria, and they featured presentations of research results on a wide range of topics by ACCE members from within and outside Africa. Many of the presentations eventually got published in the journal *Africa Media Review*, and others were published in other international communication journals in Asia, Europe, and the United States of America. In recent years, following the comatose state of the association at its continental headquarters and the ascendancy of the Nigerian Chapter, the biennial conferences are now held annually, but only in Nigeria. The vibrancy of the Nigerian Chapter which not only holds annual conferences but publishes a quarterly journal is a testament to the solid foundation that was laid by the founding members and their successors. The Nigerian Chapter encourages professional communicators to identify with the association, in continuation of a practice that was first initiated by the continental association in recognition of the value of building bridges of collaboration between teachers and professional practitioners, especially journalists.

One of the achievements of the ACCE which UNESCO is most proud of is the promotion of amity and collaboration between communication teachers and professional practitioners. As a reflection of UNESCO's interest in building bridges between communication educators and practitioners, one of the cardinal objectives of ACCE at its inception was the promotion of high-level training for communication trainers and practitioners. The annual celebration of World Press Freedom Day on May 3 usually involved communication teachers and media practitioners in joint programming activities which ACCE coordinated on behalf of UNESCO. As a result of ACCE's achievements in encouraging professional communicators to join the association, two communication practitioners became ACCE Presidents successively. Dr. A. Tom Adaba, a TV administrator from Nigeria, was succeeded by Dr. Francis Wete, an Inspector General in the Federal Government of Cameroon. Another important achievement of the association is in the increasing popularization of development communication and social change as an important areas of communication studies in African universities.

Early studies of communication in African universities did not often include examinations of the role of communication in development and social change and were largely limited to print journalism, broadcasting, advertising, and public relations. ACCE's success in providing short-term training on communication policies, development, and social change contributed in popularizing interest in these areas. Today,

development communication is a required course in most African universities that offer degrees in mass communication. The National Universities Commission (NUC) of Nigeria requires that all students who major in communication must take courses in development and social change. Universities in Kenya, especially Daystar University and the University of Nairobi have similar requirements. Despite some of these achievements, we did not succeed in all our programming efforts, and so there are some failed projects that deserve notice, as these provide lessons for future activities in development communication and social change in Africa.

Three Failed Projects

Three of the main areas of failure were the unsustainability of our administrative management operations at the head office due to lack of strategic vision, the inadequacy of our political reporting programs to equip our trainees to be true champions of fairness in election coverage, and the misperception that media reporting alone could change a culture of pervasive corruption in many African countries. As a communication organization that was championing management communication and development communication, ACCE was expected to be run as a modern corporation that was propelled by strategic vision, core values, and coordinated activities that are all directed to achieve predetermined development objectives. Caught in between the idyllic motives of being a network of elite university departments of communication and the practical realities of working with newspaper reporters, we failed to create a *common vision* of where we wanted to go and how to get there. We did not address the fundamental questions such as these: Who are we? Who are our customers? What do they value and need? What products and services should we offer them? How are our customers and their needs changing over time? What changes do we make to position ourselves to serve them better? Because we did not address these questions seriously and we had relied too much on the generosity of our foreign funding partners, we were not prepared for the withdrawal of financial support from many of these partners following the end of the Cold War, which saw some partners directing most of their foreign aid to countries of the former Soviet Union. Communication organizations that operate in the development and social change space must be strategic in their planning and programming, and they must pay attention to their changing socio-political environment.

ACCE's supporters and development partners invested handsomely in trying to get us to be committed promoters of political democracy through various projects which included the production of textbooks and training modules for reporting politics and public affairs. Unfortunately, many of these projects were not self-sustaining and did not develop deep roots in the various African countries where we had mounted training workshop to prepare reporters for the new waves of political democratization and press freedom that swept through the continent in the early 1990s. Reporters and editors work in their respective media organizations at the pleasure of their publishers and proprietors, irrespective of the formers' convictions about press freedom and

journalistic objectivity. At the end of the day, the press in Africa is only as free as the media owners and proprietors because who pays the piper (the reporter) calls the tune. We were naïve in ACCE to think that workshops and textbooks on press freedom and political democracy would bring about significant changes in how the media operated. Although considerable achievements were recorded in the privatization of the airwaves and the relaxation of media ownership regulations, media coverage of politics has not changed much in the new and prevailing media-politics ecosystem. *Social change is often a slow process.* Making it continuous and sustainable requires more than textbooks and workshops, as important as these may be. And yet another area of failing was in our belief that teaching journalists investigative reporting could help stem the tide of pervasive corruption in many African countries. We found that corruption was manifest at every level of society in many African countries, and we did not have a good strategy beyond "name and shame" to fight it. This does not mean that social change and development communication cannot succeed in fighting some of the social ills in society. However, it is clear that in many cases, we need more than "talk, show, and tell" to achieve action and behavioral objectives. If given a second chance, we would like to do some things differently.

What to Do Differently

ACCE, as it operated before the millennium, was a child of the socio-political circumstances of the Cold War and the veiled contests by Western democracies to position themselves as the best friends of African countries and African development organizations. There was abundant foreign aid which made some African groups over dependent on foreign financial support, and less reliant on their internal resources. Because all our costs at ACCE were borne by our international partners, especially Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Finnish Development Agency, we were too lax to sell our publications, charge annual membership dues, and design effective alternative and supplementary income streams. In fact, not only did we fail to charge registration fees for our training workshops and biennial conferences, but we also provided monetary incentives and stipends for our members who participated in such events. It is not surprising that when our donors withheld their financial support following the end of the Cold War, it was impossible to switch from total dependence to full autonomy, hence the hiatus in the operations of the head office at the University of Nairobi. In recent years, the International Communication Association (ICA) has stepped up its efforts to fill the gap left in the comatose state of the pan-African ACCE by holding successful biennial conferences in South Africa, Kenya and Ghana. To be successful, a communication organization that has a goal of promoting development and social change communication in Africa must be strategic about internally generated revenue and self-sustaining operations, and it should not depend entirely on foreign aid.

Given a second chance, we would want ACCE to be *more authentic* in the use of indigenous African communication concepts and paradigms in the popularization

of development and social change communication where we have often adumbrated foreign ideas on modernization, development, innovation, social change, and sustainability, among others. Individual members of the association tried to emphasize the need for African philosophies of communication, African research paradigms, and the centrality of African traditional communication practices, but there were no concerted efforts to coalesce around a central and widely accepted theory or explanation that is unique to Africa. It is necessary to support the wider acceptance of an African philosophy of communication to undergird research in and practice of development and social change communication on the continent. We failed to give commensurate credence to the need for "harnessing traditional culture in the service of development rather than discarding these forms as backward" (Bourgault 1995: 251). *Oramedia* and *Ubuntu* are two undeveloped African theoretical and practicalizable concepts that we failed to adopt and promote vigorously. We had no special issues of the journal *Africa Media Review* nor any books that were devoted exclusively to African communication theories or paradigms or philosophies. There were sporadic and inconsistent recommendations for an African philosophy of communication and African approaches to research, but these yielded no significant results (Obeng-Quiadoo 1986; Okigbo 1987). This was a serious oversight which the new generation of African communication scholars should redress.

Advice to the New Generation

Communication studies has exploded in many African countries, especially in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and South Africa, where interest in studying advertising, public relations, journalism, and public communication has been burgeoning with expansions in the private media space, media digitization, and strategic political communication. To avoid some of the mistakes of earlier generations of African communication educators and practitioners, the new generation ought to *look more inwards* to be more authentically African in their pedagogy and practices, while at the same time being *strategically outwardly* in capitalizing on alliances with selected foreign collaborators. Taken together, the 56 countries in Africa by their combined population of approximately 1.33 billion, are only slightly less populous than China (1.44 billion) and India (1.38 billion), and so they represent an important demographic conglomeration that deserves special notice and attention. While looking inwards for authentic African communication values and philosophy, and looking outwards to choose matching external collaborators, the new generation ought to be astutely strategic and not perfunctory or serendipitous. Although many African countries have been perpetual victims of inadequate planning, there is increasing realization that the continent will benefit exceedingly from a new wave of positive social change, which is referred to by many terms that include "new African century", "an African Renaissance", and "reaping the demographic dividends" (Hunter-Gault 2006). The new generation of African development and social change professionals must be at the cusp of this new wave, which is not inevitable and demands strategic

planning and careful execution. Development is a powerful currency that must be strategically programmed for, if we are to achieve the objectives of development planners and public policy makers.

The Power of Development

The power of development is evident in the changes that we observe in the variable performance among nations of the world which were at some point in the past at the same or relatively close levels. Singapore and China are good examples of countries that moved up the development scale in a relatively short time, while some countries such as Congo (DRC), Zimbabwe, and Venezuela have obviously moved down. The US Government assistance of the Marshall Plan that helped European countries pull themselves up from the devastation of the Second World War illustrates the power of planned interventions for development. It is not surprising that development has remained a permanent preoccupation of many people who are concerned about closing the gap between less developed and more advanced countries through various efforts that include foreign aid, direct investments, education, population management, and loan forgiveness, among others. Unfortunately, the quest for universal development has remained largely elusive because of failures, some of which can be attributable to internal and external factors. *There is enough blame to go around all involved.* Some developed countries and international development agencies do not always have genuine intentions for developing countries, many of which are culpable for large-scale mismanagement and corruption (Easterly 2002). The efforts at national and international levels of governments and bilateral and multilateral agencies underline the conviction that development is powerful and achievable, even if it is difficult, and sometimes the gains of multiple decades can be wiped out in a short time by negative and regressive changes.

Undoubtedly, development is one of the most powerful forces for change in society, but it must be properly understood, especially the aspect that relates to the role of internal actors and the need for complementarities. Development, as the process by which people, institutions, and governments attempt to improve their standards of living through positive changes that affect most, if not all areas of life, requires an "internal combustion engine" and the full engagement of the people who are in need of development. It is not a gift, nor is it enforced nilly willy. Additionally, development must be seen in the sense of empowering people to improve on their lives beyond simple economic growth and material wellbeing. As Kingsbury (2016, p. 13) explained, development should be "understood as a process not just of growth or, at its most benign, poverty alleviation, but also of empowerment." Genuine development is more than economic wellbeing and must connote "good change" in the different spheres of people's lives. "Good change" implies that development must have an ethical character to ensure that no harm or injustice or unfairness is felt from our development plans or action. It is a force for good social change.

The power of development as both local and international currency is more important today in our new age of globalization and borderless communication when more than ever, the world is so fully interconnected that what affects one region touches on the others too. It is therefore in the interest of all that no part is grossly underdeveloped. An epidemic in a remote village can easily spiral out of control to become a global pandemic that can threaten world development and global wellbeing. Thus, we must understand development as *world development*, which is not for only developing regions but for all world regions, regardless of their relative economic or technological strength. The power of development is manifest and evident in the empowerment of all peoples, everywhere. People everywhere, including the so-called developed regions, need empowerment to strive for more self-fulfillment, fairer economic relations, and greater participation in the affairs of society. All these would lead to the "good change" that human society craves. The overall goal of development is to engender positive change in all areas of life and thereby empower the people across gender, ethnic groups, religions, races, tribes, regions, and countries. A developed and empowered society was the ideal envisioned by the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which have now been replaced with the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These are some of the desirable standards for human development.

Conclusion

Development and social change communication is a local and international mechanism for the sustainable and continual aspirations of people to use information and new knowledge to improve on their levels of wellbeing, not only in material circumstances, but also in intangible social values such as equality of the sexes and freedom of choices. It is human empowerment that requires strategic planning, the engagement of the target audience, and the involvement of beneficiaries as co-planners and co-implementers. The ongoing explosion in the pervasiveness of communication, especially the penetration of social media tools and information technology to the most remote parts of the world presents never-before-seen opportunities for using communication as a strategic tool for empowerment and social change. Our experiences in the African Council for Communication Education show that communication education at the level of universities must be strategically combined with the continual training of practitioners, especially journalists and public information officers, in a context that supports an expanded view of development and social change. In this new age of globalization and social media, development must be recognized for its potent power to bring about good change, which is leveraged by strategic communication. Africa, more than any other region of the world, needs strategic communication and social change for sustainable development because of the burgeoning population and challenging environmental degradation.

References

Agunga, R. (1997). *Developing the third world: A communication approach.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Almy, S. W. (1974). Rural development in Meru, Kenya: Economic and social factors in accelerating change. Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Ascroft, J. (1966). A factor analytic investigation of modernization among Kenya villages. Master's Degree Thesis, Department of Communication, Michigan State University.

Ascroft, J. (1969). Modernization and communication: Controlling environmental change. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Attah, E. B. (1968). An analysis of polymorphic opinion leadership in Eastern Nigerian communities. Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Communication, Michigan State University.

Blake, C. A. (1988). Communication development in Africa and its impact on the cultural synchronization of Africa. *Africa Media Review*, *2*(2).

Boafo, K. S. T. (1986). Formulating comprehensive national communication policies for development in African countries: A framework *Africa Media Review*, *1*(1).

Bourgault, L. M. (1995). *Mass media in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Davis, E. B. (1968). System variables and agricultural innovativeness in Eastern Nigeria. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Douglas, E. F. (1971). The role of the mass media in national development: A reformulation with particular reference to Sierra Leone. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Easterly, W. (2002). *The elusive quest for growth: Economists' adventures and misadventures.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Ekwelie, S. (1971). The press in gold coast nationalism: 1890–1957. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Communication, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Eribo, F. (2004). African development and innovation of communication technologies. In C. Okigbo & F. Eribo (Eds.), *Development and communication in Africa.* Roman & Littlefield: Lanham, MD.

Frandsen, F., & Johansen, W. (2015). The role of communication executives in strategy and strategizing. In D. Holtzhausen & A. Zerfass (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of strategic communication.* New York: Routledge.

Hachten, W. (1971). *Muffled drums: The mass media in Africa.* Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Hunter-Gault, C. (2006). *New news out of Africa: Uncovering Africa's renaissance.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hershfield, A. F. (1968). Village leaders and the modernization of agriculture: A Study of leaders in fifty-two Ibo villages. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Government, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Keith, R. F. (1968). Information and modernization: A study of Eastern Nigerian farmers. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Communication, Michigan State University.

Kingsbury, D. (2016). Introduction. In D. Kingsbury, J. McKay, J. Hunt, & M. Clarke (Eds.), *International development: Issues and challenges.* New York: Palgrave.

Kleinjans, E. (1976). "Foreword." In W. Schramm & D. Lerner (Eds.), Communication and change: The last ten years–and the next. Honolulu: East West Center/University Press of Hawaii.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the middle east*. New York: The Free Press.

Lynch, R. (2012). *Strategic management*. Harlow, England: Pearson.

MacDonald, S. (2000). *Information for innovation: Managing change from an information perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manyozo, L. (2012). *Media, communication and development: Three approaches.* New Delhi: Sage.

Mayo, J., & Servaes, J. (Eds.). (1994). *Approaches to development communication: An orientation and resource kit*. Paris: UNESCO/UNFPA.

Moemeka, A. A. (1989). Perspectives on development communication. *Africa Media Review*, *3*(3).
Nnaemeka, T. (1976). Issue legitimation, mass media functions, and public knowledge of social issues. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Nwosu, I. E. (1987). Research and training for rural development communication: adopting the tri-modular training and sequential research models. *Africa Media Review*, *1*(2).
Nwuneli, E. O. (1976). Socioeconomic status, socioeconomic expectation and mass media exposure in Lagos, Nigeria. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
Nwuneli, O. (2019). Revisiting the foundations of African communication scholarship: A historical perspective. Conference Paper, International Communication Association, Africa Regional Conference, Accra, Ghana.
Obeng-Quiadoo, I. (1986). A proposal for new communication research methodologies in Africa. *Africa Media Review*, *1*(1).
Okigbo, C. (1987). American communication theories and African communication research: Need for a philosophy of African communication. *Africa Media Review, 2*(1), 18–31.
Okunna, S. C. (1992). Sources of development information among rural women in Nigeria: A case study. *Africa Media Review*, *6*(3).
Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media and national development*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Uchendu, V. (1965). *The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria.* New York: Rinehart & Winston.
Ugboajah, F. (1975). Communication of development issues in the Nigerian mass media: A sociological perspective. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Ukpo, J. E. (1974). Communication technology and strategies for rural development: the case for family planning and health care in Nigeria. Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.
Wilson, L. J. & Ogden, J. O. (2006). *Strategic communication planning*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.
Ziegler, D., & Asante, M. K. (1992). *Thunder and silence: the mass media in Africa.* Trenton: Africa World Press.

Twenty Years of Communicating Social Change: A Southern African Perspective on Teaching, Researching and Doing

Ruth Teer-Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll, and Eliza Govender

Introduction

The Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in South Africa has contributed to the intellectual growth, pedagogy, and practical implementation of communication for social change over the past two decades. During this time our approach has evolved considerably. These transitions speak to both the structural and political situations in a transforming South Africa, as well as the personal and theoretical interests of the Centre's staff. An indication of these shifts is visible through the changing names of our graduate modules. The chapter reflects some of the ways in which the established development communication paradigms framed the CCMS pedagogy, discourses and fieldwork over the past twenty years. It tracks and problematizes the way in which the modules have transitioned from 'Media, Democracy and Development' (2002) to 'Communication for Participatory Development' (2019). Our changing understandings have informed three key CCMS research tracks: community media; health communication and social change; and rethinking indigeneity. The chapter presents a case study of each of these tracks in order to illustrate the evolving approaches to development that each of these research interests have enabled.

