Introduction to development Communication

Communication
Communication is defined as a process by which we assign and convey meaning in an attempt to create shared understanding. This process requires a vast repertoire of skills in intrapersonal and interpersonal processing, listening, observing, speaking, questioning, analyzing, and evaluating. Use of these processes is developmental and transfers to all areas of life: home, school, community, work, and beyond. It is through communication that collaboration and cooperation occur.

Communication Theory Framework
It is helpful to examine communication and communication theory through one of the following viewpoints:

- Mechanistic: This view considers communication to be a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver. (as seen in the diagram above)
- Psychological: This view considers communication as the act of sending a message to a receiver, and the feelings and thoughts of the receiver upon interpreting the message.
- Social Constructionist (Symbolic Interactionist): This view considers communication to be the product of the interactants sharing and creating meaning.
- Systemic: This view considers communication to be the new messages created via "through-put", or what happens as the message is being interpreted and re-interpreted as it travels through people.
- Critical: This view considers communication as a source of power and oppression of individuals and social groups.

Inspection of a particular theory on this level will provide a framework on the nature of communication as seen within the confines of that theory.

Theories can also be studied and organized according to the ontological, epistemological, and axiological framework imposed by the theorist.

Ontology essentially poses the question of what, exactly, it is the theorist is examining. One must consider the very nature of reality. The answer usually falls in one of three realms depending on whether the theorist sees the phenomena through the lens of a realist, nominalist, or social constructionist. Realist perspective views the world objectively, believing that there is a world outside of our own experience and cognitions. Nominalists see the world subjectively, claiming that everything outside of one's cognitions is simply names and labels. Social constructionists straddle the fence between objective and subjective reality, claiming that reality is what we create together.

Epistemology is an examination of how the theorist studies the chosen phenomena. In studying epistemology, objective knowledge is said to be the result of a systematic look at the causal relationships of phenomena. This knowledge is usually attained through use of the scientific method. Scholars often think that empirical evidence collected in an objective manner is most likely to reflect truth in the findings. Theories of this ilk are usually created to predict a phenomenon. Subjective theory holds that understanding is based on situated knowledge, typically found using interpretative methodology such as ethnography and interviews. Subjective theories are typically developed to explain or understand phenomena in the social world.

Axiology is concerned with what values drive a theorist to develop a theory. Theorists must be mindful of potential biases so that they will not influence or skew their findings (Miller, 21-23).

Development Communication (DC)

Development Communication is a communication strategy for the whole society.

Development communication is an art or science of human communication applied to the direct revolution of a country and its people from the state of scarcity and shortage towards a vibrant state of economic growth which makes possible the high values of life and large fulfillment of human prospective.

One of the first examples of development communication was Farm Radio Forums in Canada. From 1941 to 1965 farmers met in groups each week to listen to special radio programs. There were also printed materials and prepared questions to encourage group discussion. At first this was a response to the Great Depression and the need for increased food production in World War II. But the Forums also dealt with social and economic issues. This model of adult education or distance education was later adopted in India and Ghana.

Instructional television was used in El Salvador during the 1970s to improve primary education. One of the problems was a lack of trained teachers. Teaching materials were also improved to make them more relevant. More children attended school and graduation rates increased. In this sense the project was a success. However, there were few jobs available in El Salvador for better-educated young people.

In the 1970s in Korea the Planned Parenthood Federation had succeed in lowering birth rates and improving life in villages such as Oryu Li. It mainly used interpersonal communication in women's clubs. The success in Oryu Li was not found in all villages. It had the advantage of several factors including a remarkable local woman leader and visits from the provincial governor.

A project of social marketing in Bolivia in the 1980s tried to get women in the Cochabamba Valley to use soybean recipes in their cooking. This was an attempt to deal with chronic malnurishment among children. The project used cooking demonstrations, posters and broadcasts on local commercial radio stations. Some people did try soybeans but the outcome of the project is unclear.

In 1999 the U.S. Government and D.C. Comics planned to distribute 600,000 comic books to children affected by the Kosovo War. The comic books are in Albanian and feature Superman and Wonder Woman. The aim is to teach children what to do when they find an unexploded land mine left over from Kosovo's civil war. The comic books instruct children not to touch the anti-personnel mines and not to move, but instead to call an adult for help. In spite of the 1997 Ottawa Treaty which attempts to ban land mines they continue to kill or injure 20,000 civilians each year around the world.

Development Support Communication (DSC)
DSC is a discipline in development arrangement and accomplishment in which more satisfactory account is taken of the human behavioral factors in the design of growth projects and their objectives. It involves an understanding of communication methods and application in adult education, the processes of change, diffusion of innovation, simple action and analysis".

The practice of Development Support Communication, DSC, is a multi-sectoral process of information sharing about development agendas and planned actions. It links planners, beneficiaries and implementers of development action, including the donor community. It obligates planners and implementers to provide clear, explicit and intelligible data and information about their goals and roles in development, and explicitly provides opportunities for beneficiaries to participate in shaping development outcomes. It ensures that the donor community is kept constantly aware of the achievements and constraints of development efforts in the field.

Development Support Communication makes use of all available structures and means of information sharing. Therefore it is not limited to mass media alone. It also uses both formal group and non-formal channels of communication, such as women's and youth associations, as well as places where people gather. markets, churches, festivals, and meetings. But its contribution is in using these in a systemic, continuous, co-ordinated and planned manner, to perform linkage and enabling functions. It requires

analysis of the communication environment, of the available and needed communication competencies and resources (hardware, software, financial and human), and clearly indicates expected results from specific resource inputs, so as to maintain accountability.

In short, DSC is a legitimate function of development planning and implementation. DSC therefore needs to be examined as a valuable «technology» for using the social communication process to foster and strengthen sustainable development at local and national levels. It should be taken more seriously in programs of social change, and should be reflected explicitly in development policy and strategy. One way of doing so is through the enunciation of a national information and communication policy, which can be explicitly integrated into national development thinking and practice.

Differences between DSC and DC

Development Communication (DC)
- It is applied at macro level i.e. DC is applied in the projects/ programs that are at large scale.
- It is technology based. It usually depends upon the technical mass media.
- It is for general masses i.e. it is not for any specific community or group of people but for the general public.
- DC has no specific goals. It has general goals. It is for the overall development in a sector or an area.
- It is source-oriented. In DC, the communicator does not care about the needs and level of his/her targets.
- There are no limits but time is fixed for completion
- DC has no specific goals. It has general goals. It is for the overall development in   a sector or an area.
- It works vertically top-down. i.e. this communication usually flows from source towards receiver.

Development Support Communication (DSC)
- DSC is applied at micro-level the projects in which it is used are launched and implemented at small scale.
- It depends on interpersonal and culture-based forms of communication.
- It is for specific and fixed target audience.
- It has specific, set and clearly defined goals.
- It is receiver-oriented. In contrast to DC, the target audience is given special importance before communicating any   message.
- DSC has certain limits of a project. And the program is finished after achieving specific goals.
- It has specific, set and clearly defined goals.
- It is participatory at grass root levels. In this communication, audiences are given maximum participation.

Development Communication

Development communications are organized efforts to use communications processes and media to bring social and economic improvements, generally in developing countries.

The field emerged in the late 1950's amid high hopes that radio and television could be put to use in the world's most disadvantaged countries to bring about dramatic progress. Early communications theorists like Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner based their high expectations upon the apparent success of World War II propaganda, to which academia and Hollywood had contributed.

Also with World War II came dozens of new, very poor, countries, left by their former colonial overseers with little infrastructure, education, or political stability. It was widely accepted that mass media could bring education, essential skills, social unity, and a desire to "modernize." Walt Rostow theorized that societies progress through specific stages of development on their way to modernity, what he termed "the age of high mass consumption." Lerner suggested that exposure to Western media would create "empathy" for modern culture, and a desire to move from traditional to modern ways. Early development communications, especially that sponsored by the U.S. government, was also seen as a means of "winning hearts and minds" over to a capitalist way of life.

These early approaches made a number of erroneous assumptions, and have been largely forsaken in contemporary approaches to development. Obstacles to development were naively seen as rooted in developing countries, not as products of international relationships. Modernization was presumed to equate to Westernization, and to be a necessary prerequisite to meeting human needs. Development was seen as a top-down process, whereby centralized mass media could bring about widespread change. Producers of development media often failed to ask if the audience can receive the message (television penetration in developing countries is minimal and radio penetration in the early days of development communication was light), understand the message (a problem in countries with dozens of languages and dialects), act upon the message (with the necessary tools or other forms of structural support), and want to act upon the message. And because it was based upon a propaganda model, development communications efforts were often seen as propaganda and distrusted.

Projects embodying these philosophies have enjoyed little success. In the 1970s and 1980s, a new paradigm of development communication emerged which better recognized the process of deliberate underdevelopment as a function of colonialism, the great diversity of the cultures involved, the differences between elite versus popular goals for social change, the considerable political and ideological constraints to change, and the endless varieties of ways different cultures communicate.

But in some instances mass media technologies, including television, have been "magic multipliers" of development benefits. Educational television has been used effectively to supplement the work of teachers in classrooms in the teaching of literacy and other skills, but only in well designed programs which are integrated with other educational efforts.

Consumer video equipment and VCRs have been used to supplement communications efforts in some small projects.

Some developing countries have demonstrated success in using satellite television to provide useful information to portions of their populations out of reach of terrestrial broadcasting. In 1975 and 1976, an experimental satellite communications project called

SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) was used to bring informational television programs to rural India. Some changes in beliefs and behaviors did occur, but there is little indication that satellite television was the best means to that end. The project did lead to Indian development of its own satellite network. China has also embarked on an ambitious program of satellite use for development, claiming substantial success in rural education.

When television has succeeded as an educational tool in developing countries, it is only when very specific viewing conditions are met. For example, programs are best viewed in small groups with a teacher to introduce them and to lead a discussion afterwards.

A variety of types of organizations work with local governments to develop communications projects. The United Nations provides multi-lateral aid to governments.

Non-profit non-governmental organizations (NGO) conduct development projects worldwide using U.N., government, or private funding. And government agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) provide assistance to developing countries, but with political strings attached. There are three common types of development campaigns:

Persuasion, changing what people do; Education, changing social values; and informing, empowering people to change by increasing knowledge. This third approach is now perceived as the most useful. Instead of attempting to modernize people, contemporary efforts attempt to reduce inequality by targeting the poorest segments of society, involving people in their own development, giving them independence from central authority, and employing "small" and "appropriate" technologies. The emphasis has shifted from economic growth to meeting basic needs.

In this new view of development, communication becomes an important catalyst for change, but not its cause. Local folk media, for example, is employed to reduces media's bias toward literacy and provide information in a traditional, familiar form. Development journalism provides people with information on change in their society, and works at the local level to advocate change. Where mass media is now employed in developing societies, community newspapers and radio prove far more accessible and useful than television. The rapid spread of entertainment television in the developing world is proving to be more a disruption to traditional social structures than an agent of progress. One emerging genre of television does show promise for contributing to development. The telenovela, pioneered in Brazil, has demonstrated some success in disseminating "pro-social" messages. Such programs are now being evaluated in many countries for their effectiveness in contributing to population control, health education, and other development goals.

"People's participation is becoming the central issue of our time," says UNDP in its Human Development Report 1993, to which we add, "and participation requires communication".

Development programmes can only realise their full potential if knowledge and technology are shared effectively, and if populations are motivated and committed to achieve success. 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.

Communication is central to this task in many ways. For example, it enables planners, when identifying and formulating development programmes, to consult with people in order to take into account their needs, attitudes and traditional knowledge. Only with communication will the project beneficiaries become the principal actors to make development programmes successful.

Helping people at all levels to communicate empowers them to recognise important issues and find common grounds for action, and builds a sense of identity and participation in order to implement their decisions.

On top of that, development involves change, new ways of doing things. Will people have the confidence to make a project work? Will they acquire the new knowledge and skills they need? How can barriers of illiteracy be overcome? Communication media and techniques can be powerful tools to advise people about new ideas and methods, to encourage adoption of those ideas and methods, and to improve training overall.

Communication approaches are also invaluable for improved coordination and teamwork to manage development programmes, and to gain institutional support.

We live in a communication age, and the full impact of communication on development is just starting to be seen. Based on the experience of FAO and other agencies, communication for development has reached the stage where it can have a noticeable and rewarding effect on many development programmes.

This booklet not only promotes the concept of development communication but, more important, it also describes how achieving its full potential to support development requires executive decisions by national planners and policy-makers.

Jacques Diouf, Director-General, January 1994, Rome

The Role of Communication
A decisive role can be played by communication in promoting human development in today's new climate of social change. As the world moves towards greater democracy, decentralization and the market economy, conditions are becoming more favorable for people to start steering their own course of change.

But it is vital to stimulate their awareness, participation and capabilities. Communication skills and technology are central to this task, but at present are often underutilized. Policies are needed that encourage effective planning and implementation of communication programmes.

The new development context

Major changes and new emphases have appeared on the development scene. Societies are opening to debate and markets to individual initiative; privatization and entrepreneurship are being encouraged; new technologies are becoming widely available; management of government services is gradually being relocated closer to the users, if not handed over directly to users themselves, in order to cut costs and seek partners more committed to effective implementation. Indeed, a host of structural adjustments are profoundly affecting most aspects of production and human interaction. These structural adjustments make demands, and have direct economic and social effects on people.

Governments of developing countries can no longer fulfil all social and regulatory services by themselves, especially in rural areas. Many economies are overwhelmed by the cost of servicing their foreign debt, and governments are under stringent requirement from international financial institutions to reduce spending. In their quest for greater cost-effectiveness in all their operations, governments must have the active support of, and a greater contribution from, the people. Governments are thus obliged to seek new and perhaps unfamiliar partners, ranging from local leaders to people in a variety of non-governmental organizations. These people are accordingly obliged to shoulder new and perhaps unfamiliar responsibilities.

Furthermore, as we near the end of the century, a number of specific issues have come clearly into focus as being central to socio-economic progress, equity, social stability, to the future of humanity- and perhaps even to its survival.

The environment and its relation to **sustainable agricultural development** and **food production** present an enormous challenge. A prime consideration is the proper use and conservation of natural resources. These resources are often degraded at the hands of impoverished rural people who have no immediate alternative for meeting their needs for land on which to grow food, and for fuel wood. Their abuse of forest areas, with the negative consequences of soil erosion and dwindling water resources, will only be halted through new schemes of employment and income generation and through applying conservation techniques. Such solutions, however, will have to be made acceptable to local people, many of whom will need considerable encouragement and training in new skills. The provisions of Agenda 21, which emerged from the UN Conference on the Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro (1992), will only become a reality through large-scale changes in attitudes and behaviour in societies worldwide.

Population growth is exerting pressure on natural resources, on food production and on the ability of governments to provide basic services and employment opportunities. Population growth depends on choices made by individuals. Helping people to make more informed choices by raising their awareness of the implications of family size and unwanted pregnancy, and of methods of contraception, requires much more than simply sending out messages. Instead it requires learning, from people and their leaders, how to make such issues socially acceptable and worthy of urgent action. Insight into people's underlying attitudes is needed before they can be helped to change their views.

Rural poverty continues to increase in many countries, accelerating urban migration and creating intolerable economic and social problems. The solution, of course, lies in the development of rural areas. Most rural communities are characterised by reliance on traditional knowledge and production systems, based strictly on what has worked for survival in the past. This has led to a view that rural communities are resistant to change, even though their traditional wisdom has been hard-won and its reasoning are sound. Planners need to take this into account, as the first step of any planning exercise. For this, and for all rural development activities, communication between local communities and national planners and policy-makers is of vital importance but, unfortunately, in rural areas it is at it's weakest.

Malnutrition is both a cause and a consequence of underdevelopment. Recent decades have seen consistent reductions in the daily per caput supply of calories in many countries. The International Conference on Nutrition held in December 1992 drew attention to the fact that more than 780 million people in the world suffer from chronic malnutrition and that, each year, some 13 million children below the age of five die from infectious diseases that can be directly or indirectly attributed to hunger or malnutrition. Nutritional well-being is not just a question of food availability and economics among families, however. It also depends on sufficient knowledge and acceptance of appropriate diets. At the planner's level, incorporating nutritional concerns into development initiatives for agriculture, food security, forestry, land use, exports and so forth requires an increased awareness of nutritional priorities since these are not spontaneously identified in such disciplines.

Women in development is another priority issue. In many countries, women shoulder most of the work in rural areas. Given the opportunity, women have shown themselves again and again to be highly responsive and responsible when helped to mobilise themselves, build upon available resources and produce sustainable results. Women need to learn additional technical and organisational skills and more women are needed at the centre of decision-making. Specific challenges where communication is vital include helping women's groups to increase their self-determination and to broaden the dialogue between the sexes regarding rights, privileges and responsibilities.

The common denominators - people and communication
The first common theme running through the development issues just outlined is the human factor: the outcome will be based less on scientific and material inputs than on the people involved. For, even if our understanding of the development process is changing, there can be no doubt that its future shape, its pace, sustainability and ultimate direction - for better or worse - will be determined by people, and the level of their awareness, participation and skills. Investment in scientific and material inputs will bear no fruit without a parallel investment in "human capital" - in informing people, opening up avenues by which they may reach consensus for action, and developing the knowledge and skills needed to put material investments to the best use.
Communication is the second common theme in the issues outlined. For if development can be seen as a fabric woven out of the activities of millions of people, communication represents the essential thread that binds them together.
On the one hand, communication as dialogue and debate occurs spontaneously in any time of social change. The increased freedom of expression in recent times has been almost simultaneous with changes in the global political structure.
On the other hand, it is communication as a deliberate intervention to affect social and economic change that holds the most interesting possibilities. A development strategy that uses communication approaches can reveal people's underlying attitudes and traditional wisdom, help people to adapt their views and to acquire new knowledge and skills, and spread new social messages to large audiences.
The planned use of communication techniques, activities and media gives people powerful tools both to experience change and actually to guide it. An intensified exchange of ideas among all sectors of society can lead to the greater involvement of people in a common cause. This is a fundamental requirement for appropriate and sustainable development.

The rural dilemma
The primary focus of FAO's work in communication for development lies in rural areas, where the expertise and logistics required to communicate well with rural communities may seem daunting.
Nearly 1 000 million people in developing countries, more than one-third of the adult population, are illiterate. Rural communities are often remote and difficult to reach; they lack the infrastructures and communication systems - such as newspapers, radios, televisions and telephones, as well as meeting rooms, offices and schools -that help townsfolk keep abreast of developments and function effectively as informed participants.
In rural areas, the challenge is to increase the quantity and accessibility of information, to ensure its exchange in appropriate ways, and to elicit more information from rural people themselves in order to guide development planning.

The communication technology and know-how are available
We live in a communication era, with rapid expansion in the reach of mass media, and improved techniques for the interpersonal exchange of ideas. The advent of the cheap transistor radio, for example, has brought this medium to remote corners of even the least-developed countries, where a lack of electricity can be overcome by solar-powered transmitters and receivers.

Video provides a good example of the technological advances in the communication field. Little more than a decade ago, video was a bulky and expensive medium. The basic kit for shooting in black and white included a camera and recorder weighing about 30 kg, a power supply, and often an electrical generator for fieldwork. Total cost: almost US$10 000. Now video can be filmed in vivid color using a "camcorder". A semi-professional unit, including batteries, weighs less than 3 kg, and costs less than US$3 000. The size and price of video equipment drop further every year helping the use of video playback to expand rapidly everywhere, even to villages in remote rural areas.

Preparation of printed materials with type, graphics and photographs, has also been revolutionized. The use of computers for desktop publishing has sharply reduced costs and production time, providing much greater access and versatility.

Traditional and popular media such as folk theatre, dances, puppet shows and popular poetry, as well as rural press linked to literacy programmes, and audiovisual materials, can be highly effective channels for disseminating development information and for stimulating community action.

Much more is now known about the interpersonal communication skills development field workers need in order to function more effectively as agents of change with rural people. These skills include the use of techniques such as focus group discussions, illustrated discussion tools such as flipcharts that have been pretested to be effective for rural viewers, and other media such as video and audiovisuals that can be used to share ideas and cause reflection, or as part of a training methodology involving presentation, discussion and practice. Interpersonal communication skills can improve activities at all levels, enhancing management, teamwork and the morale of personnel.

Development Journalism
The term "development journalism" is used to refer to two different types of journalism. The first is a new school of journalism which began to appear in the 1960s. The idea behind this type of development journalism is similar to investigative reporting, but it focuses on conditions in developing nations and ways to improve them. The other type of development journalism involves heavy influence from the government of the nation involved. While this type of development journalism can be a powerful tool for local education and empowerment, it can also be a means of suppressing information and restricting journalists.

The first type of development journalism attempts to document the conditions within a country so that the larger world can understand them. Journalists are encouraged to travel to remote areas, interact with the citizens of the country, and report back. This type of development journalism also looks at proposed government projects to improve conditions in the country, and analyzes whether or not they will be effective. Ultimately, the journalist may come up with proposed solutions and actions in the piece, suggesting ways in which they might be implemented. Often, this type of development journalism encourages a cooperative effort between citizens of the nation and the outside world.

The second type of development journalism can walk a thin line. On the one hand, government participation in mass media can help get important information spread throughout the nation. Governments can help to educate their citizens and enlist cooperation on major development projects. However, a government can also use the idea of "development" to restrict freedom of speech for journalists. Journalists are told not to report on certain issues because it will impact the "development" of the nation in question, and therefore citizens are not actually being given access to the whole picture.

As a tool for social justice, development journalism can be very valuable. By speaking for those who cannot, a development journalist can inform the rest of the world about important issues within developing nations. Looking at the strengths and weaknesses of a country may also help identify ways in which the nation can be helped. This style of development journalism is a tool for empowerment.

When development journalism is used as a propaganda tool, however, it can become very dangerous. Many citizens are taught that the news is a reliable and useful source of information. For example, within a developing nation which has a corrupt government, journalistic exposes of the government are extremely important for reform. If journalists are not allowed to write about what is actually going on, the citizens are not well served. Several international press organizations release reviews every year which look at the freedom of press in individual nations in an attempt to bring freedom of the press to all countries for this very reason.

The Lasswell Formula

Please note: The Lasswell Formula is typical of what are often referred to as transmission models of communication. For criticisms of such models, you should consult the section on criticisms of transmission models.

The sociologist, Harold Lasswell, tells us that in studying communication we should consider the elements in the graphic above.

Lasswell was primarily concerned with mass communication and propaganda, so his model is intended to direct us to the kinds of research we need to conduct to answer his questions ('control analysis', 'effects research' and so on). In fact, though, it is quite a useful model, whatever category of communication we are studying. Note, incidentally, that the Lasswell Formula consists of five major components, though this is by no means obligatory. You might be interested to look at the comments on Maletzke's model to see which components a selection of other researchers have considered essential.

Lasswell: Communicator

Lasswell was primarily concerned with mass communication. In every form of communication, though, there must be someone (or something) that communicates.

How appropriate is the term communicator? You might say that you can't really talk about communication if the audience for the message don't respond appropriately. Maybe that's a reason that many communication specialists refer to the communicator as source or transmitter or senderof the message – at least that doesn't presuppose that communication does actually take place.

Control analysis

Because of the application of Lasswell's Formula to the media, his question Who? has come to be associated mainly with control analysis:

- Who owns this newspaper?
- What are their aims?
- What are their political allegiances?
- Do they attempt to set the editorial policy?
- Does the fact that they are a republican account for the newspaper's repeated attacks on the Royal Family?
- Are they subject to any kind of legal constraints?
- How does the editor decide what to put in the paper? and so on.

Can you see, though, how that sort of question can be applied to, say, interpersonal communication? You're asking a similar sort of question when, reflecting on a comment someone has just made, you say to yourself something like: 'Blimey, that was a strange thing to say. He must be really weird.'

Lasswell: The Message

Being concerned with the mass media, Lasswell was particularly concerned with the messages present in the media. This relates to an area of study known as content research. Typically, content research is applied to questions of representation, for example: how are women represented in the tabloid press? or: how are blacks represented on television? or: how is our society represented to us in the movies? Content research will often be a matter of counting the number of occurrences of a particular representation (for example, the housewife and mother who does not work outside the home) and comparing that with some kind of 'objective' measure, such as official statistics.

Interpersonal communication

What about our everyday communication, though? Do you spend much time thinking about how best to formulate your messages? In much of our everyday interpersonal communication with our friends, we probably are not all that conscious of thinking much about our messages. Still, you can probably think of certain messages you are communicating now to anyone passing by as you read through this. Think about it for a minute -

- What clothes are you wearing?
- How is your hair done?
- Are you wearing specs?
- What about that deodorant?

The answers to those questions may not be the result of a lot of thought before you left home this morning, but they are the result of a variety of decisions about the image you want to project of yourself – the messages about you, your personality, your tastes in music etc.

No doubt also during the day, there'll be certain messages you will think about more carefully – that thank you letter you've got to send; that excuse you've got to find for not handing in your essay; that way of telling that person you wish they'd really leave you alone.

Lasswell: Channel
The channel is what carries the message. If I speak to you my words are carried via the channel of air waves, the radio news is carried by both air waves and radio waves. I could tap out a message on the back of your head in Morse Code, in which case the channel is touch. In simple terms, messages can be sent in channels corresponding to your five senses.
This use of the word 'channel' is similar to the use of the word medium when we talk about communication. The words are sometimes used interchangeably. However, strictly speaking, we often use the word medium to refer to a combination of different channels. Television for example uses both the auditory channel (sound) and visual channel (sight).

Media analysis
The question of which channel or medium to use to carry the message is a vitally important one in all communication. Can you think of any examples of when you might have chosen the wrong channel to communicate with someone? An obvious example of the possible pitfalls would be trying to use the telephone to communicate with a profoundly deaf person. For some time I taught a blind person how to use a computer. As you can probably imagine, it was incredibly difficult to use the auditory channel only.
The choice of medium for your practical work
You could, for example, produce a very polished video tape for your practical work, but is it appropriate? Can you think why it might be the wrong medium? If you don't know how to distribute it to the intended audience, or if your audience can't afford to buy it, you could well have wasted your time. You might well have been better advised to produce a leaflet – less impressive perhaps, but cheaper and easier to distribute. Video is also a very linear medium – you start at the beginning and work your way through to the end – if you're communicating information which your audience already know a lot of, maybe they would have been better off with a booklet that they can skim through to find something they don't already know. Video isn't easily portable either – if your audience need to refer back to your information, then a booklet they can stuff in their pocket might be a better bet.

When you produce your practical work, you'll have to investigate the possible media available for the message you want to communicate, asking questions like:

- What are the conventions of this medium?
- Is this medium appropriate to my audience?
- Does it appeal to them?
- How will they get hold of it?
- Can they afford it?
- Is this medium appropriate to my message?
- Can it explain what I want it to explain?
- Do I need to show this in pictures or words? and so on.

These are all questions of 'media analysis'. Advertising agencies employ Media Buyers who decide what is the most suitable medium, or combination of media (newspapers, billboards, flysheets, TV ads etc.) for the type of message they want to communicate. They will also have decided on a particular target audience they want to communicate it to and so, using, say the TGI, the NRS etc., will decide what is the most appropriate magazine, newspaper to reach that audience.

A classic example of using the wrong channel is that of research conducted by an American newspaper on the eve of the Presidential elections in the 1940's. The message was simple: Who will you vote for? The audience was easy to define: a random sample of voters. The newspaper duly conducted a telephone poll of voters chosen at random from the phone book and announced that the Republicans would win. In fact the Democrats won with a massive victory. The reason they got it wrong was quite simple: at that time only the wealthier members of society would have telephones and the wealthier members of society would vote Republican.

You should also give some thought to the notion of channel capacity, which is quite clearly defined in information theory, but less clear in everyday communication. Certainly, though, it's clear that there are limits to the information which can be carried in a single channel – hence the need to think about channel redundancy as a means of carrying more of the message of your practical work.

Lasswell: The Receiver
Many Communication scholars use the rather technological-sounding terms: sender, source or transmitter to refer to the Communicator. You'll also come across the technological receiver to refer to what we might ordinarily call audience or readership. This whole question of audience is vitally important to successful communication.

Audience research
Professional broadcasters use the ratings figures and other data from BARB and advertisers in the print media use information from Gallup, the TGI and a range of other sources to find out as much as they possibly can about their audiences.
Audience research and your practical work
When you come to do your practical work, you'll probably need to demonstrate that you have found out as much as you reasonably can about your audience, using the appropriate techniques. Because it's so important, we have a unit devoted entirely to Researching Your Audience.

Interpersonal communication
It's not only the mass media, though, where knowledge of our audience is vitally important. The same applies in everyday life in our contact with other people. In many cases, we don't have to know a lot about the person we're dealing with because we each act out the appropriate rôle. I don't have to know anything about the shop assistant who sells me a packet of fags – I ask for the fags, he gives me them, I give him the money, he gives me the change, we smile briefly, say 'Cheerio' and that's it. I don't need to know anything about him.
But there are numerous occasions when we do need to know more, or we make unjustified assumptions about what our audience are like. Can you think of any examples from your everyday life where communication has broken down because you didn't know enough about your audience or because you made the wrong guess as to what they were like? What about the teacher who waffles on incomprehensibly because she makes the assumption that you know nearly as much about the subject as she does? Or that you actually remember what she told you last lesson? Or that you're actually interested in the subject?

Lasswell: Effects
Lasswell's model also introduces us to the question of media effects. We don't communicate in a vacuum. We normally communicate because we want to achieve something. Even if we just pass

someone in the corridor and say 'hello' without really thinking about it, we want to have the effect of reassuring them that we're still friends, we are nice people, and so on.

Practical work
Lasswell was concerned not with interpersonal communication, but with the effects of the mass media. The question of whether the media have any effect or not and, if so, how they affect their audiences, is not just a large chunk of most communication and media courses, it's also a question you have to answer about your practical work and, of course, it's a constantly topical issue in society.

Feedback
To find out what kind of effect our communication has, we need some kind of feedback. If I speak to you, I listen to your responses and watch for signs of interest, boredom etc. In other words, I use feedback from you to gauge the effect of my communication. If you give me positivefeedback by showing interest, I'll continue in the same vein; if you give me negative feedback by showing boredom, I'll change the subject, or change my style, or stop speaking. When broadcasters transmit a programme, they use the services of BARB to gain feedback in the form of ratings. Advertising agencies use a variety of services, such as Gallup, to find out whether their campaign has worked. These are all forms of feedback.

Feedback is not shown specifically in Lasswell's formula, but very many communication models do show it. A simple one which does so is the Shannon-Weaver Model.
Before going on, try taking a look at some typical examples of forms of communication. For each one, see if you can identify the separate components of the Lasswell Formula.

Berlo's S-M-C-R Model
[In Berlo's Model (see below) you will find the commonly used Source - Message -Channel - Receiver. For general comments on each of those, please consult the Shannon-Weaver Model.]
David Berlo's SMCR Model (1960) proposes that there are five elements within both the source/encoder and the receiver/decoder which will affect fidelity.

Source<>Receiver relationship
Berlo's approach is rather different from what seems to be suggested by the more straightforward transmission models in that he places great emphasis on dyadic communication, therefore stressing the role of the *relationship* between the source and the receiver as an important variable in the communication process.

As you will see from what follows, he enumerates what are the factors to be taken into account at each 'end' of the communication. Thus, for example, in principle, the more highly developed the communication skills of the source and the receiver, the more effectively the message will be encoded and decoded. In fact, however, the relationship between skill level of receiver and source needs to be taken into account, since, as Berlo points out:

A given source may have a high level of skill not shared by one receiver, but shared by another. We cannot predict the success of the source from her skill level alone.

Berlo (1960)
A monadic approach to the communication act would tell us much about the communication skill level, personal characteristics etc. of both source and receiver. In doing so, it might tell us about the general competence of both, but it doesn't allow us to make any firm predictions about the likely success of the communication. The communication studies teacher may have a seductive tone of voice, may be considered by the students to be 'one of them', may have expert and wide-ranging knowledge of communication theory, may have great enthusiasm for the subject; the student may be highly intelligent, articulate, literate and diligent.

However, if the student finds communication theory pointless, boring and a load of hot air, then, clearly, fidelity will be far less than desirable.

Practical work
I would suggest that for practical work in communication and media studies, Berlo's model is a very useful point of departure. It may transpire as you progress in communication studies that there are many points, various assumptions which you could challenge Berlo on, but his model does have the merit of drawing our attention to the unpredictability of communication and does draw our attention to at least some of the factors which make it unpredictable. As such, it can serve as an excellent broad framework for your audience research. Another model which has similar merits is Maletzke's.

Communication Skills
There are five verbal communication skills, according to Berlo:

Two are encoding skills (see Shannon-Weaver: the encoder):

- **Speaking**
- **Writing**

Two are decoding skills (see Shannon-Weaver: the decoder):

- **Listening**
- **Reading**

The fifth is crucial to both encoding and decoding
Thought or reasoning, though you may perhaps wish to object that to place such emphasis on reasoning, what we generally think of as an intellectual skill, to the detriment of emotion or feeling, is unreasonable As encoders our
communication skills level affects our communication fidelity in two ways, according to Berlo:

- It affects our ability to analyse our own purposes and intentions, our ability to say something when we communicate - you may perhaps take issue with Berlo on this, since it is not apparent to all of us that we necessarily use verbal skills in reflecting on our purposes and intentions
- It affects our ability to encode messages which say what we intend.

Our communication skills, our facility for handling the language code, affect our ability to encode thoughts that we have. We certainly all have experienced the frustration of not being able to find the 'right word' to express what we want to say. Bearing in mind Berlo's insistence on the dyadic nature of communication, we need to remember that finding the 'right word' is not simply a matter of finding one which expresses what we want to say to our own satisfaction. It also has to have approximately the same meaning for the receiver as it does for us.

There is evidence that our ability to use language actually affects the thoughts themselves. The words we can command, and the way that we put them together affect

- what we think about
- how we think
- whether we are thinking at all

There is little disagreement amongst communication and cultural studies theorists today that the codes we use (verbal or otherwise) affect the way we see the world and the way we think about it. Our experience of the world is thus a function of the codes we use, as is what we can express about that experience. For further information on this, see the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and the section on semiotics.

Whether this firm conviction amongst theorists is justified is a moot point, but, if we assume that they are right, then it follows that the fewer the linguistic resources we have at our disposal, the less rich our experience of the world is and the less we are able to express about that experience (hence, for example, the truism that even English people would benefit from learning a foreign language since it would give them a different way of looking at and experiencing the world). If we do not
have the communication skills necessary to encode accurately then we are limited in our ability to express our purposes, indeed even in the purposes we can have in the first place. Our communication skills deficiencies limit the ideas that are available to us and limit our ability to manipulate these ideas (to think).

These general principles can of course be extended to any code we use, not just a linguistic code. The manipulation of any code, linguistic or other, requires skills, which can be more or less highly developed. Our schooling tends to lead us to think of language as the only code we use which requires skilful manipulation, but there are many others, such as codes of etiquette, dress codes, gestural codes and so on. You could go to France as a fluent speaker of French, but be unfamiliar with the codes of etiquette which apply there, so, as a well-bred English person, you're pratting around trying to skewer your peas on your fork while all the French are happily scooping theirs up and quietly wondering, despite the apparent sense of what you're saying, whether you really are quite right in the head.