R. Teer-Tomaselli (✉) · L. Dyll · E. Govender
University of KwaZulu-Natal, 238 Mazisi Kunene Rd, 4001 Durban, South Africa
e-mail: teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

L. Dyll
e-mail: Dyll@ukzn.ac.za

E. Govender
e-mail: Govendere1@ukzn.ac.za

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_15

Theoretical Background

In 1986, Robert (Bob) White, then based at the Gregorian Pontifical University in Rome, spent a sabbatical in Durban. His graduate module 'Media, Development and Democracy' began a tradition of teaching, research and practice. White's point of departure was 'normative theory', foregrounding the imperative to imbue academic discourse with ethical, helpful solutions to everyday problems, particularly of the poor and marginalized. Factor this into 'development communication', and the project became how communication could be used to ensure that those who had less material and educational capital could be privileged—rather than excluded—by communication endeavors in a manner based on strong ethical values and integrity. The first modules were taught jointly by Bob White and Ruth Teer-Tomaselli. The latter drew on her prior experience in the area of development studies, media studies and broadcasting within an African context, and this, taken together with White's insistence of the normative value of communication, proved to be a fruitful combination. The module was divided into an exploration of four macro-development paradigms: modernization; dependency-disassociation; development support communication; and participatory or 'another' development. These paradigmatic approaches traced how conceptions of development had evolved over the past decades.

The modernization paradigm dominated academia and international policy after the second world war and remained hegemonic until the mid-1960s. It emerged from both macro-economic and social evolutionary theory, grounded in the neo-classical approach of *laissez-faire*. This tended to support the agenda of the North Atlantic nations and their interest in transferring not only their technology but also their socio-political culture of modernity to 'traditional' societies. Much of the impetus for this view was premised on the success of the Marshall Plan that rebuilt European post-World War II industrial infrastructure through the provision of humanitarian assistance. More cynically, the Marshall Plan was designed to create reliable trading partners for the United States and establish a viable European market for North American commodities. Behind all this was the fear of communism and the need to support the development of democratic governments across Europe. All these founding principles would find their way into modernization theory.

When applied to developing countries, this injection of capital was seen as a 'catch up' mechanism to accelerate the necessary evolution from underdeveloped to developed status. There was a naïve belief that 'development' was the sum of rapid economic growth, tracked by metrics such as the gross national product. Capital was the greatest resource to produce goods, machinery and infrastructure, and therefore, many 'underdeveloped' countries relied heavily on the largesse of developed nations to provide 'aid' in the way of international financial loans. The assumption was that a 'trickle down' of benefits would filter through to the broader population as a result of industrialization. But it was not only at the macro-economic level that such change was required; at the micro level, ideas of evolutionary change were aimed at

individual behavior, attitudes and values. Populations in countries that were considered to be under-developed were also considered 'traditional' and backward (Lerner 1958; Rogers 1962). 'Traditional' behavior patterns, or 'irrational psychological attitudes' including superstition, familism and fatalism, were seen as impediments to modernization.

The modernization paradigm chimed well with the uni-linear model of development communication influenced by Shannon and Weaver's (1949) stimulus-response model of communication, later developed as the communication effects theory. Both were top-down and assumed that the media exerted an effect on passive audiences. Further, fueled by libertarian theories of public communication, audiences were seen as innately rational with a belief that truth and science would prevail over context and culture. A stellar example of this point of view is offered in Harold Lasswell's (1948) 'hypodermic needle' or 'bullet' theory of communication effects (Shramm 1971). Thus considered, the role of communication in the Third World was interpreted as a direct transmission of information and persuasion in agriculture, health and education. Perhaps the most influential of the development theorists was Everett Rogers (1962) who defined 'an innovation' as an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual. This line of thinking still runs through the discourse on the adoption of technology, which was then, as it is now, used as a synonym for an innovation. All through this period, the emphasis was on communication *effects* as they supported the ability of media messages and opinion leaders to create knowledge of new practices among target audiences and to persuade them to adopt exogenously conceived and introduced innovation over a particular time (Melkote and Steeves 2001; Servaes 1999).

The second paradigm is dependency-dissociation. With some of the negative results of modernization's policies, scholars concluded that 'modernization' actively underdeveloped peripheral societies. The original version of dependency theory was outlined by the *dependistas*, including Andre Gunder Frank (1967) who built on Paul Baran (1957/1967) among others. Frank's analysis identified a global structure of metropolis—satellite relationships that were-seen to underpin the entire capitalist system. This in turn triggered a series of contradictory consequences between regions. Put crudely, the metropolises (read developed western nations) extracted value from the peripheries (read underdeveloped/ exploited third world countries). Concentrating on Latin America, Frank traced what he referred to as "the extension of a capitalist expropriation of surplus out to the farthest reaches of society" that created the 'uneven development' of "international as well as regional polarization" (Frank 1967: xi). This in turn created a condition of *dependency*. In South Africa, Bundy (1979) convincingly applied this critique to the relationship between the developed section of the economy and the poverty-stricken rural 'homelands' that exported cheap migrant labour, subsidized by the domestic economy of the quasi-feudal peasantry.

The dependency critique was applied to the exchange of news as well as material goods. MacBride (1980) penned *Many Voices, One World* for the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), that addressed the perception that developing countries suffered a deficit in the balance of information

flow between North and South, and that their realities were exaggerated, distorted and false. In turn, this led to agitation for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to redistribute wealth and media resources from rich to poor countries and rectify the over-reliance on imported information and news, and the lack of positive news moving from the global South to the global North. This is one of the thrusts behind the establishment of community radio, considered as a case study below.

The third approach was 'another development', a participatory paradigm that normatively concentrated on grassroots communication and participation; and promoted democratization and structural changes within hegemonically ruled regions, countries and institutions. A foundational theoretical framework was the philosophy of Freire (1970) in the field of education, but was aimed at wider areas of 'development', including health promotion and community broadcasting.

Over the years, the 'Media, Development and Democracy' (1986–2002), module mutated to take in new developments in the field, new readings and new concerns. The changes in the module names illustrated these shifts. In the period 2002–2008 the module was entitled 'Media, Democracy and Development'; followed by 'Development, Media and Culture' (2008–present, see discussion below), signifying the greater emphasis on culture, participation and grassroots approaches. It was during the latter two periods that the first slew of research projects on community radio were undertaken. Each of these frameworks emerged as a critique of the inadequacies of the earlier paradigms, but both the practical implementations and the theoretical premises underlying the previous paradigms tend to remain operative in the culture of developing countries. Thus, in reality, we find different paradigms operating side-by-side, sometimes interlinking, sometimes not.

From 'Development' to 'Health Promotion'

In the serendipitous way that academic paradigms and approaches develop, the new millennium brought home the urgent realization that theory alone was insufficient to address the developmental and human needs of a society in continuous transition. Given the ethos of political and epistemological activism characterizing CCMS, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and especially in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, was of immense importance. A partnership between CCMS and DramAidE (an NGO specializing in deploying drama as an educational tool), resulted in early research work in Entertainment Education (EE) as a strategy for addressing the need for information around the pandemic. This attracted the attention of Johns Hopkins University, (in the person of Patrick Coleman), backed by a small grant from USAID and led, in 2002, to the establishment of a graduate-level module entitled 'Public Health Promotion via Entertainment Education' (Durden and Govender 2012). The support from USAID was strengthened and formalized into a strategic partnership with Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA) in 2006. Working with an outside funder was, at times, a challenging experience.

The irony of dependency on funding from the metropole was not lost; at the same time, the pragmatism of resources that allowed for a greater staff component and the chance to undertake research and practice that had actual beyond-the-campus consequences, was too good to pass up. Some of these projects are discussed below in the case study on health communication and social change.

In return for a generous grant, CCMS redeveloped both modules in order to encompass theory and practice. Thus in 2006, the two modules were re-curriculated.

'Development Support Communication' was designed in the early 1980s as a bridge between the modernization and dependency trajectories. This approach was normatively semi-participatory but aimed at legitimating external stakeholders' agendas and projects. It relied on the use of media, although not necessarily mass media, and conceptualized the development support worker as a mediator between outside information and the local community. An element of participatory communication was thus included in this theoretical approach by dealing with local understandings, traditions and knowhow (Melkote and Steeves 2001). With its borrowings from rural sociology, social psychology, social work and political economy, development support communication was particularly attractive to the multi-disciplinary tactic that was the ethos of CCMS, with its sometimes problematic 'mix-and-match' approach to theory building. It was also a significant paradigm in a public health promotion context. The module, 'Development, Communication and Culture' continued the trajectory of earlier modules but with an increased concentration on bottom-up cultural emphases, and 'Communication for Social Change' succeeded the 'Entertainment Education' module by incorporating a variety of communication models and social learning theories, a salient departure from the directly 'media studies' approach that had been typical in the Centre. This module placed an emphasis on health communication and served as the overarching framework drawing a link between Southern African development and social change through different media of interpersonal communication. There was a conscious effort to indigenize international theory and development paradigms in terms of local contexts, culture and knowledge.

Two research and strategic trajectories indicate the rise of health communication: the first positions the rise of health on the agenda of communication, and the second contextualizes health communication as a sub-discipline within the field of communication for development and social change. Within Communication for Development and Social Change is a distinction between non-thematic subdisciplines which rest within the domain of communication science (strategic, participatory, risk or crisis communication etc.) and thematic subdisciplines which cover life sciences in development communication (health, rural, environmental communication etc.) (Lie and Servaes 2015). Health communication, a sub-discipline of communication science originally adopted within CCMS, inherited the concerns of modernization, cultural imperialism and westernized approaches to HIV prevention. CCMS teaching pedagogies, research and practice have adopted a strategic communication perspective that is cognizant of cultural nuances with the promotion of understanding local health discourses and enabling the co-creation of health knowledge and perceptions of the glocal in local contexts. Our experience reflects the application of participatory action

research within the rubric of 'another development' (see above). In this respect, it shares some of the ethnographic approaches to development that are explored in research around indigeneity, a theme that is developed below.

Our work has two primary research foci: *development communication* which invokes new ways of harnessing media and localized cultural frames in promoting health initiatives and community development; and *health communication* which is the field of application for achieving sustainable development. Health communication, embedded within the field of communication for development and social change, is the lens through which we make sense, theorize and critique HIV prevention efforts in a South African context. Including localized cultural frames goes hand-in-hand with the more recent research trend on indigenous perceptions of social change.

Indigenization: Teaching and Theory

Acknowledgement of indigenous peoples and indigenous knowledge societies has led to a concomitant emphasis on the part of the University to indigenize the curriculum. Prior to the time that CCMS overtly taught and researched the intersection of indigenous knowledge *with* development and/or social change, the connection was implicit in another of its graduate modules, 'Visual Anthropology: Imaging the Same and Other' (2002–2006). The module investigated visual representations of the social through anthropological and documentary film. Its conceptual connection to 'Media, Democracy and Development' was through its examination of power relations and media construction, but in this case, of 'the Other'. The subject of ethics was also shared, but while 'Media Democracy and Development' taught ethics in relation to the democratization of the media and information flows, the 'Visual Anthropology' module did so in relation to visual documentation and recording strategies, usually of and by indigenous peoples. 'Indigenization' here describes the way in which African cultural trajectories are used to re-orientate both the historical and intellectual perspectives of (South) African scholarship in which CCMS plays an important role. It is vital not to confuse 'indigenization' with 'Africanization' that in some instances holds essentialist connotations. Just as western approaches have been criticized for their Eurocentric bias, African approaches have been critiqued for reducing complex social and cultural issues into a normative set of African values legitimized by slogans, ideology and common sense. For CCMS, indigenization signals an inclusive and relational approach where learning and research blends international and African intellectual work that is held in conversation with indigenous realities and knowledge (Dyll 2020).

The change in module name from 'Media, Democracy and Development' to 'Development, Media and Culture' in 2006 concretized the module's inclusion of global and local development issues that were integrated with analyses of indigenous identity and culture. The participatory development paradigm became the logical framing perspective, as it foregrounded pluralism and the rights of individuals and groups to manifest their cultural uniqueness and the multiplicity of cultures (Servaes

1999). The outcome was further re-curriculation and in 2008 the module's name once again changed to 'Development, Communication and Culture' where the role of communication as a topic for study, but also as a process in fieldwork, was given attention. CCMS' regular curriculum changes to module content has been in relation to changes in the shifting prominence of theories in scholarship, the relevance to global policy and lived local reality, as well as staff member expertise and interest. However, importantly it is also based on participatory communication's tenet of bottom up action, as it was the graduate students' engagement in fieldwork and documentary making that concretized the need for research that combined lived local reality witnessed 'on the ground' with theory that could support what was witnessed or that alternatively could be challenged.

One research track in which this is explored is community radio, based on its objective to revitalize and promote local (or indigenous) culture.

Community Radio

Community radio is frequently portrayed as an ideal platform with developmental potential (White 1990). This is due to its closeness with ground level issues (the 'community' aspect of community radio). The major objectives of community radio are to "encourage widespread community participation in broadcasting, provide an opportunity for horizontal communication between individuals and groups in the community, stimulate more free and open debate of community issues and reflect the cultural and social diversity of the community" (White 1990: 4). In reality, actual instances of community radio seldom achieve all these goals, and the variety of forms of mandate, governance and ability to achieve 'truly' participatory and democratic spaces differ widely.

The history of community radio in South Africa dates back to the politics of the struggle against apartheid in the 1980s. Community media at the time acted as the "voice of the oppressed," and played a significant role in mobilizing and informing communities against apartheid (Teer-Tomaselli 2001; 2005). Community radio in South Africa is regulated in legislation as one of the three tiers of broadcasting, along with public service and commercial broadcasting (Republic of South Africa, 2005). It was born in a political and historical moment in South Africa, immediately straddling the first fully democratic elections of 1994. The establishment of community broadcasting (both radio and to a much smaller extend, television) was the direct outcome of activism and mobilization on the part of sectors of civil society, very much in the mold of participatory development.

The establishment of some of the very first community stations in and close to the metropolitan spreads of Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, almost 'on the doorstep' of the University, provided an excellent opportunity for teaching, research and outreach for our students. Between the years 1995 and 2012, fourteen research theses and peer-reviewed articles were researched by the staff and students of CCMS. Community radio was found to be a neat 'fit' to

the theory undertaken in the more structured modules. In addition, it was a good testing ground for class essays and discussions, fulfilling the mandate of activity and reflection advocated by participatory methodologies. In all, seven radio stations were surveyed. Of these, the great majority were 'common interest', rather than 'geographic community' licenses.

The research undertaken was of a deeply participatory nature. Durban Youth Radio, for instance, was originally housed and supported by the then University of Natal's Durban campus under the auspices of the Student Representative Council. The station developed from the internal rediffusion service set up by students themselves in 1991 that was licensed to broadcast in 1995. The researchers spent a good deal of time in the stations, often working in the role of 'participant observers'. Some of the Masters' students worked at the radio station in various capacities, and many students listened to the programming regularly. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli sat on the Board of Directors, a governing body required by the regulations. In this capacity, she was privy to many of the inner workings and challenges faced by community radio stations in those early years, fulfilling a teacher-activist role.

Working closely with the radio stations was a norm for many of the research projects. In the three overtly religious stations—*Highway Radio* (Charismatic Christian), *Radio Khwezi* (establishment Christian) and *Al-Ansaar* (Muslim), the students involved in the research saw it as part of their personal ministry. One of the earliest on-air stations, *Highway Radio* began broadcasting in 1995, and continues to the present time. The station's mandate is to recognize Christianity as a community of interest, while acknowledging those who are not religious. This is achieved through the provision of lifestyle information and 'easy-listening' contemporary Christian music. Part of the mandate is that "strict attention is paid to program and presenter content to ensure that the tone of the program is smut and innuendo free, ensuring that listeners are not subjected to questionable input" (Mjwacu 2020: 47). For the student who undertook the research, these values were important, and her voluntary contribution to the running of the station fulfilled more than simply academic labor.

Radio Khwezi (meaning 'Star' in the isiZulu language) has been broadcasting from the Greytown/ Kranzkop area of KwaZulu-Natal since 1995, mostly in isiZulu but interspersed with some English and German (Feyissa 1999). Situated on the grounds of a Lutheran Mission (hence the occasional German language), its' first project was to broadcast a series of sermons. The station was researched by a Lutheran pastor from Ethiopia, Reverend Kebede Feyissa. His purpose, apart from gaining a Masters' degree, was to school himself in the use of radio for pastoral purposes, an aim in which he succeeded when he returned to the Ethiopian Evangelical Church.

The third religious station, *Radio Al-Ansaar*, was developed by the Foundation Al-Ansaar, a non-governmental organization dedicated to the educational and social upliftment of the Muslim community of KwaZulu-Natal. Initially the station operated only during Ramadan, the Muslim holy month of observance, but was later granted a fulltime licence. It was researched by Mall (2008), whose work in the area of outreach to, and empowerment of, Muslim women has become a lifelong commitment.