We can summarize by saying that communication skills involve:

- knowing and applying the code's grammar
- knowing and using a broad vocabulary
- knowing and applying the conventions
- adapting the use of your code to your audience

this latter requirement again underlining the dyadic approach to communication.

SMCR Knowledge Level
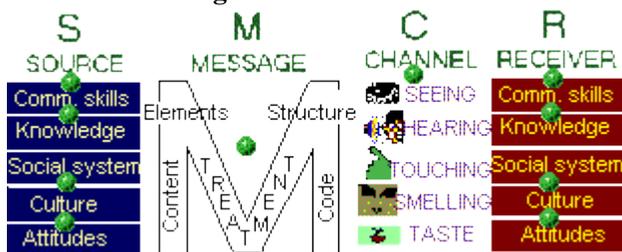
The encoder's communication behaviour is affected by his/her knowledge of:

- **his/her own attitudes** - it may at first strike you as odd to suggest that we may have attitudes of which we are unaware, but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that many, if not most, of us do. If you are aware of an attitude which might, in the presence of any given receiver, arouse hostility, then you will be aware that it would be appropriate to conceal that attitude. Clearly, if you are unaware of the attitude, then you will not attempt to conceal it and your communication may fail as a result, despite whatever other skills you may have
- **the ways in which s/he can produce or treat messages** - you need to be aware of the possibilities open to you. It might transpire that you are highly skilled, a 'natural', in a particular possible treatment of your message, but, if you are not even aware of it as a possibility, then obviously it's an option which is closed to you. For example, many people's experience of the Internet is limited to using the Web; it could well be that getting your message to your audience would be better served by some kind of listserve.

If you are only aware of the Web, then that's a possibility which is closed to you. Obviously, that also works the other way round - if your audience don't know of listserves as a possibility then they won't set out to look for them; again this underlines the importance of the dyadic approach.

- **the kinds of choices s/he can make about communication channels etc.** - if you don't know, for example, that some messages may be more effective in the non-verbal channel than in the verbal channel (a V sign is likely to be more effective than shouting at the driver who has just cut in front of you on your push bike). If you don't know that e-mail exists and send all your communications via snail-mail, then your competitors will be communicating faster than you.
- **the subject matter** - if you know nothing about cars, how do you begin to tell the mechanic what's wrong with yours. You can describe all the symptoms of course, but it's quite likely that you omit the one vital squeak or jerk which would lead the mechanic immediately to the source of the problem, simply because you don't know enough to determine that it was vital. Again, that works the other way around - when yu go to pick your car up and the mechanic explains to you why the bill was so enormous, what chance do you have of challenging the explanation?

All of these factors apply equally to the decoder/receiver.

Socio-cultural system

It's not easy to make a clear distinction between the influence of culture and of the social system, so we adopt here the practice of referring to the socio-cultural system. My meanings, the semantic resources I deploy in a particular social context, may not be the same as your meanings, or as what your expectations of what my meanings should be; and that can lead to a bewildering lack of communication between us. Halliday (1978) No source communicates as a free agent without being influenced by his/her position in a socio-cultural system. People in differing social classes communicate differently. Social and cultural systems partly determine

- the word choices which people make
- the purposes they have for communicating
- the meanings they attach to certain words
- their choice of receivers
- the channels they use for this or that kind of message etc.

Here are examples of each of those. You'll see, though, that it's a bit artificial to try to disentangle them in this way:

1. the authoritarian father who is not in a position of authority at work will speak very differently to his boss and his children. An inability to adjust his communication as appropriate to the two positions could well spell dire trouble at work.
2. people's purposes for communicating will depend very much on the role they are currently playing, whether their role at work, customer in a shop, teenager with friends, teenager in the family home etc.
3. There are clear differences in the meaning of words between teenagers and older people - 'wicked', 'bad' etc.
4. Some social positions, e.g. teacher or receptionist, are communication-
5. prone; others, such as night-watchman, will involve relatively little communication. an obvious cultural difference between the British and the French is the extent to which each culture uses touch in interpersonal communication.

The decoder-receiver can also be spoken of in terms of communication skills, attitudes, knowledge level and socio-cultural position.

Attitudes

Attitude towards self
A student considers himself a bit of a dolt. As a result, he has become wary of asking questions. As a result of that wariness, many of the questions he does ask are formulated hesitantly, with a self-deprecating tone almost inviting dismissal. This student has a 'negative self-image (See more about self-image under Interpersonal Communication: Self-Image). We tend to seek out evidence which confirms us in the image we have of ourselves (even if that image is negative) and also to behave in a way which invites responses which confirm the accuracy of our self-image (the so-called self-fulfilling prophecy. This student's attitude to himself clearly affects the success of his communication.

Attitude towards subject matter
Interest and prejudice will play a role here, for example. The subject matter of teh discussion is computers and how to improve their performance.

Attitude towards receiver
In your opinion, the person you are speaking to is stupid. You will certainly formulate your message differently from the way you formulate it for your intelligent friends; you may even some parts of the message as too complex for her to understand. This person is a computer nerd. What a geek. You make sure that when you lend him the books he wanted you don't smile too much and don't say any more than necessary in case he takes it as an invitation to strike up a friendship
Berlo lists five factors (communication skills, knowledge level, socio-cultural system, attitudes - did you notice there are only four there? Very attentive - that's because I've chosen to lump social system and culture together) which affect your transmission of your message. You will make a number of assumptions about those same five factors in the receiver. Your encoding of your message will be influenced by those five factors in you, but also by your assessment of how those same five factors affect the receiver's ability to receive your message. I guess you can see the circularity there - you are influenced by five factors which you make assumptions about in your receiver who makes assumptions about those five factors in you while receiving the message and, on the basis of those observations of the five factors in you, makes the best of the five factors in herself to encode a response to your message, the reception of which is influenced by the five factors in you and your observations of the five factors in her and... and...
All of the factors above apply to the receiver as they do to the source.
There is a separate section on attitudes, their components and their measurement.

Message
As you can see from the model, the essential elements which Berlo identifies for discussion under the heading of *message* are:

Code
Content
Treatment

Code
Whenever we encode a message, we must make certain decisions about the code we will use. We must decide:
- which code
- what elements of the code
- what method of structuring the elements of the code we will select
When we analyze communication behavior, messages, we need to include the source's decisions about the code in our analysis.

Content
Content is the material in the message that was selected by the source to express his/her purpose. It, like code, has both elements and structure. If you have five assertions to make, you must structure them - you must impose one or another order on them. The ways you choose to arrange assertions in part determine the structure of the content.

Treatment
The treatment of the message is the decisions which the source makes in selecting and arranging both code and content
In preparing her copy for a newspaper a journalist *treats* her message in many ways. She selects content that she thinks will be interesting to her
reader; she selects words from the code that she thinks her reader will understand; she structures her assertions, her information, in the way that she thinks her reader will prefer to receive them.
The editor will make decisions regarding type size to let her reader know she considers some things more important than others..
All these decisions are treatment decisions. They are ways in which the source chooses to encode his message by selecting certain elements of code and content and presenting them in one or another *treatment*.

The term treatment is also used in a less technical sense, namely the treatment for a radio or television programme, where you list your decisions about the content of the programme, its duration, the target audience, the time of broadcast etc.

When we decode messages we make decisions as to the sources purpose, their communication skills, their attitude towards us, their knowledge, their status. We try to estimate what kind of person would have produced this kind of message, an estimation which depends on the source's treatment of the message.

Channel
To explain the idea of *channel*, Berlo uses this analogy: Suppose I am on one side of a river and you are on the other. I wish to send a package to you. What do I need?

- a boat to carry the package
- some means of getting the package into the boat, i.e. a dock. On your side, you also need a dock to get the package out of the boat
- some water, something that will serve as a carrier for the boat

In communication theory the equivalent of the boat, dock and water are all referred to as *channels*.
The dock:
This is what Shannon and Weaver would refer to as the encoding and decoding devices. We need some kind of mechanism for translating the electro-chemical signals inside our heads into a code understood by us and, we hope, by the receiver.

The boat:
When I encode my message into spoken language the oral message I encode has to come to you in some kind of vehicle. For spoken messages, the vehicle is soud waves. When I encode my message non-verbally, the message reaches you through the vehicle of light waves.
The water
The sound waves themselves need something to support them, a wave-carrier. Sound waves are supported by air. Air is equivalent to the water. You might ask what light waves are carried by. A hundred or so years ago, I would have replied 'the ether', but he Michaelson-Morley experiment rather upset things there, so ask a physicist - is Berlo wrong?

In communicating, the source has to choose a channel to carry his/her message. Media buyers (the people in advertising agencies who buy television time or space in newspapers), for example, have to decide what is the best channel or combination of channels. Media selection is limited by

- what is available
- how much money can be spent
- what the sources preferences are
- which channels are received by the most people (at optimum cost)
- Which channels have the most impact, etc.

In everyday life we have to make similar decisions: would a verbal message such as 'please go away' (or even some slightly different treatment of that message!) be as effective as a punch on the nose?

The five senses?
You will have noticed perhaps that Berlo lists the five senses as communication channels. Some would of course question this limitation, claiming that we have a 'sixth sense' of some kind, a sort of natural intuition. That might perhaps be taking us into the realms of parapsychology, but there is evidence that we do seem to communicate using channels other than those that Berlo lists.
In communication, media is the storage and transmission tool used to store and deliver information or data. It is often referred to as synonymous with mass media or news media, but may refer to a single medium used to communicate any data for any purpose.
That research was, however, conducted by a company commercially exploiting pheromones in body sprays, deodorants and so on. I have not been able to discover that the results have been replicated in independent tests. Nevertheless, the research I am aware of is suggestive of a 'sixth sense', though perhaps not what we normally mean by that term.

Communication and its need for Development

The notion of communication as considered in this report must not be confused with the technical means of communication such as telecommunications, informatics, postal services and similar devices, though they are indispensable vehicles to the dissemination of information and knowledge. Furthermore, the conceptual category of communication as specified in the title refers to development. In other words, this study deals with the central role of the discipline of communication for a successful implementation of development programmes and for an improvement of the interaction between actors in development, namely the United Nations system, governments, NGOs and the beneficiaries.

Because of this approach and in order to avoid overlapping, the JJU, under the guidance of the same Inspector, is preparing a separate study entitled "A review of Telecommunications and Related Information Technologies in the United Nations System". Although a sound telecommunication infrastructure is an essential support to development, the prevailing choice is in favour of a separate exploration of the subject. This is not only because of the specific suggestion which came from FAO, but also
in consideration of the fact that the JIU has in the past undertaken two studies on the same topic entitled "Communication in the United Nations System" (JIU/REP/72/7 and JIU/REP/82/6). The rapid progress in technology and its bearing on the field of communications demand an updating on the subject which will be better tackled in a separate report.

As stated in Article 1.2 of its Constitution, UNESCO is the principal United Nations Organization mandated to be responsible for communication. In addition, it also has the lead mandate in the field of social communication. UNESCO has, therefore, recognized, inter-alia, the need for a mechanism to co-ordinate communication activities through appropriate media and suggested to the JIU that it undertake a study on "Communication for
Development Programmes in the United Nations System".
The terms of reference for the study are to:

- analyze and evaluate existing informal arrangements for the coordination of communicationat an inter-agency level;
- develop proposals for an improved and more institutionalized mechanism to facilitate co-ordination; and
- describe the particular dimension of communication and its specificity vis-a-vis other aspects of information technology, in particular informatics and telecommunications as support areas.

It is with this in mind and cognizant of the important evolution in the field of communication for development that the report will:
(a) try to define the notion of communication for development and its dimension as an instrument for rallying communities to participate in development projects from assessed needs to implementation, monitoring and evaluation;
(b) look into the communication programmes of UNESCO;
(c) examine the status of communication programmes of other agencies;

(d) review previous attempts and existing informal arrangements for the co-ordination of communication programmes for development in the United Nations system;

(e) examine the opportunity, evaluate the convenience and propose the
setting-up of a more appropriate mechanism for enhancing cooperation
among agencies;

(f) consider how this mechanism could strengthen communication in humanitarian assistance activities and in peace-keeping operations; and

(g) explore the possibility of cost saving aspects by using already-existing fora and facilities.
The methodology used for the preparation of the study was, mainly, visits by the Inspector to headquarters and field offices and analysis of replies to questionnaires provided by the specialized agencies: UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, United Nations/DPI, WFP, UNIDO, UNHCR, ILO, WHO, ITU, IMO, WMO, IAEA, ICAO, and FAO. It should be specified at the outset that some organizations have responded stating that they do not have communication for development programmes at the headquarters level; for others, only at the field level. Still others mentioned the fact that programmes for communication are implemented by the national authorities
in co-operation with United Nations agencies. One organization stated that it does not have any information to contribute to the study, while another responded by stating that they have no communication programme in the sense that it is understood by UNESCO. Views were also exchanged with the communication departments of a university and non-governmental organization in the field.
The investigation showed that UNESCO's request has been particularly timely and has raised problem areas for which there is an increasing awareness and greater demand for solutions. This is also in the light of the fresh approach of the Secretary-General to the problems of development and of his appeal to the international community for more attention to be paid to such an important issue the implications of which are so effectively put into light in the "agenda for development".
The Inspector is grateful to all who have spared their time and energy to contribute to the preparation of the study. Their participation has greatly facilitated work on the report and stimulated research, providing a new dimension and commitment.

I. The importance and scope of the field of communication

The importance and scope of "Communication for Development" differs widely from one organization to another. Organizations such as UNICEF and UNFPA tend to decentralize their activities to the regional and country offices.   They accord a   great deal of importance   to "communication/mobilization programmes".   UNICEF alone spends over $100 million a year on such programmes. UNFPA allocated 17 percent of its resources for communication and education programmes in 1992. This was the second largest allocation after family planning, which also has a communication support component. WHO has allocated about $4 million for communication and public information at Headquarters level for the biennium 1994-95, representing approximately 0.5 percent of its total regular programme budget. United Nations/DPI allocates 0.6 percent of its overall regular budget for strengthening communication capabilities of developing countries. Other agencies do not have specific allocations for communication for development but they include communication as part of the approved work programme of some sections, whilst some have simply no financial allocation for communication. According to an FAO publication
on Communication for Development, the overall budget for communication is about 10 percent of the total development programme budget. For large-scale programmes, however, it may be as low as one percent, and for small programmes somewhat higher than 10 percent.1

Two different approaches and orientations exist concerning communication. The first is field-oriented and relies on communication for human development emphasizing more popular participation through extension and development agents including development-oriented NGOs.
The second approach maintains a global view of the problems of development rather than specific country policies and is mainly concerned with development of communication per se, involving the media in general with respect to the formulation of general programmes requiring global actions such as the campaign against AIDS, illiteracy, the promotion of the Programme of Health for all by the year 2000. Distinct actions and useful complementarity characterize these two approaches.

UNDP makes some funding available to both groups. Since the 1970s, it has evolved a policy whereby communication components are integrated in projects at the country level through the Development Support Communication Office (later called the Development Communication Training Programme)

which also had regional bureaux. These funds were administered mainly by this Office, and not by the specialized agencies. As a matter of fact, most funds for communication were allocated for telecommunication and transportation projects proposed by governments.

Humanitarian assistance within the framework of peace-making and peacekeeping processes is a new area requiring communication structures. The Department of Peace-Keeping Operations (DPKO) is assigned an important communication and co-ordination role at Headquarters level by "co-ordinating instructions sent to the field missions on operational matters as well as co-ordinating relationships between Headquarters, New York and each mission in the field by providing backstopping". The JIU through its report on "Staffing of the United Nations Peace-Keeping and Related Missions" (Civilian Component) (JIU/REP/93/6) has maintained that "...Communication from the field continues to be irregularly channelled to different departments at Headquarters creating further problems in the flow
of information, co-ordination and hence, coherence and timely instructions".

   A. Principal ways of conveying public information
Public information concerning development programmes is presently conveyed in four principal ways:
- Provision of news and information to the people through the press, radio, television and audio-visual educational programmes.
- Informatics: access to data base and electronically-stored information in libraries, archives and cultural centres.
- Telecommunications: telephone services, facsimile, telex, telegrams, data transmission, electronic mail.
- Postal Services: mail and parcel services, telegrams.

Information technology has become an indispensable tool for developing an effective communication structure. New technologies are offering many opportunities, with the possibility of reaching untapped audiences. In many developing countries this could include interactive media. The United Nations system needs to be at the cutting edge of such possibilities. In more traditional areas, the use of radio has to be stressed and the conduct of journalists' training courses in developing countries should be seen as a form of capacity building.
Keeping up with modern technology is a priority concern to developing countries which have limited access to the information media. They seek more assistance in this area to ensure that their requirements for information technology are accurately reflected in every project set up to help them build up their information infrastructure. The World Bank states that "Information technology, if used correctly, can help increase workers' productivity, make governments and companies more flexible, and improve decision-making. In the long run, it can make governments more accountable and co-ordinated and could allow them to respond better to social needs".3 The ITU in its Missing Link report concluded more dramatically that "...henceforth no development programme of any country should be regarded as balanced, properly integrated or likely to be effective unless it includes a full and appropriate role for telecommunications and accords corresponding priority for the improvement and expansion of telecommunications".

B. Types of communications

   The focus of this report, however, is not public information per se, but communication as part of the social process of development. With this
limitation in mind, two types of communications are of special interest to the present report:

- Communication for development purposes included in the design of projects.
- Communication for humanitarian assistance activities and peacemaking and peace-keeping processes.

1. Communication for Development

Communication for development is a specialized field which requires ad hoc training. As understood and used by agencies of the United Nations system, communication for development can be clustered in the following areas:

- advocacy at the national and global levels;

- public information at the national and global levels;

- programme communication and social mobilization at the project, community and individual levels; and use of tools and systems that enhance the above, namely the print media, interpersonal communication, telecommunication and networking.

The goal of communication for development is to integrate, within project designs, motivation and teaching skills to strengthen the processes that enable communities and people therein to acquire new knowledge, ideas and analyze decisions and actions. This objective corresponds closely to the mandates of most of the development agencies and in particular to that of the International Programme for Development Communication (IPDC) of UNESCO. The mandates of these agencies give a central role to communication. Some of the agencies such as UNICEF, FAO, WHO and UNEP have recognized the need for social mobilization of their activities which is beyond the traditional "provision of information", and is the essence of "communication" as distinct from information. Participatory approach to development can release a chain reaction leading to results by which development assistance can be measured.

An FAO publication on "Communication a key to human development" explains the role of communication as follows: "A decisive role can be played by communication in promoting human development in today's new climate of social change. As the world moves towards greater democracy, decentralization and the market economy, conditions are becoming more favourable for people to start steering their own course of change. But it is vital to stimulate their awareness, participation and capabilities.

Communication skills and technology are central to this task, but at present are often under-utilized. Policies are needed that encourage effective planning and implementation of communication programmes."

The JIU report on "Evaluation of Rural Development Activities of the United Nations System in three African Least Developed Countries" (JIU/REP/89/2, A/45/76, E/1990/12) attempted to determine the extent to which beneficiaries were involved in the identification, planning and implementation of project activities. The report emphasized that communication should always be included in the preparation of projects to ensure that the project is needed and understood by the beneficiaries. A policy of communicating with the beneficiaries at the planning level of a programme, and taking into account their views and needs, is one way of assuring the success and sustainability of the programme. Years of technical co-operation experience has proved that "popular participation" is indispensable for any United Nations project to succeed, and that ample use of communication can catalyze and multiply this popular participation. In fact, the IPDC accords first priority to the financing of projects from the least developed countries and annually prepares a budget for preparatory assistance for these countries' projects.

A second, equally important, function of communication is the maintenance of liaison between the United Nations and the government decision/policy-makers throughout the duration of a project. The United Nations deals directly with sovereign states; it needs to enhance its communication with them. One way of achieving an effective channel of communication with appropriate government officials at the decision-making level would be by including formal training for local nationals in communication skills as an integrated component of development projects. This could include on-the-job training provided by project experts as well as formal educational institutions for training general communication experts.

The Story of the Larger Grain Borer
Presented by Christelle SwartandMarianna Theyse

Purpose
fi To explore the communication media used in the LGB awareness programme of the Department of Agriculture, South Africa

fi To investigate and offer an assessment of the communication approach followed

Data Collection
fi A theoretical overview ofdevelopment communication theory
fi A telephonic interview with a member of the LGB National Coordinating Committee
fi A review of existing documents at the national Department ofAgriculture

Clarifying Terminology
Community
The term 'community' for thepurposes of this paper and the case study refers to the rural farming community of Malekutu in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. The community cans therefore beregarded a geographic community bound together by common aims, affinity, fellowship, common culture, cooperation and strong bonds

Development Communication
It may be defined as all forms of communication that are used for the improvement of an individual, community or country's material, cultural, spiritual, social and other conditions

Development Communication Media and Methods
Development Communication Methods and Media, for the purposes of this paper, can be regarded as the physical means of carrying communication messages in development programmes and refer to the capacity to carry information.

Development Communication Media - First World Countries
fi Print Media: bulletins, annual reports, newsletters, magazines, newspaper inserts, etc.
fi Audio-visual media: radio, film, television, trade and public exhibitions, radio dramas, etc.
fi High-tech media: Internet, new cable television, satellite, cellular phones, etc.

Development Communication Media - Developing Countries
fi Interactive and/or participatory media
fi Community-based print media
fi Community online media
fi Development communication media

Development Communication Media - Developing Countries
fi Interactive and/or Participatory Media:
Traditional folk media: folk theatre, puppet shows, poetry, ballads, mime, etc.
Oramedia: humour, music, singing, dancing, market places, weddings, funerals, traditional festivals, etc.

fi Interactive and/or Participatory Media:
Commuter channels: taxis, train stations, bus depots, etc.Film and video
Photo Novella Community radio
fi Community-based Print Media Community newspapers

fi Development Communication Media

Existing structures: libraries, churches, schools, etc.
Interpersonal communication: discussions, community meetings, workshops, etc.
Political engagements of key leaders in the country Field tours and farm walks Events such as demonstrations

Findings
fi Exclusion of community in needs analysis, decision-making, and overall planning
fi Extension personnel
fi No participation by the community in planning and execution of communication activities
fi Communication methods and media restricted to print and audio-visual media
fi No recognition of the value of traditional and development media in delivering customized communication

Communication Approach
fi mainly top-down
fi The participatory potential of the awareness programme is limited due to limited or no consultation with the community
fi Failure to engage in information-sharing
fi lacking evaluation (original, assessment, implementation, completion)
fi No focus on building of working relationships
fi the role of extension personnel can be described as 'agricultural extension'
fi Limited feedback

Communication Support for Rural Development Campaigns
Essential Elements

1. Formulation of specific objectives aimed at solving a significant problem
2. Focus on a few critically important messages
3. Expression of messages in an attention holding way so that audience will remember them
4. Use of a variety of communication channels to reach audience
5. Repetition of messages over a sustained period of time
6. Messages not only inform but also motivate people to take action
7. The entire process is carefully planned
8. Each element is tested to make sure that it will produce the desired results before full scale implementation
9. Systematic monitoring and evaluation

The effort is conducted by a team and administered by a single manager

Diffusion of innovations
According to Rogers" Diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system." In other words, the study of the diffusion of innovation is the study of how, why, and at what rate new ideas and technology spread through cultures.

The S-Curve and technology adoption
The adoption curve becomes an s-curve when cumulative adoption is used. Everett M. Rogers in his 1962 book, Diffusion of Innovations, theorized that innovations would spread through society in an S curve, as the early adopters select the technology first, and followed by the majority, until a technology or innovation is common.
According to Rogers, diffusion research centers on the conditions which increase or decrease the likelihood that a new idea, product, or practice will be adopted by members of a given culture. According to Rogers people's attitude toward a new technology is a key element in its diffusion. Roger's Innovation Decision Process theory states that innovation diffusion is a process that occurs over time through five stages: Knowledge, Persuasion, Decision, Implementation and Confirmation. Accordingly, the innovation-decision process is the process through which an individual or other decision-making unit passes. From first knowledge of an innovation, to forming an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision.
Various computer models have been developed in order to simulate the diffusion of innovations. Veneris developed a systems dynamics computer model which takes into account various diffusion patterns modeled via differential equations.

Urbanization

Urbanization is the physical growth of rural or natural land into urban areas as a result of population in-migration to an existing urban area. Effects include change in density and administration services. While the exact definition and population size of urbanized areas varies among different countries, urbanization is attributed to growth of cities. Urbanization is also defined by the United Nations as movement of people from rural to urban areas with population growth equating to urban migration. The UN projects half the world population will live in urban areas at the end of 2008.

Causes

The City of Chicago, Illinois is an example of the early American grid system of development. The grid is enforced even on uneven topography.

Urbanization is not always attributed to high density. In Manila, the cost of living has forced residents to live in low quality slums and shanty towns

Urbanization occurs naturally from individual and corporate efforts to reduce time and expense in commuting and transportation while improving opportunities for jobs, education, housing, and transportation. Living in cities permits individuals and families to take advantage of the opportunities of proximity, diversity, and marketplace competition.

People move into cities to seek economic opportunities. In rural areas, often on small family farms, it is difficult to improve one's standard of living beyond basic sustenance. Farm living is dependent on unpredictable environmental conditions, and in times of drought, flood or pestilence, survival becomes extremely problematic.

Cities, in contrast, are known to be places where money, services and wealth are centralised. Cities are where fortunes are made and where social mobility is possible. Businesses, which generate jobs and capital, are usually located in urban areas. Whether the source is trade or tourism, it is also through the cities that foreign money flows into a country. It is easy to see why someone living on a farm might wish to take their chance moving to the city and trying to make enough money to send back home to their struggling family.

There are better basic services as well as other specialist services that aren't found in rural areas. There are more job opportunities and a greater variety of jobs. Health is another major factor. People, especially the elderly are often forced to move to cities where there are doctors and hospitals that can cater for their health needs. Other factors include a greater variety of entertainment (restaurants, movie theaters, theme parks, etc) and a better quality of education, namely universities.

These conditions are heightened during times of change from a pre-industrial society to an industrial one. It is at this time that many new commercial enterprises are made possible, thus creating new jobs in cities. It is also a result of industrialisation that farms become more mechanised, putting many labourers out of work.

Economic effects

One of the last houses of the old Russian village of Lukeryino, most of which has been mostly demolished over the last 30 years to make way for 9-storey apartment buildings of the growing city of Kstovo, such as the one in the background

Over the last few years urbanization of rural areas has increased. As agriculture, more traditional local services, and small-scale industry give way to modern industry the urban and related commerce with the city drawing on the resources of an ever-widening area for its own sustenance and goods to be traded or processed into manufactures.

Research in urban ecology finds that larger cities provide more specialized goods and services to the local market and surrounding areas, function as a transportation and wholesale hub for smaller places, and accumulate more capital, financial service provision, and an educated labor force, as well as often concentrating administrative functions for the area in which they lie. This relation among places of different sizes is called the urban hierarchy.

As cities develop, effects can include a dramatic increase in costs, often pricing the local working class out of the market, including such functionaries as employees of the local municipalities. For example, Eric Hobsbawm's book *The age of the revolution: 1789–1848* (published 1962 and 2005) chapter 11, stated "Urban development in our period [1789–1848] was a gigantic process of class segregation, which pushed the new labouring poor into great morasses of misery outside the centres of government and business and the newly specialised residential areas of the bourgeoisie. The almost universal European division into a 'good' west end and a 'poor' east end of large cities developed in this period." This is likely due the prevailing south-west wind which carries coal smoke and other airborne pollutants downwind, making the western edges of towns preferable to the eastern ones. Urbanization is often viewed as a negative trend, but in fact, it occurs naturally from individual and corporate efforts to reduce expense in commuting and transportation while improving opportunities for jobs, education, housing, and transportation. Living in cities permits individuals and families to take advantage of the opportunities of proximity, diversity, and marketplace competition.

Environmental effects

The urban heat island has become a growing concern. This effect causes the city to become 2 to 10º F (1 to 6º C) warmer than surrounding landscapes. Impacts also include reducing soil moisture and intensification of carbon dioxide emissions.

Changing form of urbanization

Massive urbanization in Delhi, India resulted in tremendous strain on the city's infrastructure. The planned Dwarka Sub City can be seen in foreground while the unplanned and congested residential areas of West Delhi are visible in the background.

Different forms of urbanization can be classified depending on the style of architecture and planning methods as well as historic growth of areas.

In cities of the developed world urbanization traditionally exhibited a concentration of human activities and settlements around the downtown area, the so-called *in-migration*. In-migration refers to migration from former colonies and similar places. The fact that many immigrants settle in impoverished city centres led to the notion of the "peripheralization of the core", which simply describes that people who used to be at the periphery of the former empires now live right in the centre.

Recent developments, such as inner-city redevelopment schemes, mean that new arrivals in cities no longer necessarily settle in the centre. In some developed regions, the reverse effect, originally called counter urbanization has occurred, with cities losing population to rural areas, and is particularly common for richer families. This has been possible because of improved communications, and has been caused by factors such as the fear of crime and poor urban environments. Later termed *"white flight"*, the effect is not restricted to cities with a high ethnic minority population.

When the residential area shifts outward, this is called suburbanization. A number of researchers and writers suggest that suburbanization has gone so far to form new points of concentration outside the downtown. This networked, poly-centric form of concentration is considered by some an emerging pattern of urbanization. It is called variously exurbia, edge city (Garreau, 1991), network city (Batten, 1995), or postmodern city (Dear, 2000). Los Angeles is the best-known example of this type of urbanization.

Rural migrants are attracted by the possibilities that cities can offer, but often settle in shanty towns and experience extreme poverty. In the 1980s, this was attempted to be tackled with the urban bias theory which was promoted by Michael Lipton who wrote: "...the most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between labour and capital. Nor is it between foreign and national interests. It is between rural classes and urban classes. The rural sector contains most of the poverty and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization and power. So the urban classes have been able to win most of the rounds of the struggle with the countryside.

Planning for urbanization
The construction of new towns by the Housing Development Board of Singapore, is an example of planned urbanization
Urbanization can be planned urbanization or organic. Planned urbanization, ie: new town or the garden city movement is based on an advance plan, which can be prepared for military, aesthetic, economic or urban design reasons. Examples can be seen in many ancient cities; although with exploration came the collision of nations, which meant that many invaded cities took on the desired planned characteristics of their occupiers. Many ancient organic cities experienced redevelopment for military and economic purposes, new roads carved through the cities, and new parcels of land were cordoned off serving various planned purposes giving cities distinctive geometric UN agencies prefer to see urban infrastructure installed before urbanization occurs. landscape planners are responsible for landscape infrastructure (public parks, sustainable urban drainage systems, greenways etc) which can be planned before urbanization takes place, or afterward to revitalized an area and create greater livability within a region

New Urbanism
New Urbanism was a movement which started in the 1990s. New Urbanism believes in shifting design focus from the car-centric development of suburbia and the business park, to concentrated pedestrian and transit-centric, walks able, mixed-use communities. New Urbanism is an amalgamation of old-world design patterns, merged with present day demands. It is a backlash to the age of suburban sprawl, which splintered communities, and isolated people from each other, as well as had severe environmental impacts. Concepts for New Urbanism include people and destinations into dense, vibrant communities, and decreasing dependency on vehicular transportation as the primary mode of transit.

Industrialization
Industrialization is a process of social and economic change whereby a human group is transformed from a pre-industrial society into an industrial one. It is a part of a wider modernization process, where social change and economic development are closely related with technological innovation, particularly with the development of large-scale energy and metallurgy production. Industrialisation also introduces a form of philosophical change, where people obtain a different attitude towards their perception of nature.
There is considerable literature on the factors facilitating industrial modernisation and enterprise development. Key positive factors identified by researchers have ranged from favorable political-legal environments for industry and commerce, through abundant natural resources of various kinds, to plentiful supplies of relatively low-cost, skilled and adaptable labour.
One survey of countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America and the Caribbean in the late 20th century found that high levels of structural differentiation, functional specialisation, and autonomy of economic systems from government were likely to contribute greatly to industrial-commercial growth and prosperity. Amongst other things, relatively open trading systems with zero or low duties on goods imports tended to stimulate industrial cost-

efficiency and innovation across the board. Free and flexible labour and other markets also helped raise general business-economic performance levels, as did rapid popular learning capabilities. Positive work ethics in populations at large combined with skills in quickly utilising new technologies and scientific discoveries were likely to boost production and income levels – and as the latter rose, markets for consumer goods and services of all kinds tended to expand and provide a further stimulus to industrial investment and economic growth. By the end of the century, East Asia was one of the most economically successful regions of the world – with free market countries such as Hong Kong being widely seen as models for other, less developed countries around the world to emulate.

Industrial Revolution
The Industrial Revolution was a period in the late 18th and early 19th centuries when major changes in agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation had a profound effect on the socioeconomic and cultural conditions in Britain. The changes subsequently spread throughout Europe, North America, and eventually the world. The onset of the Industrial Revolution marked a major turning point in human society; almost every aspect of daily life was eventually influenced in some way.
Technological innovation was the heart of the Industrial Revolution and the key enabling technology was the invention and improvement of the steam engine.
Industrialization is a process of economic and social change which shifts the centres of economic activity onto the focus of work, wages and incomes. These changes took 2 forms in the Canadian case. First, economic and social activities were transformed from being based on agriculture and the raw production of natural resources to manufacturing (both primary and secondary) and to services that were complementary to other activities. Second, economic and social activities shifted from rural and cottage industries to an urban core of industrial pursuits where production took place under the factory system, where technology used greater amounts of fixed capital equipment, and where a larger proportion of the population expected to be wage earners for all of their working lives. Therefore, industrialization brought major changes in the way society was organized and in the relations among different groups in society.

Industrialization in Asia
Apart for Japan, where industrialization began in the late 19th century, a different pattern of industrialization followed in East Asia. One of the fastest rates of industrialization occurred in the late 20th century across four countries known as the Asian tigers thanks to the existence of stable governments and well structured societies, strategic locations, heavy foreign investments, a low cost skilled and motivated workforce, a competitive exchange rate, and low custom duties.
In the case of South Korea, the largest of the four Asian tigers, a very fast paced industrialization took place as it quickly moved away from the manufacturing of value added goods in the 1950s and 60s into the more advanced steel, shipbuilding and automobile industry in the 1970s and 80s, focusing on the high-tech and service industry in the 1990s and 2000s. As a result, South Korea became a major global economic power today and is one of the wealthiest countries in Asia.
This starting model was afterwards successfully copied in other larger Eastern and Southern Asian countries, including communist ones. The success of this phenomenon led to a huge wave of offshoring – i.e., Western factories or tertiary corporations choosing to move their activities to countries where the workforce was less expensive and less collectively organized.
China and India, while roughly following this development pattern, made adaptations in line with their own histories and cultures, their major size and importance in the world, and the geo-political ambitions of their governments (etc.).

Currently, China's government is actively investing in expanding its own infrastructures and securing the required energy and raw materials supply channels, is supporting its exports by financing the United States balance payment deficit through the purchase of US treasury bonds, and is strengthening its military in order to endorse a major geopolitical role.

Meanwhile, India's government is investing in specific vanguard economic sectors such as bioengineering, nuclear technology, pharmaceutics, informatics, and technologically-oriented higher education, openly over passing its needs, with the goal of creating several specialization poles able to conquer foreign markets.

Both Chinese and Indian corporations have also started to make huge investments in Third World countries, making them significant players in today's world economy.