Radio Phoenix is a true community of interest station and illustrates very clearly how community radio is defined as a 'bottom up' movement. Founded as an illegal

pirate station in the Phoenix area of Durban, a precinct that was previously classified under the apartheid Group Areas Act as set aside for Indian residents, the interest in community radio aroused local listeners to initiate a formal license application. The community here was found to be cohesive, despite internal differentiations of language (English, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, also the languages of broadcast), and religion (Christian, Muslim and Hindu). This was attributed to the diasporic nature of the 'Indian community', forged as a resilient response to the structures of Apartheid, and the powerful abundance of imported (mainly Hindi) musical recordings and Bollywood-style soundtracks. The researcher in this case, Kaihar (1999), worked on the station as a voluntary music presenter, and being fluent in Hindi, found a ready home. After graduation she worked at the national public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), on the station catering for the diasporic community of Indian origin, *Lotus FM*.

Radio Maritzburg began life as an outreach program of the Evangelical Church in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal, particularly around the provincial capital, Pietermaritzburg (from which the radio station's name derives). Its initial purpose was to contribute to the peace process addressing the then internecine political skirmishes in the area that cost many lives in the decade of the 1990s. This sparked the interest of the first researcher, Teklemicael (2004). The station detached itself from its religious beginnings to become registered under a geographic license in 1996, serving a vast rural area. The station has had a chequered history and has been closed on several occasions over the years. The issue of sustainability and the conflictual role of deriving revenue from advertising, was the theme perused in a second study by Adhanom (2004).

In a series of studies undertaken ten years later, a number of students (Bodunrin 2019; Hart 2014; Mhlanga 2009; Tyali and Tomaselli 2015) investigated *XK-FM*, part of a settlement in Platfontein, Northern Cape, for displaced members of the !Xun and Khwe Bushman groups. During the illegitimate 'border war' of 1976–1990, a response to the Angolan liberation struggle, these peoples were recruited to the South African Defence Force and relocated to South Africa in the 1990s. Their social isolation was exacerbated by their social distinctiveness, as neither of the two dominant groups—black nor white—was prepared to absorb them fully. In an anomalous piece of social engineering, the national public broadcaster, the SABC, set up a 'community radio' station—*XK-FM*, with the overt purpose of serving state interests among the !Xun and the Khwe. Policy, governance and programming are all controlled by the SABC, and although a degree of 'skills transfer' has meant that the presenters and program directors now are mainly drawn from the community itself, the station provided a richly contradictory case study that tested the understanding and normative values of a 'community radio'.

In all these cases, the questions were influenced by the timing and context of the research. The overtly political 'moment' was starkly directed to the participatory ethos these stations promised. A strong thrust throughout the research focused on who the community in 'community radio' were, and if indeed the stations provided the anticipated levels of empowerment and voice implied. 'Participation' is often used vaguely and has many political undertones (Gumucio-Dagron 2001; Carpentier et al.

2019). White (1990: 8) pointed to the fluidity of participation, especially in contexts of exclusion and discrimination. Religious stations, aimed at relatively homogenous audiences, were more cohesive than geographic stations, and could rely on community involvement, a culture of voluntarism and a degree of local financial support. *Radio Maritzburg*, on the other hand, was beset by the very divisions it was set up to address, with a constant power struggle between local political factions. *Durban Youth Radio* was unable to bridge the divide between campus and city constituencies, relying on the former for financial and infrastructural support, and the latter on listenership. This disjunction was a crucial factor in its disestablishment in 2010 and resolved two years later when it reopened as a city-based non-profit station, albeit with a strong business plan, employing presenters on a paid basis.

While the participatory aspirations were strong, the reality was often more administrative and closer in style to the modernization paradigm. The entire broadcasting sector in South Africa was reorganized in the early 1990s with the successive legislative interventions. Community radio was the child of deeply political, rigorously legislative processes. Stations were required to take account of restrictive licensing procedures and regulations regarding infrastructure, structures of governance and accountability, and imposed mandates. All these considerations were in the mold of the top down, externally imposed paradigm of modernization. Even more confounding was the need to be financially self-sustaining. Since most of these stations served poor and marginalized communities, subscriptions were not sufficient to keep them going, and in every case, they turned to advertising to recoup their costs and keep them viable. The contradictions of community-service maintained by the commercial sale of airtime, are considerable. The broadcasting fare had to be sufficiently popularist to gander large audiences that would attract advertisers. This meant diluting the original mandate of the station (Adhanom 2004). While not directly akin to 'donor funding' dilemmas that often sink indigenous development programs, this necessity to run the stations as capitalist, rather than community enterprises, did compromise their mandates.

At the same time, this external imposition was contested by the demands, the vision and the sheer energy of those who fought for and established the stations. The pirate station that battled for legitimacy (*Radio Phoenix*); the peace station that struggled for three years to obtain a license (*Radio Maritzburg*); and the vision of a single pastor to establish what was to become an award-winning establishment (*Radio Khwezi*) must be seen as grassroots, community-driven initiatives. This is useful to remember when considering the ways in which paradigms shift. Even when the hegemonic paradigm is unseated, it does not disappear, but continues to live alongside the viewpoint that has superseded it. Thus, concurrently we see the modernization paradigm (top-down, prescriptive, highly regulated) operating alongside more participatory practices (community-inspired, self-initiated and self-regulated). These lessons in the practice of development were very salient to both established academics and the students who researched them, bringing to life what would otherwise be a classroom exercise.

Modernizing Health (HIV) Communication for Local Responses

The second case study concerns the very practical issue of health communication in a province beset by HIV/AIDS. The early efforts of health communication centered on the diffusion of health information, health propaganda, the adoption of Westernized ideologies and the health publicity paradigm that all promoted the selling of acceptable health attitudes and practice. This dominant paradigm of social marketing, accompanied by health propaganda, clouded the early South African efforts to combat HIV infection in the 1990s. A turbulent decade of strained communication endeavors positioned HIV as a Western ideology with partial recognition of HIV as development problem (Govender 2011); and redirected the media emphasis on health care systems. The state-imposed AIDS denialism, sham reasoning and avoidance of a consolidated government response created an era of pandemonium, misinformation, misrepresentation, and to a certain extent media censorship around ways in which South Africans should modify health behaviors (Thompson and Kumar 2011). Communication efforts of *Sarafina II*, a musical screenplay to raise awareness of HIV/ AIDS was criticized for confused messages and increasing myths of AIDS (Nattrass 2003). The South African HIV landscape was plagued with Western ideologies and 'othering' of the epidemic, and while this may have set South Africa on the back foot of advancing the strategic prevention agendas in the country, it definitely provided a stage for the application and promotion of participatory communication for development.

The *Beyond Awareness Campaign* (1996–2000), one of the first initiatives that CCMS staff and students undertook for the national HIV/AIDS Directorate, devised by Keyan Tomaselli undergirded the early shifts from the modernization of health education to operationalizing health communication (Parker et al. 2000). Research informing this campaign influenced CCMS scholars for more than two decades in glocal HIV prevention discourses. Cultural, social and economic factors were key drivers embedded in effective behavioral and social change responses (Govender 2011).

One of the most prominent participatory media approaches that challenged health education contributions emanated from the work of Warren Parker (1994) whereby he questioned the way we 'do' media and development. The development of action media, an indigenized methodology, facilitated the knowledge production and critical debate among key beneficiaries for more effective condom distribution, a core prevention message at this time. These academia-in-practice efforts positioned CCMS as the hub of participatory methodologies in health communication for Sub-Saharan Africa.

At the same time, shifts in the dominant paradigm of development were evident with locally produced South African television content purposively adapted to advance behavioral and social change. The role of entertainment education (EE) as a communication strategy was actively utilized through the early efforts of *Soul City* to encourage active audiences to revisit individual and collective behavior. Adopting EE

as a social and behavioral change strategy where culture is seen as a way of life (Tufte 2005) has significantly advanced the South African prevention agenda. Reception studies of young people who engaged with the EE *Soul City* television series, investigated by Mpeli (2005) and Mkhize, confirmed the influence of pro-social messaging. Mkhize (2010) later examined responses to the television program, *4play: Sex-tips for girls,* and concluded that while role modelling has the potential to influence viewers, the viewers engagement with characters can promote positive and negative role modelling; and attraction to negative behavior may exacerbate unintended effects of EE. The steps of the communication for participatory development (CFPD) model with dialogue, divergence and collective action then become cornerstones for convergence in social and behavioral adoption and addressing the unintended effects (Kincaid and Figueroa 2019). Coertzee's (2011) study of *Takalani Sesame*, the South African version of the American *Sesame Street series*, reflected a diverse interest in television as a popular and effective medium for health messages, but similar to Mkhize's study highlights the potential unintended effects. EE has therefore had a positive impact and social influence on behavior change (with audience participation and engagement), but concomitant materials and community level interventions are necessary to promote the intended messages and understanding of contexts to local settings.

Community radio, in our experience, is also an effective participatory platform for community discourses recognizing the influence of communities to contextualize and mobilize local responses. Khumalo (2012) investigated the inclusion of HIV/AIDS messages in the daily radio drama series aired on the popular Zulu-language radio station, *Ukhozi FM*, and argued that radio has the potential to set a pro-social HIV/AIDS agenda.

The role of print media, evident through the efforts of *loveLife,* one of the most highly contentious billboard productions with HIV messaging for youth, was critiqued by Parker (2004), in which he questioned the use of hegemonic and ideological dominance in a multi-cultural environment. He raised concerns of *loveLife*'s assumption of a homogenous audience that is able to hold a dominant reading of the preferred messages. Delate (2007) examines the way in which *loveLife's* images and texts in South Africa, promoted the hegemonic messages around HIV prevention, yet negated the encoding and decoding of texts which can often have a negotiated reading with negative HIV prevention effects. These discourses are no different to the later combination prevention efforts of medical circumcision (MMC) and pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) where biomedical products attached dominant readings around potential behavioral uptake without a de-construction of the cultural meaning or preferred readings of such product innovations (Govender and Abdool Karim 2018; Govender et al. 2017; Sakarombe 2014).

Donor Agencies Advancing the Health and Development Agenda for HIV Prevention

AIDS exceptionalism, a paradigm that influenced public health and the communication responses supported the transference of expertise, knowledge and financial resources from the Global North to combat HIV infections in the Global South. EE was modelled as the evidence-based strategy and transcended previous dominant communication paradigms for South Africa; drawing impetus on the role of donors and NGOs to mobilize national and community responses in a multi-sectoral and multi-layered socio-ecological effort. Drama in AIDS Education (DramAidE) was the first NGO funded by JHHESA via USAID, with the intellectual research expertise and community infrastructures to operationalize key HIV discourses from traditional EE media productions to various community settings. Through an 'ethnography of development' lens, DramAidE acquired nuanced perspectives of media and participatory communication programs in order to assemble community local responses to health imperatives (Makuwira 2014).

The role of NGOs has created an avenue for us as academics to understand how and where development is mediated in practice. Our work with DramAiDE, Turn Table Trust, The Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking and ARROWSA, concretizes the attributes of communicating for social change where students work with communities to understand the local practices towards the re-construction of local modalities in HIV research (Kunda 2009). The rise of community voices enables a "space for such acts of exchange, listening and narrative formation" (Mansell and Manyozo 2018: 327) and allows our teaching to reflect, engage, critique and appreciate the contribution of local communities as key stakeholders, and as research partners to contribute to the co-construction of HIV discourses in health and development (Mulwo et al. 2012).

In our experience this applied research and local stakeholder engagement illustrates the merit of research-community partnerships, albeit donor agencies drive their own socio-economic agendas. In some instances, many NGOS remain largely silenced by donors driving the financial sustainability of many communities. Many Global South NGO actors in communication for development contribute to the dominant development discourses, often operating as agents for Global North agenda setters. These donor-driven agendas challenge the future of development communication. Manyozo (2009), a graduate from CCMS, positioned his foundational work on the mobilization of rural communities and later indigenous knowledge systems towards establishing a communication for development theory and practice; enabling a dialectic and dialogic process that is reflexive and responsive to the voices of the local communities.

Understanding these donor power relations and the role of the 'expert' in HIV communication has facilitated a cyclical process of revisiting, reconstituting and in many ways reconstructing our communication for development approach to HIV prevention (Moodley 2007). This re-alignment connects with Manyozo's discourse for the need to understand the mediation of development, with the resurgence of key

media and communicative practices from donors that often differ from the dialogic and empowering communicative practices at community levels.

Participatory Health Methodologies: Amplifying Local Community Responses

Through graduate and staff research CCMS problematized the epidemic and its responses; with the NGO partnerships advancing localized prevention efforts. The work of Nduhura (2004) explored the adoption of Freirean participatory methodologies by DramAidE to explore HIV prevention strategies through a life skills approach with learners in South African schools. Coetze's research on *Takalani Sesame* (2011), suggested a greater impact of participatory activities than once-off role plays with school learners. Through the messiness of action research and the conflicts, contradictions and challenges of participation, the inclusion of participants as co-creators of knowledge still generates longevity to development research. Durden's research (2012) further examined three separate case studies of participation in theatre for HIV/AIDS and concluded that greater workshop participation resulted in a greater impact on both the participants and the audiences for such theatre. Similar research conducted by Govender (2011) underlined the urgency of harnessing the local knowledge of communities towards achieving HIV prevention.

Kunda's (2009) doctoral research argued for a deeper understanding of the cultural and sexual scripts obtained from students, which were critical for appropriate design and implementation of interventions to address the HIV epidemic. His study drew attention to the need to identify the agents of change, the beneficiaries of HIV prevention efforts, and the participatory cyclical process of development needed to advance effective messages and interventions. The work of Mikalsen and Nangamso (2012) investigated local development needs in terms of service delivery and health priorities in north-eastern KwaZulu-Natal and found that communities historically segregated by apartheid laws have vastly different needs; therefore, a single notion of development cannot be applied to one geographical area. Govender et al. (2017) confirmed that geo-spatial urban, rural and semi-urban settings influence on how communities localize their understanding of HIV. Several studies investigating the perceptions and uptake of various HIV prevention messages that relate to voluntary counselling and testing, abstinence, the injunction to be faithful, condom use, voluntary medical male circumcision and uptake of PrEP, also confirmed the influence of geo-spatial locations and cultural contexts (see Kunda 2009; Moodley 2007; Nota 2015; Ogunlela 2013; Sakarombe 2014). The collective finding in these studies heightened the urgency of community ownership of the key HIV message and the need to adapt these HIV messages for various local and cultural contexts.

The power of participatory influence, the adoption of good participatory practice (GPP) in dealing with communities and the advances of participatory communication collectively informs, influences and impacts the progression of health communication as a sub-theme of development for communication and social change. The conundrum of HIV communication from a development perspective over the years has fluctuated from government top-down interventions, which in many cases placed onus on individuals for HIV risk reduction; to a collective discourse that is mindful of the influence of culture and caters for an indigenization of African philosophies such as Ubuntu (Lubombo and Dyll 2018); and finally to the avalanche of biomedical interventions shifting decision-making and agency back to the individual without a necessary understanding of the socio-cultural context in which HIV prevention decisions are instituted (Govender et al. 2017). These transitions in HIV prevention strategies mirror the revolutionary nature of development communication in theory and practice, a field that is constantly re-crafted, re-constituted and re-engineered to ensure that voices of the community are not lost in the noise of global economic and political agendas. These voices often belong to marginalized, indigenous groups.

Indigeneity: Researching and Doing

This section explains the ways in which CCMS operationalizes social change research with indigenous groups. It draws on research conducted within the National Research Foundation-funded project, 'Rethinking Indigeneity' led by Keyan Tomaselli since 1994 (see Tomaselli 2012). The rethinking of indigeneity examines ways in which research encounters in the field question normative theory and associated epistemological assumptions. For this chapter, research with Khoesan descendant groups living in the Northern Cape of South Africa is included. The particular communities are the ǂKhomani who live on restituted land close to the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) from which their descendants were forcibly removed; the !Xun and Khwe who live in Platfontein, where they were relocated in 1999 after 'living in transit' subsequent to their employment by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the 1980s (the same group of people involved with the establishment of Radio XK-FM discussed above); and a group of women living near the !Garib River whose heritage comprises Bantu and Khoesan-speaking forefathers intertwined with European travelers and settlers. All three communities live in poor conditions. In this section we track a selection of research initiatives and interventions from the project's coterminous and intersecting phases in order to animate how CCMS has rethought the power of development.

Research has been conducted in partnership with a variety of organizations in the private sector, e.g. Transfrontier Parks Destinations; public and civil society sectors including the South African San Institute, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism and the National Heritage Council; community representative organizations, e.g. the ǂKhomani Communal Property Association; and non-governmental organizations, e.g. ARROWSA. Champions within these partnerships have assisted

us in navigating through the grey zone of indeterminant outcomes, as they hold a "sincere respect for the views of the people with whom they work and with people's ability to solve many of their own problems" (Quarry and Ramirez 2009: 62–63).