Modernization

The idea of modernization comes from a view of societies as having a standard evolutionary pattern, as described in the social evolutionism theories. According to this, each society would evolve inexorably from barbarism to ever greater levels of development and civilization. The more modern states would be wealthier and more powerful, and their citizens freer and having a higher standard of living. This was the standard view in the social sciences for many decades with its foremost advocate being Talcott Parsons. This theory stressed the importance of societies being open to change and saw reactionary forces as restricting development. Maintaining tradition for tradition's sake was thought to be harmful to progress and development.

This approach has been heavily criticized, mainly because it conflated modernization with Westernization. In this model, the modernization of a society required the destruction of the indigenous culture and its replacement by a more Westernized one. Technically *modernity* simply refers to the present, and any society still in existence is therefore modern. Proponents of modernization typically view only Western society as being truly modern arguing that others are primitive or unevolved by comparison. This view sees unmodernized societies as inferior even if they have the same standard of living as western societies. Opponents of this view argue that modernity is independent of culture and can be adapted to any society. Japan is cited as an example by both sides. Some see it as proof that a thoroughly modern way of life can exist in a non-western society. Others argue that Japan has become distinctly more western as a result of its modernization. In addition, this view is accused of being Eurocentric, as modernization began in Europe and has long been regarded as reaching its most advanced stage in Europe (by Europeans), and in Europe overseas (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand etc). Anthropologists typically make their criticism one step further generalized and say that this view is ethnocentric, not being specific to Europe, but Western culture in general.

According to the Social theorist Peter Wagner, modernization can be seen as processes, and as offensives. The former view is commonly projected by politicians and the media, and suggests that it is developments, such as new data technology or dated laws, which make modernization necessary or preferable. This view makes critique of modernization difficult, since it implies that it is these developments which control the limits of human interaction, and not vice versa. The latter view of modernization as offensives argues that both the developments and the altered opportunities made available by these developments, are shaped and controlled by human agents. The view of modernization as offensives therefore sees it as a product of human planning and action, an active process capable of being both changed and criticized. Modernization is most likely one of the most influential happenings in society.

Modernization theory is the theory used to summarize modern transformations of social life. Throughout certain periods of time, modernization theories attempt to identify the social

variables which contribute to the social progress and development of certain societies and seek to explain the details of social evolution. Not surprisingly, modernization theories are subject to much criticism stemming from the views of the communist and capitalist parties, world systems theorists, and globalization theory and Dependency theory. Modernization theory not only stresses the process of change, but also the response to that change. It also looks at internal dynamics referring to social and cultural structure and the adaptation of new technologies.

Development Journalism

The term "development journalism" is used to refer to two different types of journalism. The first is a new school of journalism which began to appear in the 1960s. The idea behind this type of development journalism is similar to investigative reporting, but it focuses on conditions in developing nations and ways to improve them. The other type of development journalism involves heavy influence from the government of the nation involved. While this type of development journalism can be a powerful tool for local education and empowerment, it can also be a means of suppressing information and restricting journalists.

The concept of development journalism in Africa is caught up in the historical evolution of the theory of development communication. This theory can be postulated in three historical moments, each with its own basic assumptions.

The first such moment was the 'modernization' paradigm. It dominated the period from about 1945 to 1965. It stressed the transfer of the technology and socio-political culture of modernity from the developed North to the Third World. It found its coherent articulation in Everett M Rogers' 'diffusion of innovations' perspective (in Banda 2003). The 'modernization' approach to development, described as the 'dominant paradigm' by Rogers (in Shah1996: 147), is represented by such scholars as Walt W Rostow (1960),

Everett M Rogers (1962) and Daniel Lerner (1958), who posit development, communication as an engine of change from the 'traditional' to the 'modern' society. According to Fjes (in Melkote 1991:38), "it was generally assumed that a nation became truly modern and developed when it arrived at the point where it closely resembled Western industrial nations in terms of political and economic behaviour and institutional attitudes towards technology and innovation, and social and psychic mobility."

The model is characterized by three mechanisms for 'modernizing' the 'traditional society': psycho-sociological, institutional and technological. The

'psycho-sociological' mechanism entails 'empathy', or the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation, which is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings. According to Lerner (1958), there is a correlation between the expansion of economic activity being equated with 'development' and a set of 'modernizing' variables, chief among which are urbanization, literacy, mass media use, and democratic participation. Recognizable within this view is the belief that the interaction between literacy and mass media can make people in Third World countries break out of the bonds of traditionalism and adopt modernizing values and practices (Melkote1991: 24-29). Thus, the role of the mass media would be to create awareness of, and interest in, the innovations espoused by change agents. It is clear that this mechanism was influenced to a large extent by the two-step flow model of media influence, with the notion of 'opinion leaders' playing a key role in bringing about modernizing practices among their fellow citizens.

Secondly, the diffusion approach looks to the mass media as an 'institutional' nexus of modernizing practices and institutions in society, functioning as 'watchdogs', 'policymakers' and 'teachers for change and modernization' (Shramm 1964). This approach further holds that traditional societies would have to go through a five-stage model of transition from a traditional economy to a modern industrial complex: the traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption (Rostow1960).

Thirdly, 'technological' advances would, according to this model, assist the shift towards the modern society. Technology, in and of itself, is thus treated as another driving force for development. Technology was seen as pivotal to the growth of productive agricultural and industrial sectors and therefore the transfer of technical know-how from the developed North was seen as extremely crucial for development in the Third World nations (Melkote 1991:24-29).

The second historical moment is the dependency-dissociation paradigm. This approach to development communication (and therefore development journalism) is associated with the elevation of the aspirations of the newly independent nations of the Third World for political, economic and cultural self-determination and an ideological distancing from Western forms of modernization (Servaes 2004: 56; Servaes 1991; Servaes 2002).This orientation was a reflection of a broader political agenda of 'non-alignment' espoused by the new states in Africa and Asia. These nations shared the idea of independence from the superpowers and formed the Non-Aligned Nations.

This movement, whose philosophy was to keep out of the Cold War between the West and the then Soviet Union, played an important role in the debate on a new world information and communication order (NWICO) (Servaes 2004: 56).

The debate about the role of African media systems in the flow of information between and among nations assumed a crescendo in the promulgation of a New Information and Communication Order (NWICO) by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Africans had long been dissatisfied with what they saw as a negative image of them projected in the major news agencies of the world. This was behind their cry for a NWICO in the late 1970s. The NWICO was the information counterpart of the arguments put forth by Third World nations in the 1970s for a New World Economic Order (Bourg Ault 1994: 175)

In the late 1970s, UNESCO took up the debate on behalf of the Third World.
Within the heated political context of the time, the Pan-African News Agency
(PANA) was created by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1979. PANA's aims were 'to rectify the distorted image of Africa created by the international news agencies and to let the voice of Africa be heard on the international news scene' (in Bourgault 1994: 175).

Public service broadcasting (PSB) in the context of development journalism
Like development journalism, the concept of public service broadcasting
(PSB) is caught up in historical baggage. Clearly, both development journalism and PSB are implicated in state-political maneuvering. Both, however, can be cleansed from this murky situation, especially in countries where there is a clear commitment to democratizing civic and political participation.

Conceptualizing PSB
Although PSB is inherited from the BBC model, it is increasingly being reinterpreted to accommodate national specificities. In South Africa, it is associated with the task of national unity and reconciliation (cf. Fourie [Sa]). In Malawi, PSB is seen as representing Malawi 'to the World and to observe the principles and norms of a democratic society' (Ministry of Information 1998: 18). In Ghana, it seems to echo the state's concern about 'shaping national identity' (Financing a public good… 2005). PSB is thus shaped by the political circumstances within which it has evolved, mostly finding itself performing the nationalist functions of the transitional postcolonial states.
This 'functionalist' approach has had several consequences for media production on the continent. For one thing, the pre-determined 'functions' seemed to dislocate the media from their social, political and cultural context made up of different interest groups and the potential among these groups for differentiated appropriations of the roles of the media. Indeed, by over emphasizing the functionalism of the media, the nationalist leaders have assumed that postcolonial societies would evolve un-problematically in an integrated, harmonious and cohesive manner, disregarding the notion that the media do not necessarily have the same functions for the same group of people or groups in society (in Fourie 2001: 266). This essentialist insistence on 'national building' has worked against, for example, ethnic and racial diversity and difference. This 'dogmatic' approach to a uniformity of media functions has also generally resulted in intolerance on the part of the nationalist leaders. As noted above, it is all too easy to dismiss any genuine criticism of their performance as 'destructive' to the national project of unity and reconstruction (cf. Bourgualt 1995: 153-179).

It is interesting to note that this functionalist approach was reminiscent of the original conceptualization of PSB in the colonisers' own countries. For example, following from the Reithian conception (John Reith was the first Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC]), the functions of PSB have become associated with producing 'quality programming' aimed at:

- Providing citizens (as opposed to consumers in the market approach)
- with information that will allow them to participate fully in their societies;
- Fostering their development, curiosity and education;
- tapping the best of a nation's cultural resources in literature, art, drama,
- science, history, et cetera; and
- expressing national and regional cultural diversity (in Fourie [Sa]).

The above formulation of PSB is, in fact, located in the classic definition of PSB formulated by the now defunct UK Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU). According to the BRU, PSB is broadcasting that specifies the following elements:

- universal accessibility (geographicality);
- universal appeal (general tastes and interests);
- particular attention to minorities;
- contribution to a sense of national identity and community;
- distance from vested interests;
- direct funding and universality of payment;
- competition in good programming rather than for numbers; and
- guidelines that liberate rather than restrict programme makers (in Raboy 1996:2829).

Comparing PSB and development journalism

Public Service Broadcasting (PSB)
- Universal accessibility
- Universal appeal
- Attention to minorities
- National identity & community
- Distance from vested interests
- Direct funding & universality of payment
- Good programming
- Independent programme-making

Development Journalism (DJ)
- Focus on rural (remotest) areas
- Views 'development' holistically, as 'appealing' to all
- Inclusive of hitherto unheard voices
- Cultural identity and community
- Journalistic 'agency' or 'free will'
- Distant from the influence of the market and of the state
- Values 'quality' content, by infusing grassroots voices as well
- Values independent & democratic participation

Implementing development journalism in the context of PSB
In view of the analysis I have undertaken, it seems reasonable to suggest some practical lines of action for implementing a 'development journalism' strategy within the context of PSB.3Austin (2002) suggests five strategies for implementing public journalism. I appropriate these for the purpose of practising development journalism.

The ethnography of journalism: framing audiences as citizens
A significant part of implementing development journalism is recognising that people are not consumers of media products. They are, first and foremost, citizens, whose voices must be heard. They are the subject of development, hence Amatya Sen's emphasis on 'social development' rather than just econometrics or measures of economic growth (national income, gross domestic product, gross national product, etc.).

Framing audiences as 'citizens' places a responsibility on the PSB operator to see people as actively involved in their destinies – politics, economics, education, health, culture, etc. They cease to be merely the objects of mediation; they become the subjects of mediation and are active in constructing their social worlds and finding solutions to problems within those worlds.

The technological apparatus of the PSB operator is reconfigured to invite more participation from the people. That might mean more telephone lines opened up for citizen participation; more cameras made available for outside broadcasting; more reporters assigned to attend to people's issues and problems; greater use of vox populi (voice of the people) in news stories; and less use of 'expert' sources of information.

The art of public listening
Learning to listen to citizens in new ways is the most transformative step in the practice of (development) journalism, because it is ultimately humbling.

The journalist who drops all preconceived notions of news and instead listens for how citizens see things learns something new. Such a process of listening will almost invaluably result in a deeper connection with the people and compel the journalist to initial changes in reporting techniques. Alternative coverage is likely to emerge, encompassing news sources, group interviews or broad source base such as an interview pool of poll respondents. Out of listening, the journalist might step out of the world of official/governmental communications, and enter into organic relationships with real people, whose language is more often different from that of the official/governmental sources of information. Their language tends to be 'sanitised', less reflective of the

complexities of human development. Official language sometimes tends to be lost in the jargon of public administration, disconnected from the real problems, needs and aspirations of the people.

Promoting a deliberative citizenry
A third important aspect of implementing development journalism is to promote deliberation – serious dialogue – among the people, and between the people and their governors at different levels. Dialogue emerges as the

journalist facilitates conversation among communities of people. In so doing, the reporter discovers that people have a good understanding of issues that directly affect them. Their understandings and perspectives are an outcome of personal experience and emotion.

Citizen-based framing of development
Journalists who have engaged in deliberative conversations come slowly to recognise that the basic cut or 'frame' citizens put around issues is a different way of looking at a problem than the lens through which journalists or policy makers see things. Consequently, they often drop the claim that their everyday choices about coverage are neutral. They recognise that issue- framing itself is an act charged with consequences for public life. Fairness and even-handed treatment remain as essentials in reporting and editing, but the work is done with an awareness of journalist's power, informed by the conscious understanding that only citizens can name and frame their problems effectively. This resonates with Freire's notion of participatory communication as a form of dialogical pedagogy in which the receiver would be liberated from his/her mental inertia, penetrate the ideological mist imposed by the elites, and perceive the realities of his/her existence (Freire1996).

Towards an engaged and engaging journalism
Finally, development journalism must embolden its practitioners to actively seek the engagement of citizens in the process of developmental problem- solving. Austin (2002: 4) put it aptly: 'When public

journalism is effective, it leaves something behind – a conversational effect, at the least, and, at best, an ongoing structure for citizen engagement.' Likewise, when development journalism is effective, it should leave something behind.

The Dominant Paradigm

Behavior change models have been the dominant paradigm in the field of development communication. Different theories and strategies shared the premise that problems of development were basically rooted in lack of knowledge and that, consequently, interventions needed to provide people with information to change behavior.

The early generation of development communication studies was dominated by modernization theory. This theory suggested that cultural and information deficits lie underneath development problems, and therefore could not be resolved only through economic assistance (a la Marshall Plan in post-war Europe). Instead, the difficulties in Third World countries were at least partially related to the existence of a traditional culture that inhibited development. Third World countries lacked the necessary culture to move into a modern stage. Culture was viewed as the "bottleneck" that prevented the adoption of modern attitudes and behavior. McClelland (1961) and Hagen (1962), for example, understood that personalities determined social structure. Traditional personalities, characterized by authoritarianism, low self-esteem, and resistance to innovation, were diametrically different from modern personalities and, consequently, anti-development.

These studies best illustrated one of modernization's central tenets: ideas are the independent variable that explains specific outcomes. Based on this diagnosis, development communication proposed that changes in ideas would result in transformations in behavior. The underlying premise, originated in classic sociological theories, was that there is a necessary fitness between a "modern" culture and economic and political development. The low rate of agricultural output, the high rate of fertility and mortality, or the low rates of literacy found in the underdeveloped world were explained by the persistence of traditional values and attitudes that prevented modernization. The goal was, therefore, to instill modern values and information through the transfer of media technology and the adoption of innovations and culture originated in the developed world. The Western model of development was upheld as the model to be emulated   worldwide.

Because the problem of underdeveloped regions was believed to be an information problem, communication was presented as the instrument that would solve it. As theorized by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964), communication basically meant the transmission of information. Exposure to mass media was one of the factors among others (e.g. urbanization, literacy) that could bring about modern attitudes. This knowledge-transfer model defined the field for years to come. Both Lerner's and Schramm's analyses and recommendations had a clear pro-media, pro-innovation, and pro-persuasion focus. The emphasis was put on media-centered persuasion activities that could improve literacy and, in turn,   allow   populations   to   break   free   from   traditionalism.

This view of change originated in two communication models. One was the Shannon-Weaver model of sender-receiver, originally developed in engineering studies that set out to explain the transmission of information among machines. It became extremely influential in communication studies. The other was the propaganda model developed during World War II according to which the mass media had "magic bullet"   effects   in   changing   attitudes   and   behavior.

From a transmission/persuasion perspective, communication was understood as a linear, unidirectional process in which senders send information through media channels to receivers. Consequently, development communication was equated with the massive introduction of media technologies to promote modernization, and the widespread adoption of the mass media (newspapers, radio, cinemas, and later television) was seen as pivotal for the effectiveness of communication interventions. The media were both channels and indicators of modernization: they would serve as the agents of diffusion of modern culture, and also, suggested the degree of modernization of society.

The Industrial Revolution

During the later 1800s, it was usually accompanied by foreign colonization and domestic urbanization. The older paradigm stressed economic growth (through industrialization) as the key to development. At the heart of industrialization were technology and capital, which substituted for labor. This simple synthesis of development may have been a correct lesson based on the experience of the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and North America. But now we know that what happened in Western nations while on their pathways to development is not necessarily an accurate predictor of the process in non-Western states. For instance, European nations were often greatly aided in their socioeconomic transformation by their exploitation of colonies.

New Approaches to Development / The Rise and Fall of the Dominant Paradigm Capital-intensive technology. More-developed nations possessed such technology. Less-developed nations had less of it. So the implication seemed plain:

Introduce the technology in the less-developed countries and they would be-come relatively more developed too.

When the needed social structures did not always materialize in less-developed countries, the fault was accorded to "traditional" ways of thinking, beliefs, and social values. Social science research was aimed at identifying the individual variables on which rapid change was needed and the modernization of these traditional attitudes become a priority task of various government agencies, an activity in which the mass media were widely utilized.

Economic growth

It was assumed that "man" was economic, that he would respond rationally to economic

incentives, that the profit motive would be sufficient to motivate the widespread and large-scale behavior changes required for development to occur. Economists were firmly in the driver's seat of development programs. They defined the problem of underdevelopment largely in economic terms, and in turn this perception of the problem

as predominantly economic in nature helped to put, and to keep, economists in charge.

The focus on economic growth carried with it an "aggregate bias" about development: It had to be planned and executed by national governments. Local communities, of course,

would be changed eventually by such development, but their advance was thought to depend upon the provision of information and resource inputs from higher levels. Autonomous self-development was considered unlikely or impossible. In any event, it seemed too slow. Further, growth was thought to be infinite. Those rare observers who pointed out that known supplies of coal or oil or some other resource would run out in so many years were considered alarmists, and they were told that new technology would be invented to compensate for future shortages.

Quantification

One reason for reliance on per capita income as the main index of development was its deceitful simplicity of measurement. The expression "quality of life" was seldom heard until the very late 1960s. Further, the quantification of development invoked a very short-range perspective of the past ten or twenty or twenty-five years at most. It was easy to forget the old centers of civilization, whose rich cultures had in fact provided the basis for Western cultures. Such old cultures were now poor (in a cash sense), and, even if their family life displayed a warmer intimacy and their artistic triumphs were greater, that was not development. It could not be measured in dollars.

Further, what was quantified about development was usually just growth, measured in the aggregate or on a per capita basis. Development policies of the 1950s and 1960s paid little attention to the equality of development benefits. The growth-first-and-let-equality-

come-later mentality often was justified by the "trickle-down" theory: Leading sectors, once advanced, would then spread their advantage to the lagging sectors. It was not until the 1970s that the focus of quantification began to shift to measures of the equality of distribution. Western models of development assumed that the main causes of under-development lay within the underdeveloped nation rather than external to it.

The causes were thought to be (1) of an individual-blame nature (peasants were traditional, fatalistic, and generally unresponsive to technological innovation), or (2) of a

social-structural nature within the nation (for example, a tangled government bureaucracy, a top-heavy land-tenure system). Western intellectual models of

development, and Euro-American technical assistance programs based on such models, were less likely to recognize the importance to a nation's development of external constraints such as international terms of trade, the economic imperialism of international corporations, and the vulnerability and dependence of the recipients of technical assistance programs.

In the late 1960s and the 1970s world events, combined with intellectual critiques, began to crack the credibility of the dominant paradigm.

The ecological disgust with environmental pollution in the developed nations led to their questioning whether they were, after all, such ideal models for development. Population pressures on available resources helped create doubts about whether unending economic growth was possible or desirable, and whether high technology was the most appropriate engine for development.   The world oil crises demonstrated that certain developing countries could make their own rules of the international game, and also produced some suddenly rich developing nations. Their escape from national poverty, even though in part at the expense of other developed countries, was a lesson to their neighbors in Latin

America, Asia, and Africa. No longer were these nations willing to accept prior assumptions that the causes of underdevelopment were mainly internal.

In addition, the sudden opening of international relations with the People's Republic of

China allowed the rest of the world to learn details of her pathway to development. Here

was one of the poorest countries, and the largest, that in two decades created a public health and family planning system that was envied by the richest nations; well-fed and well-clothed citizens; increasing equality; and an enviable status for women. All this was accomplished with very little foreign assistance and presumably without much capitalistic competition. China, and to a lesser extent, Cuba, Tanzania, and Chile (in the early 1970s) suggested that there were alternatives to the dominant paradigm.

Finally, and perhaps most convincing of all, was the discouraging realization that development was not going very well in the developing countries that had closely followed the paradigm. However one measured development in most of the nations of Latin America, Africa, and Asia in the past twenty-five years, not much of it had occurred. Instead, most "development" efforts had brought further stagnation, a greater concentration of income and power, high unemployment, and food shortages in these nations. If these past development programs represented any kind of test of the intellectual paradigm on which they were based, the model had been found rather seriously wanting.

New Approaches to Development The Rise and Fall of the Dominant Paradigm From these events grew the conclusion that there are many alternative pathways to development. While their exact combination would be somewhat different in every nation, some of the main elements in this newer conception began to emerge:

The equality of distribution of information, socioeconomic benefits, etc.   This new emphasis in development led to the realization that villagers and urban poor should be the

priority audience for development programs and, more generally, that the closing of socioeconomic gaps by bringing up the lagging sectors was a priority task in many nations.

Popular participation in self-development planning and execution, usually accompanied

by the decentralization of certain of these activities to the village level. Development came to be less a mere function of what national governments did to villagers, although it was recognized that government assistance was necessary even in local self-development.

Self-reliance and independence in development, with an emphasis upon the potential of local resources. Not only may international and bi national technical assistance be rejected, but so, too, are most external models of development-leading to a viewpoint that

every nation, and perhaps each village, may develop in its own way. If this occurs, of course, standardized indices of the rate of development become inappropriate and largely irrelevant.

Integration of traditional with modern systems so that modernization is a syncretization of old and new ideas, with the exact mixture somewhat different in each locale. The integration of Chinese medicine with Western scientific medicine in contemporary

China is an example of this approach to development. Acupuncture and antibiotics

mix quite well.

The rise of alternatives to the old paradigm of development implies that the role of communication in development must also change.

A decade or so ago, mass communication was often thought to be a very powerful and

direct force for development. This period was characterized by considerable optimism about the potential contribution of communication, one that was consistent with the generally upbeat opinion about the possibilities for rapid development.2 certainly, the media were expanding during the 1950s and 1960s. Literacy was becoming more widespread in most developing nations, leading to greater print media exposure.

Transistor radios were penetrating every village. A predominantly one-way flow of communication from government development agencies to the people was implied by the dominant paradigm. And the mass media seemed ideally suited to this role. They could

rapidly reach large audiences with informative and persuasive messages about the details

of development.

In the early 1960s, the relative power of the mass media in bringing about development

was mainly assumed rather than proven. Gradually, it was realized that the role of mass

communication in facilitating development was often indirect and only contributory to other social factors rather than direct and independently powerful.

Self-development implies a different role for communication than the usual top-down development approach of the past. Technical information about development problems and possibilities and about appropriate innovations is sought by local systems from the central government. The role of government development agencies, then, is mainly to

communicate in answer to these locally-initiated requests, rather than to design and conduct top-down communication campaigns.

As a commentary on how the present author's conception of development has changed,

compare this definition with one that I proposed a decade ago: "Development is a type of

social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce

higher per-capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods

and improved social organization" .

The major change in conceptions of the role of communication in development from the

1960s to the 1970s is illustrated by comparing the two books edited by Lerner and Schramm in 1967 (1) and in 1976 (4).

New Approaches to Development / The Rise and Fall of the Dominant Paradigm Key elements in self-development approaches are participation, mass mobilization, and group efficacy, with the main responsibility for development planning and execution being at the local level. The main roles of mass communication in self-development may be summarized as (1) providing technical information about development problems and possibilities and about appropriate innovations, in answer to local requests, and (2) circulating information about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so

that other such groups may profit from their experience and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance.

Further, after a decade or more of enthusiasm for "big media" (like instructional

television, satellite broadcasting, and computers) in seeking to achieve development in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the 1970s marked a return to the use of radio and "little media." These lower-cost communication channels (especially radio) reach wide audiences in most developing countries, including villages and urban poor. Such media seem uniquely able to close the communication effects gap between elites and the masses, or at least not to widen it further. These "little media" are often used in development campaigns as one part of a communication system in which the audience is organized into small listening and discussion groups to facilitate feedback to the communicators. The fall of the dominant paradigm of development is an example of a shift to a more international behavioral science, in which Western thought is but one ingredient.

The emphasis on the diffusion of media technologies meant that modernization could be measured and quantified in terms of media penetration. The numbers of television and radio sets and newspaper consumption were accepted as indicators of modern attitudes (Lerner 1958, Inkeles & Smith 1974). Statistics produced by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) showing the penetration of newspapers, radio and television sets became proxy of development. Researchers found that in countries where people were more exposed to modern media, more favorable attitudes towards modernization and development. Based on these findings, national governments and

specialists agreed to champion the media as instruments for the dissemination of modern ideas that would improve agriculture, health, education, and politics. So-called "small" media such as publications, posters and leaflets were also recommended as crucial to the success of what became known as Development Support Communication, that is, the creation of the human environment necessary for a development

The "diffusion of innovations" theory elaborated by Everett Rogers (1962, 1983) became one of the most influential modernization theories. It has been said that Rogers' model has ruled development communication for decades and became the blueprint for communication activities in development. Rogers' intention was to understand the adoption of new behaviors. The premise was that innovations diffuse over time according to individuals' stages. Having reviewed over 500 empirical studies in the early 1960s, Rogers posited five stages through which an individual passes in the adoption of innovations: awareness, knowledge and interest, decision, trial, and adoption/rejection. Populations were divided in different groups according to their propensity to incorporate innovations and timing in actually adopting them. Rogers proposed that early adopters act as models to emulate and generate a climate of acceptance and an appetite for change, and those who are slow to adopt are laggards. This latter category was assumed to describe the vast majority of the population in the Third World.

For Rogers, the subculture of the peasantry offered important psychological constraints on the incorporation of innovations, and consequently, development. His view on development reflected the transmission bias also found in Lerner and Schramm. According to Rogers, development communications entailed a "process by which an idea is transferred from a source to a receiver with the intent to change his behavior. Usually the source wants to alter the receiver's knowledge of some idea, create or change his attitude toward the idea, or persuade him to adopt the idea as part of his regular behavior" (Rogers 1962).

However, diverging from the media-centrism and "magic bullet" theory of effects that underpinned earlier analyses, Rogers and subsequent "diffusion" studies concluded that the media had a great importance in increasing awareness but that interpersonal communication and personal sources were crucial in making decisions to adopt innovations. This revision incorporated insights from the opinion leader theory (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955) according to which there are two steps in information flow: from the media to opinion leaders, and from leaders to the masses. Media audiences rely on the opinions of members of their social networks rather solely or mainly on the mass media. In contrast to powerful media effects models that suggested a direct relation between the mass media and the masses, Lazarsfeld and Katz found that interpersonal relations were crucial in channeling and shaping opinion. This insight was incorporated in diffusion studies, which proposed that both exposure to mass media and face-to-face interaction were necessary to induce effective change. The effectiveness of field workers in transmitting information in agricultural development projects also suggested the importance of interpersonal networks in disseminating innovations (Hornik 1988). Consequently, a triadic model of communication was recommended that included change agents, beneficiaries, and communicators.

Confirming Lerner's and Schramm's ideas, another important finding of diffusion research was that what motivate change are not economics but communication and culture. This is what studies on how farmers adopted new methods showed. Such studies were particularly influential because a substantial amount of early efforts targeted agricultural development in the Third World (Rogers 1983). Other applications targeted literacy programs and health issues, mainly family planning and nutrition.

In the mid-1970s, main representatives of modernization/diffusion theories considered it necessary to review some basic premises (Rogers 1976, 1983). In a widely quoted article, Rogers admitted "the passing of the dominant paradigm." Schramm and Rogers recognized that early views had individualistic and psychological biases. It was necessary to be sensitive to the specific sociocultural environment in which "communication" took place, an issue that was neglected in early analyses. To a large extent, these

revisions resulted from the realization that the "trickle down" model that was originally championed was not proven to be effective in instrumenting change. The stages model remained but the top-down perspective according to which innovations diffuse from above needed modification.

Other positions suggested that the traditional model needed to integrate a process orientation that was not only focused on the results of intervention but also to pay attention to content, and address the cognitive dimensions (not just behavior). Many of these observations were integrated into the diffusion approach. By the mid-1970s, Rogers' definition of communication showed important changes that partially responded to criticisms. Development was theorized as a participatory process of social change intended to bring social and material advancement. Communication was no longer focused on persuasion (transmission of information between individuals and groups), but was understood as a "process by which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding" (Rogers 1976).

Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies and Strategies in Development Communication

Introduction
This report presents a family tree of theories, concepts, methodologies and strategies for change in the field of development communication. It presents a chronological evolution and comparison of approaches and findings. The goal of this report is to clarify the understandings and the uses of the most influential theories, strategies, and techniques.
Theory refers to sets of concepts and propositions that articulate relations among variables to explain and predict situations and results. Theories explain the nature and causes of a given problem and provide guidelines for practical interventions. Diagnoses of problems translate into strategies, that is, specific courses of action for programmatic interventions that use a variety of techniques.

Since the 1950s, a diversity of theoretical and empirical traditions has converged in the field of development communication. Such convergence produced a rich analytical vocabulary but also conceptual confusion. The field has not experienced a unilinear evolution in which new approaches superseded and replaced previous ones. Instead, different theories and practices that originated in different disciplines have existed and have been used simultaneously. This report identifies the main theoretical approaches and their practical applications, traces their origins, draws comparisons, and indicates strengths and weaknesses. It also analyzes the main understandings of development communication that express the outlook of the main "trunks" and "branches" of the family tree.

Development Communication
Development communication has its origins in post-war international aid programs to countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa that were struggling with poverty, illiteracy, poor health and a lack of economic, political and social infrastructures. Development communication commonly refers to the application of communication strategies and principles in the developing world. It is derived from theories of development and social change that identified the main problems of the post-war world in terms of a lack of development or progress equivalent to Western countries.
Development theories have their roots in mid-century optimism about the prospects that large parts of the post-colonial world could eventually "catch-up" and resemble Western countries. After the last remains of European empires in Africa and Asia crumbled in the 1950s and 1960s, a dominant question in policy and academic quarters was how to address the abysmal disparities between the developed and underdeveloped worlds.
Development originally meant the process by which Third World societies could become more like Western developed societies as measured in terms of political system, economic growth, and educational levels (Inkeles & Smith 1974). Development was synonymous with political democracy, rising levels of productivity and industrialization high literacy rates, longer life expectancy, and the like. The implicit assumption was that there was one form of development as expressed in developed countries that underdeveloped societies needed to replicate.
Since then, numerous studies have provided diverse definitions of development communication. Definitions reflect different scientific premises of researchers as well as interests and political agendas of a myriad of foundations and organizations in the development field. Recent definitions state that the ultimate goal of "development communication" is to raise the quality of life of populations, including increase income and well-being, eradicate social injustice, promote land reform and freedom of speech, and establish community centers for leisure and entertainment (Melkote 1991, 229). The current aim of development communication is to remove constraints for a more equal and participatory society.
Although a multiplicity of theories and concepts emerged during the past fifty years, studies and interventions have fundamentally offered two different diagnoses and answers to the problem of underdevelopment. While one position has argued that the problem was largely due to lack of information among populations, the other one suggested that power inequality was the underlying problem. Because the diagnoses were different, recommendations were different, too. Running the risk of

overgeneralization, it could be said that theories and intervention approaches fell in different camps on the following points:

- Cultural vs. environmental explanations for underdevelopment.

- Psychological vs. socio-political theories and interventions.

- Attitudinal and behavior models vs. structural and social models.

- Individual vs. community-centered interventions development.

- Hierarchical and sender-oriented vs. horizontal and participatory communication models.

- Active vs. passive conceptions of audiences and populations.

- Participation as means vs. participation as end approaches.

These divergences are explored in the examination of theories and approaches below.

THE DOMINANT PARADIGM
Behavior change models have been the dominant paradigm in the field of development communication. Different theories and strategies shared the premise that problems of development were basically rooted in lack of knowledge and that, consequently, interventions needed to provide people with information to change behavior.

The early generation of development communication studies was dominated by modernization theory. This theory suggested that cultural and information deficits lieunderneath development problems, and therefore could not be resolved only through economic assistance (a la Marshall Plan in post-war Europe). Instead, the difficulties in Third World countries were at least partially related to the existence of a traditional culture that inhibited development. Third World countries lacked the necessary culture to move into a modern stage. Culture was viewed as the "bottleneck" that prevented the adoption of modern attitudes and behavior. McClelland (1961) and Hagen (1962), for example, understood that personalities determined social structure. Traditional personalities, characterized by authoritarianism, low self-esteem, and resistance to innovation, were diametrically different from modern personalities and, consequently, anti-development.

These studies best illustrated one of modernization's central tenets: ideas are the independent variable that explains specific outcomes. Based on this diagnosis, development communication proposed that changes in ideas would result in transformations in behavior. The underlying premise, originated in classic sociological theories, was that there is a necessary fitness between a "modern" culture and economic and political development. The low rate of agricultural output, the high rate of fertility and mortality, or the low rates of literacy found in the underdeveloped world were explained by the persistence of traditional values and attitudes that prevented modernization. The goal was, therefore, to instill modern values and information through the transfer of media technology and the adoption of innovations and culture originated in the developed world. The Western model of development was upheld as the model to be emulated worldwide.

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This knowledge-transfer model defined the field for years to come. Both Lerner's and Schramm's analyses and recommendations had a clear pro-media, pro-innovation, and pro-persuasion focus. The

emphasis was put on media-centered persuasion activities that could improve literacy and, in turn, allow populations to break free from traditionalism.

This view of change originated in two communication models. One was the Shannon- Weaver model of sender-receiver, originally developed in engineering studies that set out to explain the transmission of information among machines. It became extremely influential in communication studies. The other was the propaganda model developed during World War II according to which the mass media had "magic bullet" effects in changing attitudes and behavior.

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Theories in the Tradition of the Dominant Paradigm
In the early 1970s, modernization theory was the dominant paradigm of development communication. The climate of enthusiasm and "missionary zeal," as Wilbur Schramm (1997) described it, that had existed a decade earlier had notably receded but the notion that the diffusion of information and innovations could solve problems of underdevelopment prevailed.

Social marketing
Social marketing has been one of the approaches that has carried forward the premises of diffusion of innovation and behavior change models. Since the 1970s, social marketing has been one of the most influential strategies in the field of development communication.

The origins of social marketing hark back to the intention of marketing to expand its disciplinary boundaries. It was clearly a product of specific political and academic developments in the United States that were later incorporated into development projects.

Among various reasons, the emergence of social marketing responded to two main developments: the political climate in the late 1960s that put pressure on various disciplines to attend to social issues, and the

emergence of nonprofit organizations that found marketing to be a useful tool (Elliott 1991). Social marketing was marketing's response to the need to be "socially relevant" and "socially responsible." It was a reaction of marketing as both discipline and industry to be sensitive to social issues and to strive towards the social good. But it was also a way for marketing to provide intervention tools to organizations whose business was the promotion of social change.