These direct links provide fertile ground for us to apply and challenge received theories and test methods. Our research often has had positive multiplier effects. Art and craft exhibitions, notably including the work of ǂKhomani artist Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper and others, were held in several centres and culminated in the publication of two books. In a co-authored book, *Kalahari Rainsong* featuring Vetkat's art, Belinda Kruiper wrote that the book is "the story of my love for a man called Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper; for his people the #Khomani Bushmen [… and] for the land that they belong to—the great, red, beautiful Kalahari—that can be both heaven and hell" (Bregin and Kruiper 2004). A second collaborative book *Mooi Loop: The Sacred Art of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper* was an illustrated biography of (Kruiper 2011). As Vetkat's art became established he chose to 'pay it forward' by donating a portion of exhibition proceeds to supporting ARROWSA youth from previously disadvantaged backgrounds to join intercultural exchange programs in the UK and the Kalahari.

Another multiplier example is the research and assistance in activating and evaluating the community-owned and privately-operated !Xaus Lodge in the KTP (Dyll-Myklebust 2012). Lauren Dyll's Public-Private-Community Partnership model was generated through observing and analysing the lodge's establishment, implementation, evaluation and the communication between its multiple partners. The ǂKhomani and Mier are the community owners, SA National Parks is the government conservation authority and Transfrontier Parks Destinations (commercial private sector) is the operator. Dyll synthesized a participatory action research approach, highlighting the complexity on the ground, applying indigenous tourism literature and policy, pro-poor tourism approaches and the need for an adaptive co-management framework. The study provides a workable model that aids community tourism partnerships in negotiating differences in ontology (indigenous and Cartesian) and rationality (sacred and profane). The model's snowball value is evident in its application by two Masters' students who also actively shaped viable development outcomes in previously failed community-owned tourism ventures situated in Limpopo's African Ivory route (Sheik 2013) and KwaZulu-Natal's Northern Drakensburg mountains (Sathiyah 2013).

While perhaps not negating the idea of indigenous 'internal psychological factors' as obstacles to modernization, in the 1970s communication scholars in the developed world realized that external constraints also posed barriers, and research and practice prioritized basic needs such as food, shelter, education and employment. Despite this positive turn, there are still situations where even this becomes a challenge. ǂKhomani crafters, who spend their days sitting on the side of the dusty road leading to the KTP, completed a tracking and armed guard course in order to work at !Xaus Lodge. However, their efforts to educate themselves for formal employment caused more distress than empowerment. To graduate the armed guard course and receive certificates, an examination needed to be written in English, highlighting the insensitivity of the program to the province's realities where the *lingua franca* is Afrikaans.

While the ǂKhomani crafters and would-be guards demonstrated empathy (Lerner 1958) in that they saw themselves as capable of being certified guides, this language 'pro-literacy bias' alienated them from realizing this goal (Dyll 2009: 56).

Action research actively shaped !Xaus Lodge's business decisions from 2006 to successfully recover a state-funded project that had made every development error possible. Many of these were caused by overlooking indigenous knowledge. Beyond the output of a workable development communication model, Kate Finlay (2009) mobilized semiotics of the lodge's promotional material, examining images of the ǂKhomani owners as an indigenous people. The semiotic construction was then tested against focus group interpretations. Discursive discrepancies found that although most tourists are aware that the oft-presented 'Stone Age lifestyle' of the Bushman is a myth, they still desire this representation in cultural tourism settings. It was at this point that the project adopted a new conceptual framework to explore questions of indigeneity in modernity.

In 2008 the 'Rethinking Indigeneity' phase was initiated through a link with the Leeds University Centre for Post-Colonial Studies. This phase of the research moved the critique of "myths of authenticity, traditionalism, primitivism and pre-rationality" to an examination of potential reconceptions of indigeneity "as a contemporary performance of self that enacts a restoration of relations to one's past […] a strategic form of practice" (Tomaselli 2012: 48). William Ellis (2014) explored the ways in which ǂKhomani authenticity is offered to society as a remedy for the maladies of modernity: alienation, anomie and alterity. Authenticity was then discussed as a question of value within an economy of cultural politics that often draws on pure representation and the creation of cultural relics of dubious origin (McLennan-Dodd 2003). Ellis's research highlighted this depictional failure, emphasizing that the 'subjects of anthropology' are real flesh-and-blood people-on-the-ground with real needs and not the ever-familiar hyper-real Bushmen.

How does this relate to development? In short, survival. Being First Peoples and the recipients of land and funding post-1994, the plethora of research and massive media attention positioned the traditional ǂKhomani in relation to entertainment and intellectual production. Despite their self-expression being hindered due to limited access and ownership of technologies, they have been well-aware of the power of the image. While their income-earning options may be limited, their ability to leverage the discursive historical card they have been dealt, is astute. They grasp the notion of branding that typically appeals to 'an authentic Bushman image'. The channels via which this sale occurs is through cultural tourism, media and through the researcher-researched encounter itself.

Historically, development communication has "avoided the topic of spirituality" as it is unquantifiable and is hence a "development taboo" (Ver Beek 2000: 31). Liberation theology supports development for personal and collective empowerment and is largely associated with Christianity, as well other major religions (Melkote and Steeves 2001). Mary Lange's (2014) collaborative research with women from the !Garib (Orange) River area in the Northern Cape recorded stories of the Water Snake in a narrative that combines religion, myth, folklore, and observations of daily life and relations of 'power' (both spiritual and between groups). It thus explores the

role of spirituality in social change from a wider understanding where spirituality is viewed as "a *relationship* with the supernatural or spiritual realm that provides meaning and a basis for personal and communal reflection, decisions, and action" (Ver Beek 2000: 32). In collaboration with six local women, Lange recorded stories that created a multivocal narrative, contributing to recent research that promotes the role of storytelling in facilitating oft-marginalised voices to be heard. The present retelling, as in the past, can be considered a practice that promotes individual well-being and social cohesion. The narrative demonstrates shifts in identity and a reconfiguration of traditional beliefs in a water deity with Western Christianity, forging a contemporary fluid spirituality that assists the community in accounting for daily experiences, including development issues (Lange and Dyll-Myklebust 2015).

Modernization's negativity towards the attitudes of traditional societies, their so-called 'superstition', should therefore not be viewed as an obstacle to be removed, but should be engaged in order to embrace "sense-making" (Dervin 2003). Development practitioners should reach out to the sense made by others in order to understand what insights they bring to their understanding of a phenomenon. The use of sense-making highlights the role of ordinary person-as-theorist who is involved in developing ideas to guide an understanding of his/her personal/collective/historical and social worlds. The water stories can therefore be described as a "development narrative" that showcases the kinds of complexities that should be considered when partnering with local communities. "Development narratives are able to agitate, complicate, induct and animate, and thus have the power to challenge 'rational' authoritarian modes of development" (Dyll 2014: 534).

These deliberations on the value of local knowledge led to the formalization of the 'participatory development' phase of theory building. When critical thinking is present and the focus is on everyday life experience and institutional practice, mediated by dialogic communication, it is possible to understand how discursive imaginaries of development are constituted (Mansell and Manyozo 2018).

The !Xun and Khwe were moved several times since the 'border war' of the 1980s, settling eventually in Platfontein, Northern Cape. They claim disempowerment and a lack of capacity and sustained post-settlement support. In an effort to encourage the !Xun and Khwe to consider their lives and local environment and their aspirations to solve their self-identified community issues, Grant and Dicks (2014) made use of two strategies. The first is body mapping, where facilitators guide a reflection and creation process; and the second included grassroots comic sessions inspired by its inexpensive and low-tech participatory communication (Packalen and Sharma 2007). These creative programs centered on the community's identification of social, political and community issues and possible community-led solutions. Issues that were highlighted in the exercises included unemployment, substance abuse, domestic violence, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, and littering. The distribution of the final comics, displayed in public spaces, allowed the participants to share their insights and solutions, and enabled other community members to think about how structures and their own behavior may inhibit or facilitate their lives. These methods can be replicated by community members without the presence of outside facilitators.

Participatory development communication has moved on from its unrealistic optimism. Disappointment with its failure to meet some of its expectations has resulted in efforts to discredit the notion of participation, "through its alignment with the dark sides of human behaviour" (Ribeiro et al. 2019: 10). This scholarship is mostly in relation to online participation and includes "destructive engagement, involuntary imposition, silencing and exclusion" (Carpentier et al. 2019: 19). Heavily engaged in fieldwork, the Indigeneity project identified a different set of reasons for which indigenous groups discredit participation. Several factors account for low levels of participation, including the whole idea of 'participation' as a foreign concept; the fatigue experienced by constant efforts to 'develop them'; the time expended on the participatory processes by community partners who may have other priorities, including work and survival and the lack of confidence or self-efficacy. Projects need to address these challenges in realistic ways. Researchers need to consider that community time spent on a project should be remunerated, and indigenous communities need to be formally acknowledged as co-constructors of knowledge (Lange et al. 2013).

Conclusion

The academic and interventionist work undertaken at CCMS over the past twenty years will continue to move, grow and adapt. In this chapter we have attempted to trace the manner in which the paradigms of 'development' have shifted over two decades, and how global shifts have been mirrored in our local offerings. We have traced the way in which development paradigms, in their various guises, have been applied to different concrete circumstances (community media, especially community radio; combating ignorance and stigma around HIV/AIDs infection, prevention and treatment; and studying indigenous cultures). In all these instances, the projects have involved real people, with real ethical responsibilities and dilemmas, and real contradictions. In academia and development, as in everyday life, nothing goes smoothly. The 'affordances' as well as the (sometimes) huge limitations of the theory are put to the test. It has been a long, involved experiment, with consequences for real people and real situations. Some of the academic efforts have gone well, often they have hit rocky patches, and we would not want to whitewash that. Sometimes we have hit a dead end. But more often, in the Kuhnian spirit of paradigm shifts, we worked our way around the theoretical, logistical and sometimes political difficulties. We have drawn on the importation of ideas from other theoretical stances, and from the indigenization of these in the light of our own resources and those of our partners; thus finding better ways around intellectual and practical roadblocks. The purpose of this chapter then, is to both record that intellectual journey, and to offer a different, localized set of insights to our peers in 'development' and 'communication for social change' research.

References

Adhanom, Z. A. (2004). 'Advertising, community radio and mandate: A case study of Radio Maritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal.' Maters' dissertation, UKZN. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.968.5533&rep=rep1&type=pdfz.

Baran, P. (1957/67). *The political economy of growth.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Bodunrin, I. A. (2019). 'Hip-hop and decolonized practices of language digitization among the contemporary !Xun and Khwe indigenous youth of South Africa'. *Critical Arts, 33*(4–5), 174–190. https://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2019.1702070.

Bregin, Elana, & Kruiper, Belinda. (2004). *Kalahari rainsong*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Bundy, C. (1979). *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry*. Berkley and Los Angles: University of California Press.

Carpentier, N., Melo, A. D., & Ribeiro, F. (2019). Rescuing participation: A critique on the dark participation concept. *Comunicação e Sociedade, 36,* 17–35.

Coertze, G. (2011). 'Open sesame!: Learning life sills from *Takalane Sesame:* A reception study of selected grade one learners in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za/.

Delate, R. C. (2007). *Us and them: Love life, commercial brands and everyday life* (p. 372). Investigating Communication: Health and Development.

Dervin, B. (2003). 'Chaos, order and sense-making: A proposed theory for information design'. In *Sense- making methodology reader: Selected writings of Brenda Dervin*, 325–340. Cresskill. NJ: Hampton Press.

Durden, E., & Govender, E. (2012). *Investigating communication, health and development 10 years of research in the centre for communication.* Johannesburg: Jacana Media (CCMS).

Dyll-Myklebust, L. E. (2012). Public-private-community partnership model for participatory lodge (tourism) development. In K. G. Tomaselli (Ed.), *Cultural tourism and identity: Rethinking indigeneity* (pp. 180–214). Leiden: Brill.

Dyll-Myklebust, L. E. (2014). 'Development narratives: the value of multiple voices and ontologies in Kalahari research. *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, *28*(3), 521–538.

Dyll, L. E. (2019). 'Methods of "literacy" in indigenising research education: transformative methods used in the Kalahari'. *Critical Arts, 33*(4–5), 122–142. https://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2019.1704810.

Dyll, L. E. (2009). Community development strategies in the Kalahari: An expression of modernization's monologue. In P. Hottola (Ed.), *Tourism strategies and local responses in Southern Africa.* Oxford: CABI.

Ellis, W. (2014). Simulacral, genealogical, auratic and representational failure: Bushman authenticity as methodological collapse. *Critical Arts, 28*(3), 493–520.

Feyissa, K. (1999). 'Radio as pulpit'. Masters' dissertation, UKZN.http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/Files/articles/MA_dissertations/feyissa%20ma.pdf.

Finlay, K. (2009). The Un/Changing Face of the #Khomani: Representation through promotional media. *Visual Anthropology, 22*(4), 334–361.

Frank, A. G. (1967). *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America.* New York: New York University Press.

Freire, P. (1970/ 1996). Pedagogy of the oppressed (revised). *New York: Continuum.*

Govender, E. M. (2011). Tracing development and health communication for HIV and AIDS prevention within a South African context'. In K. G. Tomaselli & C. Chasi (Eds.), *Health and development communication.* Pearson: Cape Town.

Govender, E., & Abdool Karim, Q. (2018). Understanding women's and men's acceptability of current and new HIV prevention technologies in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *AIDS Care, 30*(10), 1311–1314.

Govender, E. M., Mansoor, L. E., MacQueen, K., & Abdool Karim, Q. (2017). The impact of secrecy, empowerment and protection on pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) Adherence: Lessons from KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Culture, Health and Sexuality, 19*(11), 1268–1285.

Grant, J., & Dicks, A. (2014). Perceived benefits of Freirean and Grassroots Comics workshops within three Bushmen communities. *Communitas, 19,* 116–135.

Gumucio-Dagron, A. G., & Bleck, C. (2001). *Making waves*. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation.

Hart, T. (2014). 'Community radio: The beat that develops the soul of the people? A case study of XK fm as a SABC owned community radio station and its role as a facilitator of community-based development'. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1008.230&rep=rep1&type=pdf.

Kaihar, S. (1999). *Community broadcasting: A case study on Radio Pheonix'*. UKZN: Coursework assignment in Masters' programme. (unpublished).

Khumalo, M. (2012). 'Ukhozi FM: Talking about HIV and AIDS in the weekday Entertainment Education radio drama series'. In Durden, E. and Govender, E. 2012. *Investigating communication, health and development 10 years of research in the centre for communication, media and society (CCMS)* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Kincaid, C. D. L. & Figueroa, M. E. (2009). 'Communication for participatory development: Dialogue, action, and change'. In *Routledge handbook of applied communication research.* London: Routledge.

Kruiper, V. R. (2011). *Mooi loop: The sacred art of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper*. Pretoria: UNISA Press.

Kunda, J. L. (2009). 'They have ears, but they cannot hear': listening and talking as HIV prevention: A new approach to HIV and AIDS campaigns at three of the universities in KwaZulu-Natal. Doctoral thesis, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/files/articles/CFPD/phd_final_mm_jk_monday,12th-2.pdf.

Lange, M. E. (ed.), (2014). *Water stories: Original! Garib narrations about the water snake.* Unisa Press, University of South Africa.

Lange, M. E., Müller Jansen, L., Fisher, R. C., Tomaselli, K. G. & Morris, D. (eds.) 2013. *Engraved landscape. Biesje Poort: Many voices.* Gordon's Bay: Tormentosa.

Lange, M. E., & Dyll-Myklebust, L. E. (2015). Spirituality, shifting identities and social change: Cases from the Kalahari landscape. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 71*(1), 1–11.

Lasswell, H. D. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. *The Communication of Ideas, 37*(1), 136–139.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the middle east*. New York: Free Press.

Lie, R., & Servaes, J. (2015). Disciplines in the field of communication for development and social change. *Communication Theory, 25*(2), 244–258.

Lubombo, M., & Dyll, L. E. (2018). A dialectic analysis of views on participation in HIV/AIDS communication of selected South African people living with HIV/AIDS: Beyond the greater involvement of people living with HIV/AIDS. *Critical Arts, 32*(2), 100–118.

MacBride, S. (1980). *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*. Paris: UNESCO.

Makuwira, J. (2014). Power and development in practice: NGO's and the development agenda setting. *Development in Practice, 28*(3), 422–431.

Mall, A. (2008). Busting down the door: The role of sisters in Muslim community radio in South Africa. *Agenda, 22*(77), 33–46.

Mansell, R., & Manyozo, L. (2018). Introduction: The mediation of development. *Development in Practice, 28*(3), 325–331.

Manyozo, L. (2009). Mobilizing rural and community radio in Africa. *Equid Novi- African Journalism Studies, 30*(1), 1–23.

McLennan-Dodd, V. (2003). *Wit Meisie*/Morning star: Encounters in the desert. *Current Writing, 15*(3), 88–100.

Melkote, S. R., & Steeves, H. L. (2001). *Communication for development in the Third World: Theory and practice for empowerment*. London: Sage.