Social marketing consisted of putting into practice standard techniques in commercial marketing to promote pro-social behavior. From marketing and advertising, it imported theories of consumer behavior into the development communication. The analysis of consumer behavior required to understand the complexities, conflicts and influences that cretae consumer needs and how needs can be met (Novelli 1990). Influences include environmental, individual, and information processing and decision making. At the core of social marketing theory is the exchange model according to which individuals, groups and organizations exchange resources for perceived benefits of purchasing products. The aim of interventions is to create voluntary exchanges.

In terms of its place on the "family tree" of development communication, social marketing did not come out of diffusion or participatory theories, the traditions that dominated the field in the early 1970s. Social marketing was imported from a discipline that until then had little to do with modernization or dependency theories, the then- dominant approaches in development communication. Social marketing grew out of the disciplines of advertising and marketing in the United States. The central premise of these disciplines underlies social marketing strategies: the goal of an advertising/marketing campaign is to make the public aware about the existence, the price, and the benefits of specific products.

Social marketing's focus on behavior change, understanding of communication as persuasion ("transmission of information"), and top-down approach to instrument change suggested an affinity with modernization and diffusion of innovation theories. Similar to diffusion theory, it conceptually subscribed to a sequential model of behavior change in which individuals cognitively move from acquisition of knowledge to adjustment of attitudes toward behavior change. However, it was not a natural extension of studies in development communication.

What social marketing brought was a focus on using marketing techniques such as market segmentation and formative research to maximize the effectiveness of interventions. The use of techniques from commercial advertising and marketing to promote social/political goals in international issues was not new in the 1970s. Leading advertising agencies and public relations firms had already participated in support of U.S. international policies, most notably during the two wars in drumming up domestic approval and mobilization for war efforts. Such techniques, however, had not been used before to "sell" social programs and goals worldwide.

One of the standard definitions of social marketing states that "it is the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving consideration of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (Kotler and Zaltman 1971, 5). More recently, Andreasen (1994, 110) has defined it as "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part." Others have defined it as the application of management and marketing technologies to pro-social and nonprofit programs (Meyer & Dearing 1996).

Social marketing suggested that the emphasis should be put not so much on getting ideas out or transforming attitudes but influencing behavior. For some of its best-known proponents, behavior change is social marketing's bottom line, the goal that sets it apart from education or propaganda. Unlike commercial marketing, which is not concerned with the social consequences of its actions, the social marketing model centers on communication campaigns designed to promote socially beneficial practices or products in a target group.

Social marketing's goal is to position a product such as condoms by giving information that could help fulfill, rather than create, uncovered demand. It intends to "reduce the psychological, social, economic and practical distance between the consumer and the behavior" (Wallack et al, 1993, 21). The goal would be to make condom-use affordable, available and atractive (Steson & David 1999). If couples of reproductive age do not want more children but do not use any contraceptive, the task of social marketing is to find out why and what information needs to be provided so they can make informed choices. This requires sorting out cultural beliefs that account for such behavior or for why people are unwilling to engage in certain health practices even when they are informed about their positive results. This knowledge is the baseline that allows successful positioning of a product. A product needs to be positioned in the context of community beliefs.

In the United States, social marketing has been extensively applied in public information campaigns that targeted a diversity of problems such as smoking, alcoholism, seat-belt use, drug abuse, eating habits, venereal diseases, littering and protection of forests. The Stanford Three-Community Study of Heart Disease is frequently mentioned as one of the most fully documented applications of the use of marketing strategies. Designed and implemented as a strictly controlled experiment, it offered evidence that it is possible to change behavior through the use of marketing methodologies. The campaign included television spots, television programming, radio spots, newspaper advertisements and stories, billboard messages and direct mail. In one town the media campaign was supplemented by interpersonal communication with a random group of individuals at risk of acquiring heart disease. Comparing results among control and experimental communities, the research concluded that media could be a powerful inducer of change, especially when aligned with the interpersonal activities of community groups (Flora, Maccoby, and Farquhar 1989).

Social marketing has been used in developing countries in many interventions such as condom use, breast-feeding, and immunization programs. According to Chapman Walsh and associates (1993, 107-108), "early health applications of social marketing emerged as part of the international development efforts and were implemented in the third world during the 1960s and 1970s. Programs promoting immunization, family planning, various agricultural reforms, and nutrition were conducted in numerous countries in Africa, Asia and South America during the 1970s…The first nationwide contraceptive program social marketing program, the Nirodh condom project in India, began in 1967 with funding from the Ford Foundation." The substantial increase in condom sales was attributed to the distribution and promotion of condoms at a subsidized price. The success of the Indian experience informed subsequent social marketing interventions such as the distribution of infant-weaning formula in public health clinics.

According to Fox (N.D.), "problems arose with the social marketing approach, however, over the motives of their sponsors, the effectiveness of their applications, and, ultimately, the validity of their results. The social marketing of powdered milk products, replacing or supplementing breastfeeding in the third world, provides an example of these problems. In the 1960's multinational firms selling infant formulas moved into the virgin markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Booklets, mass media, loudspeaker vans, and distribution through the medical profession were used in successful promotion campaigns to switch traditional breastfeeding to artificial products. Poor people, however, could not afford such products, and many mothers diluted the formula to make it last longer or were unable to properly sterilize the water or bottle. The promotion of breast milk substitutes often resulted in an erosion of breastfeeding and led to increases in diarrhea diseases and malnutrition, contributing to the high levels of infant mortality in the third world."

Critics have lambasted social marketing for manipulating populations and being solely concerned with goals without regard for means. For much of its concerns about ethics, critics argue, social marketing subscribes to a utilitarian ethical model that prioritizes ends over means. In the name of achieving certain goals, social marketing justifies any

methods. Like marketing, social marketing deceives and manipulates people into certain behaviors (Buchanan, Reddy & Hossain 1994).

Social marketers have responded by arguing that campaigns inform publics and that they use methods that are not intrinsically good or bad. Judgments should be contingent on what goals they are meant to serve, they argue. Moreover, the widely held belief that marketing has the ability to trick and make people do what otherwise they would not is misinformed and incorrect. The reluctance of people to tailor behavior to the recommendations of social marketing campaigns, and the fact that campaigns need to be adjusted to socio-cultural contexts and morals are evidence that social marketing lacks the much-attributed power of manipulating audiences. If a product goes against traditional beliefs and behavior, campaigns are likely to fail.

Social marketing needs to be consumer oriented, and knowledgeable of the belief systems and the communication channels used in a community (Maibach 1993). Products need to be marketed according to the preferences and habits of customers. Market research is necessary because it provides development specialists with tools to know consumers better and, therefore, to prevent potential problems and pitfalls in behavior change. This is precisely marketing's main contribution: systematic, reasearch-based information about consumers that is indiuspensable for the success of interventions. Marketing research techniques are valuable for finding out thoughts and attitudes about a given issue that help prevent possible failures and position a product.

For its advocates, one of the main strengths of social marketing is that it allows to position products and concepts in traditional belief systems. The inclination of many programs to forgo in-depth research of targeted populations for funding or time considerations, social marketers suggest, reflects the lack of understanding about the need to have basic research to plan, execute and evaluate interventions. They argue that social marketing cannot manipulate populations by positioning a product with false appeals to local beliefs and practices. If the desired behavior is not present in the local population, social marketing cannot deceive by wrapping the product with existing beliefs. When a product is intended to have effects that are not present in the target population, social marketers cannot provide false information that may resonate with local belief systems but, instead, need to provide truthful information about its consequences. For example, if "dehydration" does not exist as a health concept in the community, it would be ethically wrong for social marketing to position a dehydration product by falsely appealing to existing health beliefs in order to sell it. That would be deceptive and manipulative and is sure to backfire. The goal should be long-term health benefits rather than the short-term goals of a given campaign (Kotler and Roberto 1989).

Theorists and practitioners identified with participatory communication have been strong critics of social marketing. For them, social marketing is a non-participatory strategy because it treats most people as consumers rather than protagonists. Because it borrows techniques from Western advertising, it shares it premises, namely, a concern with selling products rather than participation. To critics, social marketing is concerned with
individuals, not with groups or organizations. They also view social marketing as an approach that intends to persuade people to engage in certain behaviors that have already decided by agencies and planners. It does not involve communities in deciding problems and courses of action. The goal should be, instead, to assist populations in changing their actions based on critical analysis of social reality (Beltrán 1976, Diaz-Bordenave 1976).
According to participatory approaches, change does not happen when communities are not actively engaged in development projects and lack a sense of ownership.

Social marketers have brushed aside these criticisms, emphasizing that social marketing is a two-way process and that it is genuinely concerned about community participation. As Novelli (1990, 349) puts it, "the marketing process is circular." This is why input from targeted communities, gathered through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews, is fundamental to design campaign activities and content. Social marketing is premised on the idea of mutual exchange between agencies and communities. Marketing takes a consumer orientation by assuming that the success of any intervention results from an accurate evaluation of perceptions, needs, and wants of target markets that inform the

design, communication, pricing, and delivery of appropriate offerings. The process is consumer-driven, not expert-driven.

Also, social marketing allows communities to participate by acting upon health, environmental and other problems. Without information, there is no participation and this is what social marketing offers. Such participation is voluntary: Individuals, groups, and organizations are not forced to participate but are offered the opportunity to gain certain benefits. Such explanation is not satisfactory to participatory communication advocates who respond that social marketing does not truly involve participation. More than a narrow conception of participation, they argue, social marketing offers the appearance of it to improve interventions that are centralized. Social marketing's conception of participation basically conceives campaigns' targets are "passive receivers," subjects from whom information is obtained to change products and concepts.

After three decades of research and interventions, the lessons of social marketing can be summarized as follows (Chapman Walsh et al 1993):

Persistence and a long-term perspective are essential. Only programs with sustainable support and commitment have proven to have impact on diffusion of new ideas and practices, particularly in cases of complex behavior patterns.

Segmentation of the audience is central. Some researchers have identified different lifestyle clusters that allow a better identification of different market niches.

Mapping target groups is necessary. Designers of interventions need to know where potential consumers live, their routines, and relations vis-à-vis multiple messages.

Incentives foster motivation among all participants in interventions.

The teaching of skills is crucial to support behavior change. Leadership support is essential for program success.

Community participation builds local awareness and ownership. Integrating support from different stakeholders sets apart social marketing from commercial advertising as it aims to be integrated with community initiatives.

Feedback makes it possible to improve and refine programs.

Health promotion and health education
The trajectory of health promotion in development communication resembles the move of social marketing and diffusion of innovation, from originally gaining influence in the United States to being introduced in interventions in developing countries. The same approaches that were used to battle chronic diseases, high-fat diets, and smoking in the
United States in the 1970s and 1980s, were adopted in development interventions such as child survival and other programs that aimed to remedy health problems in the Third World.

As it crystallized in the Lalonde report in Canada in 1974 and the U.S. Surgeon General's
1979 Healthy People report, health promotion was dominated by the view that individual behavior was largely responsible for health problems and, consequently, interventions should focus on changing behavior. It approached health in terms of disease problems (rather than health generally), namely, the existence of lifestyle behaviors (smoking, heavy drinking, poor diet) that had damaging consequences for individual, and by extension, social health (Terris 1992).

The prevalent view was that changes in personal behaviors were needed to have a healthier population. Although the idea that institutional changes were also necessary to achieve that goal made strides, health

promotion remained focused on personal change at the expense of community actions and responsibility. A substantial number of studies were offered as conclusive evidence that personal choices determined changes in health behavior, and were positively related with new developments that indicated the decrease of unhealthy practices.

This highly individualistic perspective was initially criticized in the context of developed countries for "blaming the victim" and ignoring social conditions that facilitated and encouraged unhealthy behaviors. It gave a free ride to larger social and political processes that were responsible for disease and essentially depoliticized the question of health behavior. To its critics, individual-centered health promotion ignores the surrounding social context (poverty, racism) in which individual health behaviors take place as well as the fact that certain unhealthy behaviors are more likely to be found among certain groups (Minkler 1999, Wallack and Montgomery 1992). They pointed out that the overall context needed to be considered both as responsible and as the possible target of change.

Recent understandings of health promotion such as the one promoted by the World
Health Organization have moved away from individualistic views by stressing the idea that individual and social actions need to be integrated. The goal of health promotion is to provide and maintain conditions that make it possible for people to make healthy choices.

Health education is an important component of health promotion. It refers to learning experiences to facilitate individual adoption of healthy behaviors (Glanz, Lewis & Rimer 1990). The evolution of health education somewhat mirrored the evolution of the field of development communication. Health education was initially dominated by conventional   educational approaches that, like modernization/diffusion models, were influenced by individual behaviorist models that emphasized knowledge transmission and acquisition as well as changes in knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. Later, theories and strategies that stressed the importance of social and environmental changes gained relevance. This
meant that both health education and health promotion became more broadly understood.
Health education includes different kinds of interventions such as conventional education, social marketing, health communication, and empowerment actions (Steston & Davis 1999). Consequently, a vast range of activities such as peer education, training of
health workers, community mobilization, and social marketing are considered examples of health education interventions.

Health promotion became no longer understood as limited to educational efforts and individual changes. It also includes the promotion of public policies that are responsible for shaping a healthy environment. The goal of health promotion is to facilitate the environmental conditions to support healthy behaviors. Individual knowledge, as conceived in traditional approaches, is insufficient if groups lack basic systems that facilitate the adoption of healthy practices. The mobilization of a diversity of social forces including families and communities is necessary to shape a healthy environment
(Bracht 1990, Rutten 1995)

The emphasis on social mobilization to improve general conditions does not mean that behavior change models are absent in health promotion but, rather, that they need to be integrated among other strategies. Still, the behavior change model has incorporated the idea that interventions need to be sensitive to the education and the choices of receivers (Valente, Paredes & Poppe 1998), understanding the interests at stake, using social marketing technique to know individuals better, and the role of the community in interventions.

Entertainment-education
Entertainment-education is another strategy that shares behavior-change premises with the forementioned theories and strategies. Entertainment-education is a communication strategy to disseminate information through the media. As applied in development communication, it was originally developed in Mexico in the mid-1970s and has been used in 75 countries, including India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Turkey, Gambia, and Pakistan. Paradigmatic examples of this approach have been soap operas in Latin America

(telenovelas) and in India that were intended to provide information about family planning, sexual behavior, and health issues. Literacy and agricultural development have also been central themes of several entertainment education efforts. Entertainment-education is not a theory but a strategy to maximize the reach and effectiveness of health messages through the combination of entertainment and education. The fact that its premises are derived from socio-psychology and human communication theories place entertainment-education in the modernization/diffusion theory trunk. It subscribes to the Shannon-Weaver model of communication of sender- channel-message-receiver. Like diffusion theory, it is concerned with behavior change through the dissemination of information. It is based on Stanford Professor Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, a framework currently dominant in health promotion. Entertainment-education is premised on the idea that individuals learn behavior by observing role models, particularly in the mass media. Imitation and influence are the expected outcomes of interventions. Entertainment-education telenovelas were based on Bandura's model of cognitive sub-processes: attention, retention, production and motivational processes that help understand why individuals imitate socially desirable behavior. This process depends on the existence of role models in the messages: good models, bad models, and those who transition from bad to good.

Besides social learning, entertain-education strategies are based on the idea that expected changes result from self-efficacy, the belief of individuals that they can complete specific tasks (Bandura 1994, Maibach and Murphy 1995).

Entertainment-education refers to "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior" (Singhal and Rogers 1999, xii). Like social marketing and health promotion, it is concerned with social change at individual and community levels. Its focus is on how entertainment media such as soap operas, songs, cartoons, comics and theater can be used to transmit information that can result in pro-social behavior. Certainly, the use of entertainment for social purposes is not new as they have been used for centuries. What is novel is the systematic research and implementation of educational, pro-social messages in entertainment media in the developed world.

One of the starting points of entertainment-education is that populations around the world are widely exposed to entertainment media content. The heavy consumption of media messages suggests that the media have an unmatched capacity to tell people how to dress, talk and think. The problem is, as numerous studies document, that entertainment messages are rarely positive. In the attempt to maximize audiences by appealing to the lowest common denominator, the media are filled with anti-social messages such as violence, racism, stereotyping, and sexual promiscuity. However, the pervasiveness of the media provides numerous opportunities to communicate messages that can help people in solving a myriad of problems that they confront.

Another central premise is that education does not necessarily need to be dull but it can incorporate entertainment formats to generate pro-social attitudes and behavior. This could solve the problem that audiences find social messages uninteresting and boring, and prefer to consume entertainment media. What characterizes the latter is the intention of the messages (to divert rather than to educate) and to capture audiences' interest. These characteristics should not be dismissed as superficial and mindless but need to be closely examined to analyze the potential of entertainment to educate the public in an engaging manner. Moreover, because they are entertaining and widely popular, entertainment-education messages can also be profitable for television networks and other commercial ventures.

Comparable findings were documented in a similar intervention in the Philippines. The campaign also featured songs, video, live presentations of the performers, and PSAs. Itresulted in positive changes in knowledge, attitude and behavior. Other less effective campaigns suggested that appeals that may work in some cultural contexts could fail in others. Performers need to be credible, that is, audiences need to believe that they truly represent the values promoted.