Mhlanga, B. (2009). The community in community radio: A case study of XK FM. Interrogating community participation, governance and control. *Ecquid Novi, 30*(1), 58–72.

Mikalsen, O., & Nangamso, Z. (2012). 'The people of St Lucia area: Point of view on health and development sustainability'. In E. Durden, & E. Govender, (2012). *Investigating communication, health and development 10 years of research in the centre for communication, media and society (CCMS).* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Mjwacu, T. (2002). 'Community radio and community representation: A case study of Highway Radio'. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/4608.

Mkhize, M. (2010). 'Assessing the entertainment and education balance of *4play: Sex Tips for Girls*: A reception analysis of the entertainment-education nature and value of role models within the series'. In E. Durden, & E. Govender, (2012). *Investigating communication, health and development 10 years of research in the centre for communication, media and society (CCMS).* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Moodley, E. M. (2007). 'An assessment of students' perceptions of the ABC prevention strategy'. In E. Durden, & E. Govender, (2012). *Investigating communication, health and development 10 years of research in the centre for communication, media and society (CCMS).* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Mpeli, M. R. (2005). 'A reception analysis of soul city beyond South Africa: The case of choose life in Lesotho'. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za/.

Mulwo, A. K., Tomaselli, K. G., & Francis, M. D. (2012). HIV/AIDS and discourses of denial in sub-Saharan Africa: An Afro-optimist response? *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 15*(6), 567–582.

Nattrass, N. (2003). *The moral economy of AIDS in South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nduhura, D. (2004). 'Freirian pedagogy as applied to DramAide for HIV/AIDS education.' Masters' thesis, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/Files/articles/MA_dissertations/freirean%20pedagogy%20dramaide.pdf.

Nota, P. B. (2015).'A comparative study of students' attitudes, preferences and acceptance levels towards microbicide products: the tenofovir gel and the dapivirine ring at UKZN.' Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/staff-documents/MA_DISSERTATION_FINAL_22MARCH_1.sflb.ashx.

Ogunlela, T. O. (2013). 'Women, HIV and AIDS: Perceptions of the female condom among students on UKZN Howard College campus'. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/11379.

Packalen, L., & Sharma, S. (2007). *Grassroots comics: a development communication tool*. Finland: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Parker, W. (1994). 'The development of community-based media for AIDS education and prevention in South Africa'. MA dissertation, UKZN. http://ccms.ukznac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=72&Itemid=34.

Parker, W. (2004).'Ideology, hegemony and HIV and AIDS: The appropriation of indigenous and global spheres'. Doctoral thesis, UKZN. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.958.5179&rep=rep1&type=pdf.

Parker, W., Dalrymple, L., & Durden, E. (2000). *Communicating beyond AIDS awareness*. South Africa: Department of Health.

Quarry, W., & Ramirez, R. (2009). *Communication for another development: Listening before telling*. London: Zed Books.

Ribeiro, F., Melo, A.D., Carpentier, N. (2019). Nota introdutória. *Comunicação e Sociedade, 36,* 9–14.

Rogers, E. M. 1962, (also1983, 2003, 2007). Diffusion of innovation. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Sakarombe, P. (2014). 'Knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of medical male circumcision as an HIV prevention procedure by white and Indian male students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Howard College'. Masters dissertation, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/Masters_Dissertations/SAKAROMBE_MA_FINAL_2014.sflb.ashx.

Sathiyah, V. (2013). History, identity and representation: Public-Private-Community partnerships and the Batlokoa community. Masters dissertation, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/Files/articles/vs%2011%20march%202014%20%20sathiyah%20dissertation.pdf.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development: One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton press.

Shannon, C. E., & Weaver, W. (1949). *The mathematical theory of communication, by CE Shannon (and recent contributions to the mathematical theory of communication)*. W. Weaver: University of Illinois Press.

Sheik, Z. (2013). 'Reviving 'white elephants': A culture-centred approach to the African Ivory Route Tourism partnership. Masters dissertation, UKZN. http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/files/articles/sheik_zb_2013_revisions.pdf.

Shramm, W. (1971). The nature of communication between human. *The Process and Effect of Mass Media.-Urbana.*

Teer-Tomaselli, R. E. (2005). Community radio's impact on community building: Case studies from KwaZulu-Natal. *Communitas, 10,* 67–85.

Teer-Tomaselli, R. (2001). 'Who is the 'community' in community radio? A case study of community radio stations in Durban, KwaZulu Natal.' *Media, democracy and renewal in Southern Africa: New approaches to political economy*. Bellville: Anthropos.

Teklemicael, H. (2004). 'Ownership and control in community radio: A case study of Higheay Radio and Radio Maritzburg. Masters' dissertation, UKZN. http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/4350.

Thompson, L., & Kumar, A. (2011). Responses to health promotion campaigns: Resistance, denial and othering. *Critical Public Health, 21*(1), 105–117.

Tomaselli, K. G. (Ed.). (2012). *Cultural tourism and identity: Rethinking indigeneity*. Leiden: Brill.

Tufte, T. (2005). Entertainment-Education in development communication: Between marketing behaviours and empowering people. In T. Tufte & O. Hemer (Eds.), *Media and glocal change-rethinking communication for development* (pp. 159–176). Göteborg, Sweden and Buenos Aires, Argentina: Nordicom.

Tyali, S. M., & Tomaselli, K. G. (2015). 'Assessing "beneficiary" communities' participation in HIV/AIDS communication through community radio : X-K FM as a case study. *Communicare, Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa., 34*(2), 1–18.

Ver Beek, K. (2000). Spirituality: A development taboo. *Development in Practice, 10*(1), 31–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520052484.

White, R. (1990). Community radio as an alternative to traditional broadcasting. *Media development, 4*(9), 4–16.

RNTC—Latin America: Lessons Learnt During Three Decades of Educational Communication for Development

Daniel Prieto Castillo, Amable Rosario, and Carlos Eduardo Cortés

Introduction

RNTC was born in 1968 in Hilversum, The Netherlands, as a centre for training in the use of radio and television for development, with a vocation for democratic and pluralistic communication and a methodology based on the participation of the students in their learning process, enabled by a clear orientation towards practice.

In 1978, RNTC began activities in Latin America through a group of professionals who believed in those ideals and focused on popular and educational media. Some of them had strong links to the educational experience of Radio Santa María, in the Dominican Republic, a broadcasting radio station which fostered rural grass-roots organizations, inspired by democratic and participatory processes.

Since then, RNTC-Latin America (RNTC-LA) developed uninterrupted interventions mainly in the field of non-formal education, but with a strong presence in the formal education system, supporting universities and distance education centres throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

The organization did not implement a curriculum-based training school in the classical sense. Its flexible and practical operational structure allowed RNTC-LA to adapt to various scenarios of governmental organizations, NGOs, social movements and

D. Prieto Castillo (✉)
Emeritus Professor at the National University of Cuyo, Mendoza, Argentina
e-mail: d_prietoc@yahoo.com

A. Rosario
Former Academic Director of Radio Nederland Training Center - Latin America, San José, Costa Rica
e-mail: rosarioamable@hotmail.com

C. E. Cortés
Director of the Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Social Communication, Pontifical Xavierian University School of Communication and Language, Bogotá, Colombia
e-mail: ccort4@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_16

projects launched by international organizations. For 30 years (1978-2008) RNTC-LA proposed and enriched a pedagogical model consistent with principles linked to participation, respect for the culture and experience of those who were involved in its training activities, research and projects, or used its educational productions.

From the outset, the communication model based on the transmission of information was questioned, and the focus went to reflection, practice and search of communication alternatives applied to specific situations. The philosophical basis could be conceptualized under Simón Rodríguez's statement: "*all learning is an inter-learning*". RNTC consistently applied this principle from its strong practice in the analogue world to digital technologies.

The first interventions in the region aimed to support the specific production and training needs of radio stations focused on social change in their respective countries: *Radio San Gabriel* in La Paz, Bolivia; *Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares de Ecuador* (ERPE) in Riobamba, Ecuador; *La voz de la Selva* in Iquitos, Peru; *Radio Universitaria del Chocó* in Quibdó, Colombia; as well as other significant broadcasting organizations in Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Mexico.

In 1982 RNTC signed an agreement with the *International Center for Higher Communication Studies in Latin America (CIESPAL)* based in Quito, Ecuador, to implement a "Train the Trainers" Project for Latin America, aiming to strengthen media for development capacities at universities and national training centres. Regular regional courses were held at CIESPAL until 1987, complemented with "on-the-spot" workshops and training in almost all countries in the region.

During this period, it was possible to shape a network of communicators comprised of the participants in the various workshops and events organized by the Project. In addition, an editorial line of publications was launched, including from practical guides to working documents based on meetings and seminars on communication and development topics relevant in the region. Through joint efforts with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Programme at CIESPAL, inroads were made into other areas of social communication, such as planning, curriculum design, and message analysis. Thus, a theoretical, methodological and practical framework was consolidated, always in contact with development organizations and sectors of the population with special communication needs.

In 1987 RNTC-LA moved to Costa Rica to begin a new project fostering the application of communication tools to development issues—such as health, agriculture, cooperative movement, human rights, gender—and adult distance education. The insertion in Central America implied two main partners: the Inter-American Institute of Cooperation for Agriculture (IICA) and the Costa Rican Institute of Radio Education (ICER). Together with IICA, RNTC-LA promoted development communication for rural areas through regional courses integrating an ample curriculum, from communication planning to radio production formats and media management. In collaboration with ICER, the project started an innovative reflection and support of Central American distance education systems sharing the ECCA methodology, originated in Canary Islands, Spain.

In subsequent years, and until 1995, RNTC-LA developed an intensive activity in partnership with UN agencies such as UNICEF and UNESCO, governmental

agencies and NGOs. Two central experiences were born in this period: *The Family Health Encyclopedia* and the *Self Learning Radio Encyclopedia*, which represented a significant editorial effort of coordination, intellectual production and contact with interlocutors from different areas of communication for development. An editorial line was launched, research was promoted, and sustained activities were held with Central American universities. One relevant experience of distance education with two Guatemalan universities—Rafael Landívar, and San Carlos de Guatemala—originated in the concept of *pedagogical mediation.*

In 1995 RNTC-LA integrated other media, new technologies, and opened up to collaboration with various development organizations. Productions diversified to combine printed materials, audio, video, magazines, comics, practical manuals. Contents remained coherent with the philosophy and practice of previous years: Culture for Peace, Children and Youth, Health issues, Gender topics, AIDS and Regional Integration, among others.

In this period, the production of multimedia packages on *Culture for Peace* was promoted, with children as key interlocutors. "*Learning Without Frontiers*" was a series of audiovisual and printed materials developed in coordination with UNESCO aiming to offer practical education for people in need to learn trades: how to make bamboo furniture and housing, dressmaking and pottery among others. These collections already introduced video productions.

In 2000 RNTC-LA became involved in the digital world. In agreement with the National Learning Institute of Costa Rica (INA) pilot online courses were offered to radio stations in that country. In addition, online training on the production of various radio formats was opened to all Latin America, including its application to specific topics such as human rights, AIDS prevention, and gender equity among others, all combined with radio and printed support materials. Additionally, RNTC-LA designed several specialized websites for the NGO Plan International, in Honduras, Guatemala, and Panama.

The four periods (1978–1982; 1982–1987; 1987–1995 and 1995–2010) were characterized by a continuity of interventions sustained by a pedagogical model based on participation, respect for culture and experiences of the students, and inter-learning. This theoretical, methodological and practical basis was present in the e-Learning activities promoted in the final stage of the project.

RNTC-LA acknowledges its debt to the thoughts of relevant communicators and educators from Latin America, many of whom had a direct relationship with Paulo Freire. But the fundamental source of its philosophy has been practice itself, the exchange with communicators and social change agents from different countries: the key was learning from their experiences and productions. Theoretical contributions built from practice, and shared learning, in short, inter-learning.

Communicative-Pedagogical Bases

The project posed the following question early in its development:

> What does it mean to communicate in the field of education?

The answer was necessarily linked to the concept of education, which, from the outset, was framed in the concern for the respect of cultures and their differences, recognition of the characteristics of the students, the orientation towards their life and needs and the search for alternatives, in a context of social contradictions and impoverished peoples.

In short, an education at the service of the participants and not of the bureaucracy or some adventure with scientific pretensions.

Such a concept required a coherent communication proposal; it is not fair to talk about democratizing teaching while promoting at the same time systems of manipulation and impact. It is not permissible to insist on the recognition of the participants, and simultaneously design materials without consulting them or taking them into account. It is not fair either to idealize the work of the educating person and, at the same time, imposing authoritarian relations from the sender pole.

The answer to the question of *what does it mean to communicate in the field of education*? required RNTC-LA members to undergo an inter-learning process with colleagues from different parts of the region.

The answer to this question was an orientation to move from a pedagogy focused on the educator and the materials to a pedagogy focused on learning.

In the mid-1980s, the concept of educational communication focused on learning and inter-learning was conceived as communication that:

- considers the sectors involved in the process as protagonists;
- reflects their needs and demands;
- embraces their cultures;
- supports knowledge-building processes;
- provides tools for locating, processing and exchanging information;
- facilitates expression channels;
- enables the systematization of experiences through resources appropriate to different situations;
- collaborates to promote and accompany learning and inter-learning thanks to all of the above.

The starting point and arrival of each of these elements were the people that the project aimed to serve: children, adolescents, indigenous populations, educators, media professionals… Every educational practice was considered and experienced in terms of learning and communication.

Along with contents, the pedagogical methodology applied by RNTC-LA was an essential piece of its activities throughout three decades. It was a *participatory pedagogical methodology* that involved the following:

1. Maximum reduction of expository sessions. The method relies on the individual and group work of each and every participant.
2. The educational activity is not based on the transfer of information, but on the construction of knowledge. Although the Project always had a theoretical and methodological framework, it was tested and enriched every time by the participants.

3. The starting point was the experience of those who became participants of the educational action.
4. Learning as inter-learning: although trainers played an essential role (coordination, the contribution of methodological concepts and proposals, immersion in specific areas of problems, production of learning materials), the method was decisively oriented towards inter-learning: all people could contribute knowledge and experiences to enrich the process.
5. Self-assessment: RNTC-LA did not base its work on a traditional evaluation system, characterized by intimidation and rewards. In an alternative proposal of educational communication, it is necessary to respect the learning pace of each participant and the self-evaluation of the work.

This characterization and practice of educational communication were consolidated from a basis already present at the beginning of the Project and in the subsequent courses, workshops, seminars, and productions carried out in different countries of the region.

Fundamental principle: coherence on the various fronts of action. Those who promoted the project started with the following: educational communication, in all its consequences and possibilities, should permeate all the components of a project, or it is meaningless.

Communication for Development

From its first steps in the region, the Project showed a clear vocation in favour of development, something that was expressed in the initial experiences and in publications such as *The Regional Broadcaster for Development* and *The Popular Broadcaster.* From this theoretical and practical foundational framework, lines of work were promoted to deepen concepts and methods of communication, while involving sectors of the state and NGOs in the training processes, to which was added a sustained production of materials. The work carried out in Latin America was not devoted to one-off actions with the media, but assumed the complexity of the communication processes, which always meant an effort of understanding of totality, in order to be able to act in favor of development.

RNTC-LA did not work production or communication in isolation, but always fostering a relationship expressed as follows: *communication and…* The conjunction *and* implied the application of communication competences to multiple scenarios, thus making it necessary to delve into certain thematic lines to make contributions possible. Over the decades the following lines were addressed:

– communication and rural sector
– communication, children, and adolescence
– communication and the environment
– communication and health
– communication and labour

– communication and gender
– communication and culture of peace…

To cover the richness of these topics, a broad vision of communication was applied, aimed at overcoming simplistic schemes often used in social campaigns or in attempts to transform complex realities by some strokes of media impact.

This led RNTC-LA to develop theoretical and methodological propositions in the following aspects:

– communication research
– communication diagnosis
– communication planning and management

RNTC-LA upheld from the outset that in-depth development communication is impossible without enough knowledge of the culture and perceptions of the receivers. Unfortunately, too often communication solutions were based on stereotypes and socio-economic data of the targeted groups. Not enough consideration was given to the fact that a project needs specific information on the communicational characteristics of the participants, the scope and penetration of the communication channels in each community and the most appropriate language, among other aspects. That is precisely the task of communication research.

In this direction RNTC-LA implemented two concepts that allowed to introduce propositions embracing the culture, perceptions, and experiences of the interlocutors:

– communicational situations
– research of communication expectations

The first meant the recognition that we are all inserted in *communicational situations since we were born.* Society speaks through multiple discourses and demands the new generations to learn to express in certain ways and to refer to some topics over others. A communicational situation is not represented through *a sender-message-receiver* model. It is always inserted in a totality manifested through different discourses, sometimes even contradictory while still part of the totality.

A communicational situation goes far beyond the presence of certain mass media. It includes intrapersonal, group, and social relations in general; economic, political and cultural circumstances; the development of certain technologies, of certain ways of confronting and solving the problems of nature and society…

The key in this type of communicational research is the interaction with people, in order to move away from trends consisting of the search for data extracted without any involvement in the context, to the active participation of potential interlocutors of a specific communicational process.

RNTC-LA understood research of communication expectations as the recognition of how interlocutors perceive the contents and formats in mass messages, as well as "non-massive messages" (communication ways within certain communities); therefore, preferences, critics, rejections. The possibility of understanding communication *expectations* is framed in the general understanding of communication *situations.* Both complement each other in order to design a profile of the interlocutors, revealing

perceptions, ways of assigning meaning and expressing issues and messages, as well as their insertion in specific communication situations.

RNTC-LA evolved from practice to its systematization in order to provide theoretical and methodological resources to university careers and other training organizations. This resulted in a systematic offer that included diagnosis, communication planning, management and production.

Consequences for the Practice of Communication for Development

1. Communication for development cannot act against the current of what happens in the social relationships in which it is applied. It is not possible to cover up with messages realities full of contradictions, let alone pretend that their solution is purely communicational.
2. Development support is not implemented through blow effects. The numerous campaigns in the region did not yield much-publicized benefits. In any case, those proposals had some effect in the short term, but if anything was learned in the three decades of RNTC-LA interventions, was that communication for social change is only effective in the medium and long term.
3. Development is not a question of those who prepare and disseminate messages, but rather something that corresponds to the people themselves. Therefore, there is no basis for those tendencies considering marginalized sectors as "targets" that can be influenced by different impacts on their sensibility and knowledge. RNTC-LA proposed from the outset that development belongs to the people and, therefore, it is the people who should determine what messages would be useful and what to do with them. In this sense, the Project always rejected the imposition of behavioural slogans or specific ways of perceiving and thinking, assuming the role of promoter and partner of learning processes.
4. Communication for development requires enough time to get to know the life and culture of its potential participants, for the preparation of what will be done through different means and different direct interactions, for productions in an attempt to achieve the highest quality, for validation, for follow-up materials, for subsequent readings that allow process evaluations.
5. Communication for development always enters into a direct relationship with the culture and daily life of the population it aims to support. Outside of them, communicational products are not very effective.
6. All members of a community are potential actors of development interventions, therefore potential co-participants of communication proposals. The experiences with children and adolescents allowed RNTC-LA to recognize their high capacity to reflect and become involved in communication processes.
7. None of these points can lead us to the conclusion that media, planning and management specialists have no place in communication for development. On

the contrary, the point is to bring them closer to the culture and daily life of people, so that these specialists can offer resources for the practice and quality products while respecting the interlocutors.

The Radio Experience

The founding matrix of RNTC-LA was radio. First because of the long path of RNTC in Hilversum, The Netherlands, with international production courses for professionals aiming to promote the use of the media for development. But there was another line of action that converged with the initial matrix: the staff that integrated the project in Latin America, around 1979, came from two backgrounds that later amalgamated: one, rich in high-quality radio production and training of media professionals at RNTC-Hilversum; the other, rich in participatory communication, radio education for people with limited economic and educational resources, and continuous work with rural society: Radio Santa María in the Dominican Republic.

RNTC-LA not only offered training alternatives in radio formats but also became involved in all aspects of the daily functioning of a radio station. The interventions went beyond its contributions to the productions and quality of the programs, without neglecting them, ideas, methods and resources were offered for the practice of running a radio station in its complete functioning.

In this sense, RNTC-LA considered the radio as:

- Source of public opinion.
- The bond between grassroots organizations and existing institutions.
- Communicator and facilitator of experiences.
- Supplemental communication services.
- Participatory in programming and programs.
- Social animator.
- Communication resource.
- Space for the enjoyment of speech.
- Non-formal educator.
- Formal educator.
- Debunking agent.
- Cheerleader.
- Recovery of oral memory.

The action on all fronts of educational and cultural broadcasters was based on a series of principles applied throughout the duration of the Project.

Principle of insertion: through the knowledge of basic issues of the economic, political, social and culture of Latin America, a solid foundation was built to address the most delicate, respectable and rich of all this type of work in favour of communication and education for development: the experiences themselves. From its inception, RNTC-LA sought to avoid an otherwise harmful practice for this type of process: *to speak (and often pontificate) from the outside.* The insertion in the stations, based on

the accompaniment to those providing meaning in the different experiences, constituted a fundamental basis of the Project and allowed to overcome the difference between those who considered themselves as omnipotent scholars and those who have nothing to contribute from their daily practice.

Principle of participation: its first manifestation corresponded to how the learning processes were generated in certain radio stations or through courses and seminars. Such a principle is expressed as follows: *do not proclaim participation but show it.* This happens in workshops when people produce programs, exchange views, share spaces and built actions in a plural voice and not by the words of an expert individual.

Principle of relationship and collaboration: the Project had from the beginning a commitment to relationship and collaboration, based on a conviction: *rich communication and learning experiences can always be valuable for other persons and contexts.* This made it possible to create a network of radio colleagues that grew over time and allowed the exchange of information and productions, as well as the consolidation of working groups with people from one country or different countries.

Principle of the relationship practice-theory-practice: the relationship practice-theory-practice became a cornerstone in the endeavour of the Project. Its purpose went beyond the scope of a development support technical agency, without losing its meaning and value. RNTC-LA never set aside its work on fundamental issues and tasks of a radio station (with all its implications, from sound to the technical advice on recording studios and booths) and radio language. First of all, the Project was envisaged and launched by radio professionals, who had the knowledge and experience of all the aspects of that field. The Project spoke and acted always from the profession and practice of the radio, as evidenced by its many actions in that regard, its publications, its courses, its insertion into stations to collaborate one-to-one in such media.

But in this area, no initiative makes sense if it is not supported by an understanding of the conditions of possibility and production of the medium. What those years of work proved was that improvisation does not go too far. And a risky form of improvisation is to pretend that an outsider imposes what a radio organization should do in terms of its programming, productions or technical aspects. "From the outside" means ignorance of the complexity of the medium. Another lesson for future practices: each medium, particularly radio, is highly complex, both in technical and methodological aspects, as well as in the theory sustaining it. Without experiencing, knowing and understanding such complexity, it will be hard to provide any theoretical element. It is impossible to make a radio for development without knowing society, but it is even more difficult without knowing the medium itself. And this was considered for those who produced contents on the various stations as well as for those who intended to collaborate with theoretical propositions, however valuable.

Principle of respect for other people's processes: In its 30 years, the regional RNTC-LA never intended to impose views on anyone's reality or perceptions, whether they were people or organizations. Those who integrated the Project always recognized themselves as educators, away further from a claim of politicized awareness, attempting to force others (with arguments, seductions, purported authority…)

to think and act in a certain direction. In Latin America, such a trend greatly damaged communication and popular education in the 1960s and 1970s, even if some initiatives claimed for a fairer society. The task of an educator consists of promoting and to accompany learning, not to impose ideas and perceptions on a given reality.

The Complexity of the Medium

RNTC-LA not only offered training alternatives in radio formats but was involved in the daily running of a radio station, to support all elements that make possible its functionality. The action went beyond the contributions to the production and quality of the programs to offer, without neglecting those aspects, ideas, methods and resources for managing it. Around 1982, two founding texts were used, *The Regional Broadcaster for Development* (Cabezas and Rosario 1980) and The *Popular Broadcaster* (Cabezas et al. 1982). From this basis, built out of the practice-theory-practice relation and from experiences at Radio Santa María and similar stations in the region, important innovations were proposed for the role the medium could play in support of development. One of the most important organizational aspects was the role assigned to a Human Promotion Department:

> This Department is called upon to give maximum participation to the listener base. In their weekly or monthly meetings, when they analyse their activities or plan their actions, they integrate community leaders, trade union leaders, and even field workers from other institutions. It is in this Department, that, realistically, the peasant and indigenous groups leave their mark and their voice is heard, which cries and hurts from centuries of silence (Cabezas and Rosario 1980: 81)

These calls for internal democratization and the relation with the social context were constant in the activities of the Project. It was always about the impulse for the action of broadcasters in support of development, not from the perspective of dissemination of innovations or simple campaigns, but actions focused on the participation of all its staff members and in relation with the society, all with a commitment to educational communication.

With bases such as these, progress was made in training for the knowledge and practice of different formats, in programming in general, popular news, sustainable production, radio in distance education, self-learning manuals, university radio, research of radio stations in different countries, all with a sustained effort of production and training.

Educational Communication

In the previous section, *Communication-Pedagogical Bases,* the lines that supported all the work developed by RNCT-LA in its three decades of activities were anticipated. From what was lived in the context of different experiences in the countries of the region, lessons were learnt that proved the good sense of thinking about development from a communication understood and lived as educational.

1. Communication as an educational practice is too important and complex to be left to partial approaches or improvised initiatives. Again, arise the Principle of Complexity and a call to responsibility for the totality of each educational process analysed and developed from the communication point of view.
2. Educational communication is not a younger sibling of non-formal education or a line of work lacking theoretical and methodological foundations. On the contrary, it is a rich and well-founded proposal like the one supporting or should support formal education. An underestimation from the formal to the non-formal education and vice versa did a lot of damage in the 1970s. This occurred when formal education denied legitimacy to experiences working with popular sectors, in the name of science and a system that intended to embody any possibility of education, while the non-formal sector questioned the entire system in the name of a practice that did not require any support from the educational tradition. The Project took sides in this discussion, but not in favour of one or the other argument, but betting on quality, research, the development of methodological concepts and proposals held with all the rigour of the case. The fact that the proposal was based on a compromise of clarity, on a constant search for interlocution, did not mean that there was a lack of pedagogical sustenance. Non-formal education is as serious and dignified as formal education, provided that both are founded in a way that can address all the richness and complexity of educational communication.
3. The Project's itinerary, based on a deep practice with analogue technologies, synthesized in the following sentence a problem which is not yet solved: "*Tell me what you did with the previous technologies and I will tell you what you will do with the new ones*". Based on experience, a fundamental principle was proposed: the historicity of the interventions in educational communication. In a region so rich in pedagogical practices and innovations, the Project pointed at the risk of the simple application of technologies at the start without reviewing what had been done before, nor learning from the enormous of previous experiences. Even today we have not extracted all the contributions from educational and cultural radio that could be useful for digital technologies.
4. Educational communication matures in sustained processes over time. Many proposals aimed at the population are marked by the short term: a campaign, a publication, a business meeting, some television program. Educational communication makes sense in longer intervals, in the accumulation of experiences, in the follow-up of a group during months or years. In this sense, the key to the Project was uninterrupted work, which meant the consolidation of a theoretical and methodological framework, and a large production of educational materials.

Production

In its journey throughout Latin America, RNTC-LA deeply innovated the way of producing. When the activities began there was a tradition in most of the radio stations: producers were chosen because they mastered the subject and knew the functioning of the radio. They were scholars who concentrated knowledge and decision-making capacity to structure a particular program.

RNTC-LA's innovation was to evolve from *personal to collective* production. It was recognized from the beginning that the work was too complex and important to leave it in the hands of a single person, however wise and skilled. That step meant a profound transformation in the way of working, researching, planning, distributing activities, among other fields of action, as teams of people came into the scene.

Besides, the concept of "radio professional" was expanded, giving production opportunities not only to the broadcast staff but also to people who had participated in the various workshops, who began learning production *while producing*. These were the seeds of a true school, based on teams of qualified individuals in several countries.

Since the 1980s, the Project has advanced to a multimedia production concept: a public service radio, educational, cultural, participatory, community-oriented, not exclusively based on broadcasting, but complemented by learning alternatives such as flyers, charts, brochures, comics, manuals, video, and even the Internet, including direct work with communities and groups, with the assistance of other organizations.

Another variant in this field was the differentiation between local productions and those with a national or regional scope. Initially, the Project opted for the former, embedded in the daily programming of several pilot radio stations, for instance, *La Voz de la Selva,* in Iquitos, Perú, where the organized groups of the community's services were in charge of production duties, a sort of "barefoot journalists".

Along with this example of local work, RNTC-LA produced dramatized series of regional scopes, such as "*The Ghosts*" and "*The Cow Risolanda*", including numerous chapters aimed to children, with a non-formal edutainment modality.

These local and general lines of action were always maintained, for example supporting the station ERPE, while at the same time producing series of ecological programs of "national" scope, in collaboration with *Fundación Natura*, in Quito Ecuador, aiming to reach school establishments and the public in general.

The Project was involved with a large number of organizations to collaborate with them in the analysis of their productions. The task was to make a careful reading of what was produced and distributed, a review of its discursive proposals.

One of the ways to conduct this type of analysis was to consider questions such as:

- What kind of problems do the materials have?
- What information is provided to contextualize the problems?
- Do these problems correspond to those in the community?
- How have they been prioritized?
- In the materials, who cause the problems?

- Why?
- What information regarding the problem have the social sectors represented in the material?
- What information has the institution represented in the material?
- What capacity to solve the problem is attributed to the social sectors represented in the material?
- What capacity to solve the problem is attributed to technicians?
- What are the proposed solutions?
- Are the experiences accumulated by the community represented in the proposed solutions?
- Are solutions possible within the situation lived?
- Where will solutions ultimately lead?
- Will the remedy be worse than the disease?
- Is there access to the materials?
- How are people, families, women, environment characterized in images?
- How are technical people characterized in images?
- Who asks the questions and who gives the answers?
- Are they smart or silly questions?
- Is there a lot of technical vocabulary?
- Is the material boring?
- How does the vocabulary is used concerning the way people talk in the community?
- Do you feel like if you were in a classroom?

These were guidance questions that could be expanded or reduced according to the needs of the specific analysis. But the important issue is that the exercises were conducted by members of the institution, to investigate what they were proposing, and by community members, to participate in joint evaluation meetings. *Many eyes see more than two*. Accordingly, the evaluation of messages requires several readings to check the contents of each one.

Based on such an analysis, it was proposed to move forward with some minimum agreements to produce and disseminate materials. Such agreements were a guide on what would and should not be done. The important point was that the guide was elaborated by those involved in the projects.

In one of the experiences of analysis and agreements, it was concluded that any educational material addressed to the community:

- should be carefully validated by the community, before its final edition;
- should be as close as possible to the community's communicational situation, for which it becomes necessary to start from a *communication diagnosis;*
- should avoid as many technicalities as possible, without denying the value they have in scientific concepts; it is the task of the institutions to propose scientific resources more clearly without the jargon;
- should focus on adapting information to community-experienced issues;
- will abandon the tendency to maintain the traditional class and instead incorporate people's experience and culture;

- will seek to recover the wisdom of the people, without neglecting the possible contributions of the institution;
- will incorporate the solutions proposed and agreed with the people, not those that the institution would like to impose;
- will seek to approach narrative forms, to reduce depersonalized discourse as much as possible;
- will try to make the best use of the selected format (comic, photo-novel, radio magazine, spots, etc.), since many formats are a common heritage for a majority of the society.

And so on. Minimum agreements became working guides for institutions, always with a different approach to the traditional. At stake was communication co-responsibility.

A sustained practice in production and training allowed the essential to mature in this complex space of communication. Because the key to an interactive process between human beings is what they say and express through gestures, looks, bodily attitudes…

In the case of messages with educational intent, the same happens: if people do not come into play, communication is senseless. RNTC-LA always sticks to that axiom: first come the human beings, then the products and the possible effects. The Project always disagreed with proposals based on tricks to persuade or seduction resources aimed at conducting perceptions and behaviours of others in a certain direction. Production in communication for development is anchored at a first and only axis of meaning: *the persons with whom we try to share an educational process.*

From that axis, the Project made clear the following learnings:

1. Production cannot be the responsibility of a single person, no matter how much knowledge or qualities an individual has to handle a particular medium. As we move in the field of education and as this is always the result of the interaction between groups, with production, the same thing happens: these are processes in which specialists in certain media, educators and specialists in the subject, and, above all, members of the community to which we want to reach. The production throughout RNTC-LA track record was carried out with a strong commitment to collaboration and inter-learning.
2. On one occasion Jorge Luis Borges wrote: "*The sad university reading*". We dare to add, in the case of that kind of reading, that behind there it is always sad writing. In pedagogical work, there is no place for that game of sadness, let alone when a medium like radio is involved. This does not mean leaving out the issues that hurt every society, nor abandoning dramatization formats which show in all strength. But even in those cases what counts as essential to creation is the joy of producing, felt when a group shares several hours to shape a production. Only then it is possible to communicate something meaningful to people.
3. "*Whoever doesn't know his interlocutor ends up imagining it.*" The Project was not based on random imaginative creations, but on the knowledge of the culture and daily life of those with whom communication was shared. That is why

before production took place a long preparation process was carried out, with all necessary time invested in research and dialogue with the interlocutors.

4. When programs, video or printed messages addressed to a social group lack of beauty, expressive force, personalization and pedagogical mediation, the members of the group are being disqualified, undervalued and humiliated. The sustained commitment of the Project to quality was always an exercise of respect to all of those who approached the products to share and learn something from them. There were no excuses: lack of resources, poor training, timeline, bureaucracy… Respect first, and with it, quality of materials.
5. Lesson learned: *production is a cumulative process in which new products are integrated;* you cannot call yourself a producer, without permanent continuous work. The key to production is its daily exercise, its continuous improvement based on all that was previously built. The Project never abandoned that practice, even when it took over other fronts of activity. A professional communicator without productions does not make sense.
6. The Project always aimed to conform to a production community on the basis that not much is achieved isolated in a medium such as the radio. This is why the Project extended the term *workshop* to two fundamental practices: *training workshop and production workshop.* The latter was always lived as the old traditional craft did: a group of human beings committed with enthusiasm, confidence and joy in the achievement of a quality product.

A Pedagogical Memory

Latin America is like a factory permanently generating—and forgetting—experiences. When RNTC-LA members raised the possibility of putting together a memory of what was lived and accomplished in 30 years, they felt like many other similar organizations that, because of their working load, did not have time to register their experiences.

When we began trying to spin the pieces of three decades, not only memories emerged, but also strong traces that have never disappeared. There were the books, the radio and audio-visual materials, the human stories behind quite many experiences, the products of research, the results of evaluations, the voices of friends who accompanied us. It was not at all harvesting in the desert. In so many years of interventions, the seeds yielded abundant fruits and we are legitimately proud. What made it possible? There is but one explanation: the entire Project, absolutely every action, was based on communicating with human beings committed to education and development. It was about the joy of togetherness, participation, learning and inter-learning. It was about the adventure of knowledge, planning and executing, about bonds of friendship and companionship, about the search for alternatives in the contexts of a region so rich and so full of contradictions.

Educational Communication Is Either a Matter of Human Relationship, or It Is Nothing

That is why we never stray from the others. We did not allow ourselves to be tempted by those games of distance in which other people are simply considered *message receivers* as if the contributions of their life and culture did not have the same or greater meaning than ours.

From that perspective, from that practice, we could not remain within the high walls of some institutional cloister. We had an irresistible vocation in different spaces of this wide and beloved Latin America. If at times we exceed in the desire to know and share, it was because educational communication is not practised in fixed scenarios, in classrooms that could freeze forever a framework of work and relationships. We never even tried to imagine the number of persons with whom we interacted. There is no point in doing that, but rather recognizing that we were always moved by a *passion for the others*, in every possible horizon.

Are there other ways to join communication and education? There could be, but our selection remains the same. The passion has always been as natural to the Project as breathing. We never questioned it, we just lived it. From the passion, we were able to build everything else. Since educational communication for development is of great complexity, it includes interpersonal relationships, research, planning, intellectual production, contents presented through different media, and search in contexts, learning, topics related to people's lives… None of it was improvised. But the foundation, the engine of all the actions revised in this material, was the *passion.*

In its essence, pedagogy is the passion for others in the wonderful concert of learning. Creative passion, which allows the educator to grow day by day.

References

Cabezas, A. & Rosario, A. (1980). *La emisora regional para el desarrollo [The Regional Broadcaster for Development].* Radio Nederland Training Centre. Quito, Ecuador: Editora Andina.

Cabezas, A., Rosario, A., González Llorente, P., Contreras Budge, E., & Ros, J. (1982). *La emisora popular [*The *Popular Broadcaster].* Radio Nederland Training Centre. Quito, Ecuador: Editora Andina.

Conclusion: Some Suggestions for Communication for Development and Social Change

Jan Servaes

Introduction

Though the people who contributed to this book come from different academic, professional and geographic backgrounds, they all seem to share a number of related conclusions and suggestions for the future of Communication for Development and Social Change. In other words, what lessons can we draw from their stories?

Let's first remind ourselves by quoting what we consider important to remember:

– *No to "academic imperialism":*

* "The issue of applying Western-conceived theories and research methods to most countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America had been troubling to me since the early 1970s. While teaching in Malaysia in 1972–1974, and ever since, I have implored students and other researchers to come up with their own models more appropriate to their nations' cultural, geographical, sociopolitical, economic, and religious traditions" (Lent).

* "In academia and development, as in everyday life, nothing goes smoothly. The 'affordances' as well as the (sometimes) huge limitations of the theory are put to the test. It has been a long, involved experiment, with consequences for real people and real situations" (Tomaselli).

– *Questioning technology determinism:*

* "The consequences of this global phenomenon were not what the large Silicon Valley technology firms had promoted in the belief that technology would change the world for the better. Only a few years later critics see this belief as questionable if not a hoax. The promotion of the interpersonal technologies like Facebook was

J. Servaes (✉)
Catholic University of Louvain, Louvain, Belgium
e-mail: 9freenet9@gmail.com

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3_17

supposed to bring back communitarian and personal communication values, but in fact it brought efforts by a number of players both political and economic to spread old fashioned propaganda" (McAnany).

– *Questioning top-down approaches:*

* "Development communication is inching away from persuasion and turning towards dialogue and experiential learning. It is seeking workable ways of counterbalancing top-down information flows with more participatory communication structures in the villages" (Quebral).

– *A preference for bottom-up/participatory approaches:*

* "Communication for sustainable development and social change now requires listening and dialogue with communities, starting with the people, their needs and integration with indigenous knowledge and culture" (Harris).

* "Learning as inter-learning: although trainers played an essential role (coordination, the contribution of methodological concepts and proposals, immersion in specific areas of problems, production of learning materials), the method was decisively oriented towards inter-learning: all people could contribute knowledge and experiences to enrich the process" (Prieto).

* "The power of development is manifest and evident in the empowerment of all peoples, everywhere" (Okigbo).

* "The Social Mobilizer believes the community will eventually develop a sense of collective power which, when exercised in a responsible manner, will provoke an institutional response from government decision-makers, whether they change their attitudes or not" (Kennedy).

* "We must invoke emotional connectivity with the targeted audience, possibly through sympathy or when possible through empathy. The viewers seeing themselves reflected back through the similar experiences of others, awakens their senses to what they all have in common. It can be deeply felt" (Lescault).

- *In favour of participatory media and community dialogue:*

* "My career-wide contention has been that folk media, used either in their traditional rural settings or adapted to mass media, are capable of bringing about social awareness of national development plans" (Lent).

* "Participatory media provides an important platform for communities to tell their stories and create awareness about issues from their own perspective. Storytelling uses a dialogical approach and values the agency of subaltern groups. The narrative form connects people in a meaningful way. It is transformative, enumerates the problem close-up by highlighting the struggles and adversities, and defines one's identity" (Harris).

* "Community media have facilitated participation by giving a voice to diverse stakeholders to engage in the decisionmaking process. Those who were long

neglected and silenced in the development processes, particularly women and tribal communities, have been awakened by people's movements" (Prasad).

– *In search of a new paradigm:*

* "There is the need to identify a new paradigm for development, and the role of communication in that new paradigm. It should include sustainability, participation, ownership, multi stakeholders and civil society" (Balit).

* "In the light of the stark development disparities and inequalities, the pursuit of SDGs must be viewed as an attempt to reconcile economic growth with social justice through alternative development approaches" (Prasad).

* "Chinese documentary has undergone two drastic changes. In production, an increasing number of Chinese directors are imitating the styles of National Geography and Discovery to produce documentaries on Chinese arts and culture, and more with entertaining elements and story plots. The emergence of such documentaries not only reflects that Chinese are focusing their attention on their own national culture, but also represents a return to the exploration of cultural roots and identification. It is also the development of entertainment of documentary production in China" (Bing).

– *Modernization is not always Westernization:*

* "Modernization's negativity towards the attitudes of traditional societies, their so-called 'superstition', should not be viewed as an obstacle to be removed, but should be engaged in order to embrace 'sense-making'" (Tomaselli).

*Globalization, which is highly associated with modernisms, as a process of the changing cultural state of the world, remains quite linear in its conceptualization. However, the process is less American oriented and no longer equals Westernization as crudely as theories on cultural and media imperialism in the 70 s did. It may therefore also appeal to localized value and belief systems.

– *New forms of international development needed:*

* "While the international development debate continues to grapple with the challenges of climate-smart agriculture for improving water and food security in the developing world, there are some successful initiatives in India that can offer solutions in this area" (Prasad).

* "The UN has lost much of its potency, locked into a post-war model which is no longer relevant but difficult to reform. Its funding, never secure, is more under threat than ever, and it has to navigate a corporate as well as a global world in which the rise of nationalism and populism has produced an environment very different from the seventies and eighties" (Hancock).

– *More 'flexible' policies and strategies needed:*

* "To avoid some of the mistakes of earlier generations of African communication educators and practitioners, the new generation ought to *look more inwards* to be more authentically African in their pedagogy and practices, while at the same time being *strategically outwardly* in capitalizing on alliances with selected foreign collaborators" (Okigbo).

* "It is, however, important to realise that there is no, there cannot be, and there should not be one model to follow, because every community radio is different, because every community is different: the history is different, the people are different, their culture and language are different, their day-to-day lives are different, and their challenges are different" (Jallov).

– *But let's not be naïve: development is a business!*

* "While development paradigms have placed more emphasis on community-led activities, participation and holism, in reality development has grown into an industry and development funding is becoming (if not already so) a branch of national security and bilateral interest. Internationalism has been supplanted by globalism" (Hancock).

– *The power of development:*

* "The overall goal of development is to engender positive change in all areas of life and thereby empower the people across gender, ethnic groups, religions, races, tribes, regions, and countries. A developed and empowered society was the ideal envisioned by the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which have now been replaced with the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These are some of the desirable standards for human development" (Okigbo).

******

The above collection of quotes corresponds well with previous exercises I have been involved in (see also Servaes 1999). Let's mention two: the World Congress on Communication for Development (Rome, 25–27 October 2006), and the international conference on "Communication/Culture and The Sustainable Development Goals (CCSDG): Challenges for a New Generation" in (Chiang Mai, 17–21 December 2015).

World Congress on Communication for Development

About fifteen years ago, members of the Scientific Committee of the World Congress[1] on Communication for Development (Rome, 25–27 October 2006),[2] identified the following main challenges for communication for development and social change to be recognized as a field in its own right and to be adopted systematically in development initiatives (Servaes 2007: 112–114, see also Servaes 2008):

[1] Jan Servaes, Nicholas Carah, Martin Hadlow, Eric Louw, Pradip Thomas (University of Queensland), Silvia Balit (independent consultant), Maria Celeste Cadiz (University of the Philippines Los banos), Nabil Dajani (American University of Beirut), Cees Hamelink (University of Amsterdam), Tom Jacobson (Temple University), Ullamaija Kivikuru (University of Helsinki), John Mayo (Florida State University), Rafael Obregon (Ohio University), Doug Storey (John Hopkins University), Thomas Tufte (Roskilde University), and Karin Gwinn Wilkins (University of Texas at Austin).

[2] For an interesting assessment of the WCCD congress, see Enghel (2013).

1. *Good governance, transparency, accountability and development communication go hand in hand*. Good governance and a good government are not the same. Good governance is based on the participation of all people concerned. Decentralization of governmental institutions does not necessarily imply people's participation. Decentralization does not always mean democratization. In reality the motives for decentralizing may hide a wish of central powers to get rid of certain responsibilities while tightening their control. This blurs the lines of accountability. For this reason, local media have a crucial role to play in facilitating a mutual understanding between those in power and the communities.
2. Participatory concepts in the context of communication for development can *be* complex and challenging. Communities consist of fluid interests and shifting relationships (Morris 2003).
3. *Participation can take place at different levels*: (a) decision making; (b) benefits; (c) evaluation; and (d) implementation. Participation is about changing power relations. While empowering one group, it may do the opposite to another. Meaningful participation requires organization around common interests and awareness on how to handle power relations.
4. It is important to reinforce *independent and pluralistic media* to foster good governance and transparency. Print media can play a special role in society as they are sometimes more independent and pluralistic than radio and television. However, all media need to be sensitised and become more participatory. Currently there is often a gap between what media report and the realities of a country. Pure commercialism avoids tackling the crucial issues of a country because such issues do not sell. It undermines the role of media as watchdogs. *Press freedom is never guaranteed, not even in a democracy.*
5. Communication for development has not made full use of the *potential of radio*, which in some regions could be the most effective participatory tool. Radio has the highest penetration in many rural areas in developing countries. It is not too late to rediscover radio. In particular community radio (often linked to the global world through the Internet) has proven its ability to make participation effective and sustainable. Therefore, also digital media and ICTs are an important tool to facilitate good governance provided that application and operation systems are made available in local languages.
6. *Policies and resources*—communication for development initiatives need to be properly enabled by concerted actions, and adequate policies and resources. These should consider longer timescales. It is essential to bridge the digital divide by supporting community access to relevant information in their own language and at an affordable cost, for example through community telecentres/multimedia centers. This should also involve support for the production of content by the local communities. It is crucial to encourage the production of diverse local content in local languages for the media and ICTs, bearing in mind the potential of interactive technologies to carry multimedia content.
7. National governments should implement a *legal and supportive framework* favoring the right to free expression and the emergence of free and pluralistic information systems, including the recognition of the specific and crucial role

of community media in providing access to communication for isolated and marginalized groups. There is a need to influence policy on communication for development through advocacy, not only with governments and international agencies but also within development agencies, private corporations and civil society partners, for communication for development to be successful.

8. *Building alliances.* There is a need for effective linkages which give voices to the poorest and have the ability to engage with policy and influence decision-making on sustainable development. To this end, special attention should be given to fostering local, national and regional communication for development processes.
9. *New global partnerships* are necessary with the media, development agencies, universities and governments. It is important to identify possibilities for convergence and for complementing existing work and to coordinate and document such work via a truly independent scientific body.

Communication and Culture for Sustainability and Climate Change

The international conference on "Communication/Culture and The Sustainable Development Goals (CCSDG): Challenges for a New Generation" held in Chiang Mai, Thailand, from 17 to 21 December 2015, was hosted by the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) at Chiang Mai University in partnership with the Asian Congress of Mass Communication (ACMC), BGreen Project, Connect4Climate/World Bank, RMIT Melbourne, Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC) and the Department of Media and Communication at City University of Hong Kong, and Wageningen University. Additional support was received from UNESCO's Communication and Information Sector both in Paris and the Bangkok office, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (see Servaes 2017).

The themes of the Sustainable Development Goals and Climate Change were very timely, so soon after the Paris COP 21. But, as Prof. Rome Chiranukrom, the Vice President for International Relations and Alumni Affairs at Chiang Mai University, stated during the opening address, the focus on the role and place of communication and culture has added additional value to these themes, which are normally monopolized by economics, engineers and politicians. Prof. Rome warned that "the future of our planet and the peaceful and harmonious survival of us as a human race" are at stake! More than a choice on the basis of technology assessments, economic or political models, this challenge appeals on our moral and ethical values as people.

The "new" problems we face may take years, and in the case of climate change, several generations of the world community to resolve. How do we build consensus and muster the altruistic intent of the present generation to consume less, de-escalate

conflict, and subject ourselves to medical research so that future generations who will exist long after we are gone may inherit a habitable planet?

The tried and tested methods of agriculture extension, social mobilization, community participation, and multi-lateral negotiation are unlikely to succeed on their own as these systemic problems grow in their severity and people submit to innate human instincts for self-preservation and compete even more keenly for rapidly dwindling natural resources, ratchet-up violence, resist Hippocratic principles to share limited supplies of vaccines and medicines, hoard energy and water, and close markets to international commerce.

We do not have appropriate strategies to begin addressing these "new" and highly complex challenges. That's the challenge the conference participants were challenged to come to grips with in order to formulate realistic and sustainable solutions for future generations.

The following *questions* guided the discussions and deliberations during the conference:

(a) How do you make a complex subject like sustainable development or climate change simple and understandable to a general audience?
(b) What are the main opportunities and challenges you face when trying to communicate to your audiences on the need for sustainability or climate action?
(c) What is communication for sustainable development, or climate change communication doing right? What is it doing wrong? How can it be more effective?
(d) What kinds of messages have you used that successfully motivated and engaged people to care about sustainable development or climate change?
(e) How do we bridge the gap between communication for social change awareness and action?
(f) How can what you do be scaled up and replicated?
(g) How do we broaden the discussion and diversify the movement?
(h) How can we communicate the outcomes of our conference and what needs to happen next to citizens around the world?

The following *recommendations* got accepted to work on a future research/academic agenda:

- Communication for Development advocates and scholars should commit themselves to a deeper engagement with policy makers to ensure that *communication is recognized as a central component in all development initiatives.* This will involve a systematic coordinated effort to establish a clear, accessible body of evidence drawn from current best practice.
- *Universities are a significant knowledge, information and training resource for communities.* Regional institutions need to be identified to strengthen into centres of expertise and technical support, including establishing a core curriculum, strengthening the faculty, creating new posts, providing research funds, supporting internships, and establishing links with professional organizations. A network and partnership of specialised research institutions, committed to stimulating

and strengthening sustainable capacity for training and quality control in Communication for Development and social change, is needed.

- Research that addresses the achievement and sustainability of processes and outcomes of Communication for Development should be encouraged. This requires a participatory approach, a shared framework between development agencies and local stakeholders, and community involvement in design, implementation and dissemination.
- From a research perspective, *different kinds of evidence* exist for different types of outcomes. The evidence for social structural change (e.g. empowerment, equity, policy change) is largely of the anecdotal or qualitative type, and evidence for individual change (e.g. behaviours including participation, efficacy/self-confidence, gender attitudes, etc.) is predominantly quantitative. There is nothing wrong with anecdotal and qualitative evidence, but they invite different inferences. On the other hand, quantitative evidence may provide short-term advice, which is not reliable for long-term or contextualised recommendations. It is possible to quantify higher order changes, but to do so requires methodological approaches that few projects have the time, resources or donor support to undertake.
- *Evaluation and impact assessments* should include participatory baseline formulations and communication needs assessments. They should also include self-evaluation by the communities themselves and the concept of 'social usefulness'. They should be used to feed back at the policy level. There is a need for effective and convincing evaluation models and data to show evidence of the impact of Communication for Development. Sustainability indicators based on qualitative dimensions of development need to be emphasized, involving the potential of ICTs to collect feedback interactively. Research should also be reinforced in order to better identify communication needs.
- While many successful small-scale examples of Communication for Development exist, these need to be *scaled-up*, thus improving practice and policy at every level. A focus on small-scale projects (pilot projects) is acceptable, but evidence-based and properly researched benchmarks need to be set.
- Training initiatives should be focused on *collaborative learning* in Communication for Development, encouraging experiential, value-based, culturally sensitive training in participatory Communication for Development and fostering a community of practice across the regions. In this context, education of journalists and communicators is crucial. Training institutions should be supported in order to ensure that the new generation of journalists and change agents has the commitment to tackle the crucial issues of societies in a professional and relevant way.
- More systematic and strategic fellowship and sponsorship programs are needed, funded by national and international donor agencies, for scholarships for masters and doctoral level training to build the cohort of people with development communication competencies.
- To develop and disseminate a better and more robust *body of evidence* on what works, considerations should be given to:

- Establishing a common set of indicators to be used in the evaluation of programs that capture impact on participatory processes as well as on outcome measures.
- Improving on-line archiving of and access to 'grey literature' to better capture the plethora of outcomes descriptions and evidence that remains unpublished.
- Advocating for better editorial quality standards for published articles and documents.
- Developing a collaborative database or clearinghouse to assemble and assess evidence on social development interventions.

******

The Gap Between Theory and Practice, Between Academics and Their 'Field'

The above identified 'research' issues warrant more consideration. How to address the assumed gap between theory and practice, or the rupture between 'academics' in their ivory towers and 'professionals' in the muddy field of development communication work?

In an attempt to critically review the many challenges and issues associated with developing and implementing indicators of Communication for Development and Social Change (CDSC) impacts, prepared for a United Nations Inter-Agency & Experts' Consultation on Research, Monitoring and Evaluation in Communication for Development (UNICEF 2010), Lennie and Tacchi (2013) confirm the *substantial* gap between the theory and practice of CDSC: "The evaluation of Communication for Development (C4D) needs to be based on an appropriate combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, complementary approaches and triangulation, and recognition that different approaches are suitable for different issues and purposes. However, there is often a lack of appreciation, funding and support for alternative, innovative Research, Monitoring and Evaluation (RME) approaches among management and mainstream M&E specialists in the UN. Commitment to participatory processes is often rhetoric rather than meaningful or appropriate practice. Funders tend to place greater value on narrow, quantitative measurement-oriented approaches and indicators that do not sufficiently take the complexity of culture and the context of C4D and development initiatives into account" (Lennie and Tacchi 2013: 4, see also Puddephatt et al. 2009).[3]

Since the so-called 'top-down' approaches have fallen out of grace in the highly political development aid community, many statements and reports are now advocating 'bottom-up' approaches with references to participation, empowerment and providing 'a voice for the voiceless'. *This book is no exception.*

[3]For critical assessments of the theory-praxis-aid discussion, see Gumucio (2009), Ganesh and Zoller (2012), or Habermann and Langthaler (2010).

However, this may lead to confusing and contradictory conclusions if not properly addressed.

For instance, while many decision- and policymakers are 'charmed' by participatory and bottom-up approaches, they nonetheless continue to believe that vertical, top-down planning, mainly based on the use of (old and new) media, remains a more effective way to 'deliver' social change. "Many development practitioners are avoiding the semantic debates outlined above in order to harness the benefits of both approaches. For them, what is most important is not what an approach is called, the origins of an idea or how it is communicated. What is critical is that we find the most effective and efficient tools to achieve the noble objectives outlined in the Millennium Declaration" (Rogers 2005: 183–184). Politicians and policymakers often use the lack of '*empirical evidence*' (read: quantitative data) as an 'excuse' for their lack of support, while conveniently ignoring some of the findings and recommendations published in-house.

Take for instance the comprehensive assessment commissioned and published by the World Bank (Inagaki 2007) which reaches the following sobering conclusions:

"First, communication techniques are not neutral; some techniques and communication channels work better than others under different circumstances. Mass media messages effectively contributed to the adoption of new behavior and attitudinal models, as posited by the original modernization theorists, in certain situations, but this communication model was found ineffective in comparison to different communication models under other conditions (e.g., interpersonal communication). Second, making the latter point more complex, general categories such as mass media and interpersonal communication can potentially conceal varying effects among specific channels within each mode, such as one-to-one interpersonal contacts *versus* group discussion, broadcast media *versus* printed materials. Third, different communication channels interact with one another, and this interaction can form a complex network of communication effects encompassing multiple, direct and indirect paths of influence. When measured alone a mass media message may have negligible direct impacts, but the same message can have significantly greater impacts when mediated through other channels of communication, such as interpersonal communication and group communication.

These lessons warn against making generalizations about the effectiveness of a given approach or channel, and call the attentions of communication specialists and researchers to contextual factors" (Inagaki 2007: 34–35).

Furthermore, Inagaki also points at a number of blind spots in the recent empirical literature; the "most invisible … is the effort to understand the long-term effects of communication" (Inagaki 2007: 54) or the sustainability of communication impacts: "In our sample, only four studies offered any type of insights into the long-term impacts of communication interventions, and even among these studies impacts going beyond the immediate timeframe of the project are discussed through anecdotal accounts rather than systematic analyses. Two factors seem to be associated with the lack of investigations into sustainable communication interventions. First, most of the project implementation schedules are too short if one tries to gauge long-term impacts during or within the timeframe of the projects. The average length of the projects

evaluated in the reviewed studies is two years, and the active project period in a little over half of these projects had lapsed in one year or less. Some studies openly admit that the impacts of communication were measured immediately after the project termination, and that the short duration between the intervention and the measurement might allow researchers to report only short-term impacts. Second, recalling the issue raised in the methodological notes for the present work, many of the researchers authoring academic evaluations also play the role of communication consultants within the projects they subsequently evaluate. This practice creates a challenge for these researchers to maintain an objective perspective that transcends the original scope of the projects. Similarly, a number of published empirical research studies are likely to be based on the data sets that had been collected and analyzed during the evaluation phase of the project cycle. The studies in our sample indicate very little evidence of independent data collection" (Inagaki, ibid.). For more critical and detailed assessments of health communication campaigns, which are often promoted by UN agencies or NGOs, see, e.g., Gibson (2010), Huesca (2008), Malikhao (2016), OECD (2014), Singhal (2013), Smoot (2009), and Sherry (1997).

As Sood et al. (2006: 231) observed after an in-depth longitudinal study on HIV/AIDS knowledge and behavior change in North India, "results showed that individuals who were exposed to the campaign were more likely (1) to be aware of sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, and condoms, (2) to know about the sexual routes of HIV transmission, (3) to have fewer misconceptions about HIV transmission, and (4) to talk to others about STIs, HIV/AIDS, and condoms than those who were not exposed to campaign messages. (However,) *the impact of the campaign was limited with regard to changing condom-use behaviors (my emphasis)*". Therefore, according to Sadeque (2020), "The current coronavirus pandemic can offer insight into how to shake-up traditional methods of data collection, and might provide an opportunity to do it in more innovative ways, in turn enhancing progress towards gender equality".

Lennie and Tacchi (2013) claim that standard indicators (which are widely applied by both academics and policymakers) are *unable to capture complex realities and relationships*: "They can be useful ways of measuring change but not of capturing the reasons behind social change. In C4D, and in particular the Communication for Social Change approach, indicators should be developed through dialogue and negotiation between key participants, so that they are chosen based on local assessments of what participants want to know and why, and they are more realistic and useful. While quantitative indicators are emphasized in mainstream ME approaches, for C4D they often need to be qualitative to be most effective and appropriate. An alternative systems approach requires indicators that are flexible and encompass complexity, or, the use of alternatives to indicators such as stories of significant change and 'verifying assumptions'" (Lennie and Tacchi 2013: 7).

At the same time it is no longer true,—as the popular saying often goes that "academics are 10 years ahead of us" (see Lennie and Tacchi 2013: 5)—, that the knowledge gap is only discernable at the side of 'practitioners'.

For instance, in the discussion on the digital divide, while critique among 'academics' has targeted on the simplistic conflation of access with participation

in digital divide discourses, development organizations and industries seem to be moving away from these discourses altogether. The 2012 UNDP's report "Mobile technologies and empowerment" relinquishes the digital divide problematic. Partly, this has to do with their claim that technology diffusion, speared by the mobile phone, has reached the world's poorest populations, supposedly creating more cross-country convergences than divides in "a new wave of democratization of access to innovative information and communication channels, propelled by state-of-the-art technologies and diminishing barriers to entry." But more strikingly, the report critiques the technological determinist assumption that *access equals participation* and social change. It states that "In the 1990s, closing that divide became the main target of most development initiatives, essentially focusing on access to ICTs and overlooking other critical and underlying development goals." Waiving decontextualized approaches and moving from "thing" to socio-technical network, the report claims that "alone, mobile phones will neither pull people out of poverty, nor propel democratic governance. They must be part and parcel of broader development agendas." That's why even economists like Jeffrey James (2013), with Tacchi (2014) and others, argue in favour of 'technological blending' or 'digital multiplication' as a way forward. Fuchs (2014) introduces the new social media and discusses their potential for social change. While discussing well-known platforms such as google, facebook, twitter, wikileaks and Wikipedia, he assesses the (often ambivalent) power and relevance for participatory social change.

In Servaes (2014) we have tried to identify some shifts and emerging tendencies in conceptions of technology, agency, and change. Such changes might require a shift in critical thinking and urge us to reconsider or repurpose the critique of technological determinism. We draw attention to the ways in which skill, capabilities, and heterogeneous cultural resources are simultaneously stimulated, channeled, exploited, and repressed. We further need to integrate such a political account of skill with the concepts of voice and political efficacy, the need for a digital (visual) literacy, and need for new more participatory measurements and methods to assess their (short and/or longer term) impact.

******

No Sustainable Development Without Communication

In closing let's state once again that Communication for Development is brought about by people who are involved in participatory communication processes that facilitate a sharing of knowledge in order to effect positive development change. There is no universal formula capable of addressing all situations and therefore communication for development and social change initiatives should be based on, respond and adapt to, the cultural, social and economic context. Communication that underpins and leads to successful and sustainable development places the people who are most affected at the centre of the discussions, debates, choices and decisions

needed to guide their own development. It is a socio-cultural process of dialogue, information-sharing, building mutual understanding, agreeing to collective action and amplifying the voice of people to influence policies that affect their lives. It makes use of a variety of communication vehicles, from mass to community media and new technologies to traditional and folk media and inter-personal communication. Its central goal is to empower people to take action to positively effect their own development according to their own cultural and social needs and requirements (see e.g. Kennedy 2008; Skuse 2013).

To work most effectively communication for development requires an enabling environment that includes:

- A free, independent, pluralistic and responsible media system through which open dialogue and debate can occur.
- Open, transparent and accountable government that encourages public debate, discussion and input.
- Broad public access to a variety of communication media and channels, as well as a regulatory environment that promotes pro-poor licensing for local radio and low cost universal access to Internet and telephone services.
- An open society in which all groups and sectors are able to participate fully in development discussions, debates and decisionmaking processes.

We have come a long way in mainstreaming Communication for Development. The field has nurtured its own disciplinary groundings and thematic embeddings, has become more or less coherent, is recognized and acknowledged within the wider community of scholars and professionals, and is establishing its own historical roots in theory and practice. The field remains dynamic and has not settled down in a static way, but on a solid ground it progresses and expands in critical and creative ways.

However, we also need to acknowledge that there is still a long way ahead of us.

References

Enghel, F. (2013). Communication, development and social change: future agendas. In W. Karin, S. Kumar, & J. Straubhaar (Eds.), *Global communication: New agendas in communication*. Oxon: Routledge.

Fuchs, C. (2014). Social media. A critical introduction. Los Angeles: Sage.

Ganesh, S., & Zoller, H. (2012). Dialogue, activism, and democratic social change. *Communication Theory, 22,* 66–91.

Gibson, T. A. (2010). The limits of media advocacy. *Communication, Culture & Critique, 3,* 44–65. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1753-9137.2009.01057.x.

Gumucio, A. G. (2009). Playing with fire: power, participation and communication for development. *Development in Practice*, *19*(4–5):453–465.

Habermann, B., & Langthaler, M. (2010). Changing the world of development research? An insight into theory and practice. *Development in Practice, 20*(7), 771–783.

Huesca, R. (2008). Tracing the history of participatory communication approaches to development: A critical appraisal. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Communication for development and social change* (pp. 180–200). Los Angeles-London-New Delhi-Singapore: Sage.

Inagaki, N. (2007). *Communicating the impact of communication for development. Recent trends in empirical research*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, Working Paper Series, Development Communication Division.

James, J. (2013). *Digital Interactions in developing countries. An economic perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Kennedy, T. (2008). *Where the rivers meet the sky. A collaborative approach to participatory-development*. Penang: Southbound.

Lennie, J., & Tacchi, J. (2013). *Evaluating communication for development. A framework for social change.* London: Routledge Earthscan.

Malikhao, P. (2016). *Effective health communication for sustainable development*. New York: Nova Publishers.

Morris, N. (2003). A comparative analysis of the diffusion and participatory models in development communication. *Communication Theory, 13*(2), 225–248. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2003.tb00290.x.

OECD. (2014). Good practices in Development Communication, OECD, Paris. http://www.oecd.org/dev/DevCom%20Publication%20Good%20Practices%20in%20Development%20Communication.pdf.

Puddephatt, A., Horsewell, R., & Menheneott, G. (2009). Discussion paper on the monitoring and evaluation of UN-assisted communication for development programmes. Recommendations for best practice methodologies and indicators. Paper presented at the 11th UN inter-agency round table on communication for development. March 11th-13th Washington DC: UNDP-World Bank.

Rogers, A. (2005). Participatory diffusion or semantic confusion. In M. Harvey (Ed.) *Media matters. Perspectives on advancing governance & development from the global forum for media development*, (pp. 179–187). London: Internews Europe.

Sadeque, S. (2020). COVID-19 means we must innovate data collection, especially on gender. IPS News 5 May 2020. http://www.ipsnews.net/2020/05/qa-covid-19-means-must-innovate-data-collection-especially-gender/?utm_source=English+-+SDGs&utm_campaign=bd7c6bd343-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2020_05_05_09_13_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_08b3cf317b-bd7c6bd343-4622673.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development. One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2007). Communication for development. making a difference, background paper for the world congress on communication for development. Rome (25–27 October 2006).

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Communication for development and social change*. Los Angeles-London-New Delhi-Singapore: Sage.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2014). *Technological determinism and Social Change. Communication in a Techn-Mad World*. Lanham: Lexington.

Servaes, J. (Ed.). (2017). *The sustainable development goals in an Asian context*, (pp. 174). Singapore: Springer. ISBN 978-981-10-2814-4. http://www.springer.com/in/book/9789811028144.

Sherry, J. L. (1997). Pro-social soap operas for development: A review of research and theory, communication and development: Beyond Panacea. *Journal of International Communication. Special Issue, 4*(2), 75–102.

Singhal, A., Wang, H., & Rogers, E. M. (2013). The rising tide of entertainment-education in communication campaigns. In R. E. Rice, & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), *Public communication campaigns*, (4th ed., pp. 323–336). Los Angeles: Sage.

Skuse, A., Rodger, D., Power, G., Mbus, D., & Brimacombe, T. (2013). *Communication for development interventions in Fragile States: A systematic review*. Adelaide: JBI Database of Systematic Reviews & Implementation Reports.

Smoot, C. (2009). "Edutainment": The role of mass media in the development of an effective HIV/AIDS youth awareness campaign in Viet Nam. *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection.* Paper 795. http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/795.

Sood, S., Shefner-Rogers, C. L., & Sengupta, M. (2006). The impact of a mass media campaign on HIV/AIDS knowledge and behavior change in North India: Results from a longitudinal study. *Asian Journal of Communication, 16*(3), 231–250.

Tacchi, J. (2014). Being meaningfully mobile: Mobile phones and development. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Technological determinism and social change: Communication in a Tech-mad world*. Lanham-Lexington.

UNICEF. (2010). United Nations inter-agency & Experts' consultation on research, monitoring and evaluation in communication for development, UNICEF, New York, 7–9 Dec 2010

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2012). Mobile Technologies and empowerment: Enhancing human development through participation and innovation. http://undpegov.org.

Index

J. Servaes (ed.), *Learning from Communicators in Social Change*,
Communication, Culture and Change in Asia 7,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8281-3