Some studies have concluded that entertainment-education strategies are successful in attracting large audiences, triggering interpersonal communication about issues and lessons from interventions, and in engaging and motivating individuals to change behavior and support changes among their peers. Rogers et al. (1999) concluded that a soap-opera radio broadcast in Tanzania played an important role in fertility changes. The broadcast increased listeners' sense of self-efficacy, ideal age at marriage of women, approval contraceptive use, interspousal communication about family planning, and current practice of family planning. Similarly, Piotrow et al. (1992) report that the "Male Motivation Project" in Zimbabwe, which involved a radio drama intended to influence men's decisions in opting for different reproductive choices, resulted in changes in beliefs and attitudes. Also, Valente et al (1994) found that individuals who listened to a radio drama in the Gambia have better knowledge, attitudes and practices than the control group. The study also concluded that substantial changes in use of contraceptive methods existed after the broadcast. Both studies concluded that audiences incorporate language presented in the programming, talk to others, and introduce behavior changes. A hierarchy of effects was observed in interventions in Mexico, Nigeria and the Philippines. In decreasing order, campaigns contributed to audience recall, comprehension, agreement, and talking with others about the messages promoted in the campaigns.

In contrast, other studies have found little evidence that entertainment education strategies have resulted in such effects (Yoder, Hornik and Chirwa 1996). Yoder and co- authors have argued that the changes in behavior reported in the Zimbabwe and Gambia studies were not statistically significant. An analysis of the impact of a radio drama in
Zambia suggested that improvement in knowledge and awareness about AIDS could not be directly attributed to the intervention. Significant changes in condom use were not associated with exposure to the radio drama as there was a substantial amount of information and public debate about HIV/AIDS during the time the drama was broadcast. Exposure to discrete radio programs per se did not account for changes between target and control groups. Moreover, a return to previous behavior after the broadcast suggested the lack of evidence of long-term impact and attributed the findings to the timing when the data were collected. Exposure to entertainment-education messages was positively associated with use of modern contraceptive methods but the data did not allow a direct causal inference. It was not clear whether the campaign had influenced knowledge and practices.
Rather than discounting the possibility of any media effects, Yoder and associates
concluded that it is problematic to reach comprehensive conclusions about the effectiveness of entertainment education. In contrast to more optimistic evaluations that suggest that the task ahead is to measure what works better, they recommended a more cautionary approach. Entertainment-education projects are effective in stimulating people predisposed to change behavior to engage in a new behavior (e.g. use contraceptive methods). They provide the push for those already inclined to act to behave differently.
Media interventions catalyze latent demand into contraceptive use among ready-to-act populations (see Freedman 1997, Zimicki et al 1994).

Critiques of the Dominant Paradigm
Beginning in the late 1960s, the field of development communication split in two broad approaches: one that revised but largely continued the premises and goals of modernization and diffusion theories, and another that has championed a participatory view of communication in contrast to information- and behavior-centered theories. Both approaches have dominated the field. Although in recent years there have been attempts to incorporate insights from both traditions, no comprehensive view has evolved (Servaes1996). Integrative attempts are analyzed in the last section of this report.

Dependency Theory
One of the most powerful critiques of modernization/diffusion theories came from the dependency paradigm. Originally developed in Latin America, dependency analysis was informed by Marxist and critical theories according to which the problems of the Third World reflected the general dynamics of capitalist development. Development problems responded to the unequal distribution of resources created by the global expansion of Western capitalism.

Against modernization theories, dependency theorists argued that the problems of underdevelopment were not internal to Third World countries but were determined by external factors and the way former colonies were integrated into the world economy. It forcefully stated that the problems of the underdeveloped world were political rather than the result of the lack of information (Hornik 1988). What kept Third World countries underdeveloped were social and economic factors, namely the dominated position that those countries had in the global order. Underdevelopment, they argued, was the flip side and the consequence of the development of the Western world. The latter concentrated economic power and political decisions that maintained underdevelopment and dependency. Third world countries were politically and culturally dependent on the West, particularly on the United States.

Asides from external problems, internal structures were also responsible for the problems of underdevelopment. Dependency positions charged development programs for failing to address structures of inequality and targeting individual rather than social factors. Unequal land distribution, lack of credit for peasants, and poor health care services strongly limited the possibilities for an overall improvement in social conditions. Interventions were doomed when basic conditions that could make it possible people to adopt new attitudes and behaviors were missing.

Also, innovations promoted by development programs were adopted by individuals from higher socioeconomic strata living in cities rather than by rural and poor populations. In singling out the mass media as having a central role in introducing innovations, modernization theories ignored the issue of media ownership and control. Urban and powerful interests controlled the media that was supposed to promote development. The media were not interested in championing social goals or helping underprivileged populations but in transmitting entertainment and trivial information. The relation between media structure and content was virtually ignored in modernization theories.

Only a small percentage of programming was devoted to development issues and in regions such as Latin America, the media were commercially run and their the central goal was profit-making not social change.

For dependency theorists, modernization theories was driven by behaviorist, positivist and empiricist approaches in the mold of the "scientific model" that prevailed in U.S. universities and research centers. These particular biases accounted for why structural factors were ignored and for why interventions were focused on behavior changes at the individual level rather than on social causes of poverty and marginalization.

Modernization theories as applied in the Third World featured, to quote Bolivian communication researcher Luis Ramiro Beltrán (1976), "alien premises, objects and methods." The solution to underdevelopment problems was essentially political, rather than merely informational. What was required was social change in order to transform the general distribution of power and resources. Information and media policies were necessary to deal with communication problems. Solutions to underdevelopment required major changes in media structures that were dominated by commercial principles and foreign interests. Policies needed to promote national and public goals that could put the media in the service of the people rather than as pipelines for capitalist ideologies. Such positions were expressed in a number of international fora, particularly during the UNESCO-sponsored debates about the New World Information and Communication Order in the 1970s and 1980s. Representatives from Third Wolrd countries proposed "national communication policies" that emphasized the need for governments to control media structures and oppose domestic and foreign elites and business interests.

Participatory theories and approaches
Participatory theories also criticized the modernization paradigm on the grounds that it promoted a top-down, ethnocentric and paternalistic view of development. They argued that the diffusion model proposed a conception of development associated with a Western vision of progress. Development communication was informed by a theory that "became a science of producing effective messages" (Hein in Quarmyne 1991). After decades of interventions, the failure to address poverty and other structural problems in the Third World needed to be explained on the faulty theoretical premises of the programs. Any intervention that was focused on improving messages to better reach individuals or only change behavior was, by definition, unable to implement social change.

Development theories also criticized traditional approaches for having been designed and executed in the capital cities by local elites with guidance and direction from foreign specialists. Local people were not involved in preparing and instrumenting development interventions. Interventions basically conceived of local residents as passive receivers of decisions made outside of their communities, and in many cases, instrumented ill- conceived plans to achieve development. Governments decided what was best for agricultural populations, for example, without giving them a sense of ownership in the systems that were introduced (see Mody 1991, Servaes 1989, White 1994).

The top-down approach of persuasion models implicitly assumed that the knowledge of governments and agencies was correct, and that indigenous populations either did not know or had incorrect beliefs. Because programs came from outside villages, communities felt that innovations did not belong to them but to the government and thus expected the latter to fix things went they went wrong. The sense of disempowerment was also rooted in the fact that "targeted" populations did not have the choice to reject recommendations or introduce modifications to interventions. For participatory theorists and practitioners, development communication required sensitivity to cultural diversity and specific context that were ignored by modernization theories. The lack of such sensitivity accounted for the problems and failures of many projects. Experts learnt that development was not restricted to just building roads, piping water, and distributing electricity. Nor was it limited to efforts to increase farm yields nor switching farmers over to cash crops. Many of the agricultural projects failed because farmers were reluctant to abandon their traditional ways for foreign and unknown methods. As McKee (1992) writes, "they were also nervous about planting exotic crops that they could not eat but had to sell for money with which to buy food from the market." Modernization projects undermined the importance of local knowledge and the consequences of the interaction between local cultures and foreign ideas. When piped water arrived, it was frequently used for washing rather than drinking and cooking because the people disliked its flavor. Persuading people of the benefits of healthy practices on the basis of scientific reasons was a tough sell. People were asked to change time-old practices on the basis of a foreign form of knowledge that dismissed their local traditions in the name of "true" knowledge (McKee 1992).

The lack of local participation was viewed as responsible for the failure of different programs. In the case of agricultural programs, it was concluded that the issue at stake was not the transmission of information to increase output but rather the low prices of agricultural goods in the market or the absence of a more equal distribution of land ownership. In explaining the failures of family planning programs, it was suggested that mothers were disinclined to follow instructions because fathers believed that having more children meant having more hands to work in the fields and carry out other tasks.

Participatory theories considered necessary a redefinition of development communication. One set of definitions stated that it meant the systematic utilization of communication channels and techniques to increase people's participation in development and to inform, motivate, and train rural populations mainly at the grassroots.
For others, development communication needed to be human- rather than media- centered. This implied the abandonment of the persuasion bias that development communication had inherited from propaganda theories, and the adoption of a different understanding of communication.

Communication means a process of creating and stimulating understanding as the basis for development rather than information transmission (Agunga1997). Communication is the articulation of social relations among people. People should not be forced to adopt new practices no matter how beneficial they seem in the eyes of agencies and governments. Instead, people needed to be encouraged to participate rather than adopt new practices based on information.

This understanding of communication was central to the ideas developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970), whose writings and experiences became an influential strand in participatory communication. Freire's work in northeastern Brazil in the 1960s and early 1970s challenged dominant conceptions of development communication, particularly as applied to literacy training. He argued that

development programs had failed to educate small farmers because they were interested in persuading them about the benefits of adopting certain innovations. Development programs tried to domesticate foreign concepts, to feed information, to force local populations to accept Western ideas and practices without asking how such practices fit existing cultures. The underlying premise of such programs was an authoritarian conception of communication that stood against the essence of communication understood as community interaction and education.

Freire offered the concept of liberating education that conceived communication as dialogue and participation. The goal of communication should be conscientization, which Freire defined as free dialogue that prioritized cultural identity, trust and commitment.
His approach has been called "dialogical pedagogy" which defined equity in distribution and active grassroots participation as central principles. Communication should provide a sense of ownership to participants through sharing and reconstructing experiences.   Education is not transmission of information from those "who have it" to those "who lack it," from the powerful to the powerless, but the creative discovery of the world.

Freire's ideas ran against fundamental principles in the diffusion model, namely the sender-focus and behavioral bias that it inherited from persuasion models in the United States. He diagnosed the problems in the Third World as problems of communication, not information as persuasion theories proposed. Solutions, then, needed to have an understanding of communication that was not limited to the application of Western ideas. Freire also challenged the value judgment in early development theories that viewed agricultural and health practices in the Third World as backwards and obstacles to modernization.

Freire's model and participatory models in general proposed a human-centered approach that valued the importance of interpersonal channels of communication in decision- making processes at the community level. Studies in a variety of Third World rural settings found that marginal and illiterate groups preferred to communicate face-to-face rather than through mass media or other one-way sources of communication (Okunna 1995). The recommendation was that development workers should rely more on interpersonal methods of communication rather than national media and technologies, and that they should act as facilitators of dialogue.

Because media and technologies were perceived as foreign to local communities, they should be used to supplement instead of dominate interpersonal methods. The notion of "group media" drew from Freire to call the media that are means for small groups to develop a critical attitude towards the reality of self, the group, community and society through participation in group interaction. Group media has helped marginal groups to speak to one another, to articulate their thoughts and feelings in the process of community organizing (Hamelink 1990). Community-based forms of communication such as songs, theater, radio, video, and other activities that required group intervention needed to be promoted. More than mechanisms to disseminate information, they could provide opportunities to identify common problems and solution, to reflect upon community issues, and mobilize resources. Community members, rather than "professionals", should be in charge of the decision and production processes. This is precisely what "small" media offer: an opportunity for media access in countries where the mass media are usually controlled by governments and urban elites.

In stressing the relevance of "other" media and forms of communication, participatory
theories lifted development communication out of the "large media" and "stimulus- response" straitjacket and opened new ways of understanding interventions. They expanded the concept of participation that in modernization theories was limited to voting in party and electoral politics and championed a view of democracy that implied different forms of participation at different levels.

They also removed professionals and practitioners from having a central role as transmitters of information who would enlighten populations in development projects.

People, not change agents, were central to community participation. It downplayed the role of expert and external knowledge while stressing the centrality of indigenous knowledge and aspirations in development. Communication was a horizontal process, diametrically different from the vertical model that placed knowledge in the domain of modern experts.

Participatory communication identified encouraging participation, stimulating critical thinking, and stressing process, rather than specific outcomes associated with modernization and progress, as the main tasks of development communication (Altafin 1991). Participation needed to be present in all stages of development projects. Communities should be encouraged to participate in decision-making, implementation,

Certainly, participatory communication has not lacked critics. Even though vindicating some tenets of participatory theories, other positions argued that they were elaborated at a theoretical level and did not provide specific guidelines for interventions.

One problem in participatory models was that it was not clear that communities needed to be involved for certain results to be achieved. In some cases such as epidemics and other public health crises, quick and top-down solutions could achieve positive results.
Participation communication ignores that expediency may also positively contribute to development. Belaboring through grassroots decision-making process is slower than centralized decisions, and thus not advisable in cases that require prompt resolutions.
Participation might be a good long-term strategy but has shortcomings when applied to short-term and urgent issues.

Another problem was that participation in all stages does not have similar relevance. It was not clear what participation entailed. If decisions were made outside of the community and the latter was assigned the role of implementing and evaluating results, some positions argued, participation was limited to instances that depended on decisions previously made (McKee 1992). It was not true participation and, therefore, maintained power inequalities.

Another problem was that the focus on interpersonal relations underplayed the potential of the mass media in promoting development as participation and process. Little attention was paid to the uses of mass media in participatory settings, an issue that is particularly relevant considering that populations, even in remote areas, are constantly exposed to commercial media messages that stand in opposition to the goals set by programs. This lack was particularly evident in Freire's theory of dialogical communication that is based on group interactions and underplays the role of the mass media.

Participatory approaches usually avoided the issue that people who lived in non- democratic societies might be were wary to participate out of fear of retaliation.
Moreover, people can be manipulated into participating. This would violate local autonomy and the possibility that members might not be interested in taking an active role. Critics argued that participatory communication, like social marketing, could also be seen as foreign, pushing for certain goals and actions that have not resulted from inside communities. Participatory communication did not offer the chance not to participate, and implicitly coerced people to adopt a certain attitude. Social marketers charged that participatory approaches were too idealistic, falling short from offering specific practical guidelines, and offering recommendations with limited impact. These shortcoming are particularly pronounced when funds for development communication are short and funding agencies are interested in obtaining cost-effective results not just at the local but also the national level.

Other critics, particularly in Asia, thought that participatory models were premised on Western-styled ideas of democracy and participation that do not fit political cultures elsewhere. Individualism rather than community and conflict rather than consensus lie at the heart of participatory models developed in the West. Participation can also promote division, confusion, and disruption that do little to solve problems. It may privilege powerful and active members of the community at the expense of the community as a

whole. Education and decision-making skills, rather than participation for its own sake, should be promoted.

To these criticisms, advocates of participatory models admitted that divisions and conflicts might result but, they argued, the answer should be teaching negotiation and mediation skills rather than opting for interventions that disempower people in the name of consensus-building. Although advocates of participatory theories viewed their critics as favoring government centralization and leaving power inequalities intact, they admitted that some original premises needed to be revised (White 1994).

Participatory approaches needed to:

Be sensitive to the potential convenience of short-term and rapid solutions.

Recognize that recommendations for participation could also be seen as foreign and manipulative by local communities (just like modernization theories).

Translate participatory ideas into actual programs.

Be aware that the communities may be uninterested in spending time in democratic processes of decision-making and, instead, might prefer to invest their time on other activities.

Recognize that communities are not necessarily harmonious and that participation may actually deepen divisions. Servaes (1996, 23) admits that "participation does not always entail cooperation nor consensus. It can often mean conflict and usually poses a threat to existent structures...Rigid and general strategies for participation are neither possible nor desirable."

To prevent some of these problems, it was suggested that it was preferable that projects be carried out in communities where agencies already had linkages (McKee 1992)
Previous knowledge of problems and characteristics of a given community was fundamental to identify activities and define projects. Existing linkages could also provide agents that were familiar with (or even were from) the community who could assist in creating organizations and networks to stimulate participation. No previously determined set of activities was advisable if the interests and dynamics of communities were not known. Workers would also provide important feedback information about the progress of projects through regular, face-to-face contact with participants. These practices function as a sort of transmission belt for making sure that community issues are addressed and that members have a voice in deciding future courses. The peril is to focus solely on professional technicians and leaders without consideration of involving the community at large.

Against criticisms that participatory communication leads to the existence of a myriad, disconnected projects carried out by multiple NGOs, coordination plans were deemed necessary. Providing a sense of orientation and organization was required to prevent that development efforts become too fragmented and thus weaker. Because NGOs are closer to communities than governments and funding agencies, they have the capacity to respond relatively quickly to demands and developments. But without a more encompassing vision, projects may only obtain, at best, localized results that fail to have a larger impact.

It was also recommended that relying on grassroots media was not sufficient. Populations needed media education to develop skills to be critical of commercial media and to develop alternatives that would help them gain a sense of empowerment and counter other messages. Yet, it was undeniable that local media provided a sense of ownership and participation that was key to sustainable development and could not be replaced by any other strategy.

Responding to critics who were impatient with obtaining "results," participatory approaches suggested that development communication requires a long-term perspective that is usually missing among funding agencies and governments interested in getting quick results and knowing whether efforts pay off.

Participatory theorists turned the criticisms about "timing" and "impact" onto their critics, arguing that the so-called problems of participatory approaches in "showing results" did not originate in the model but in how organizations approach development communication (Melkote 1991). Short- term projects that are prone to be terminated according to different considerations make it difficult to promote participation and examine the results of interventions in the long run. The interests of funders and politicians, who were urged to prove effectiveness of investments, ran against the timing of participatory development communication projects. For the latter to be possible, NGOs, funding agencies and other actors involved needed to be sensitive to the fact that grassroots projects cannot be expected to "produce results" in the manner of top-down interventions. Neither community development nor empowerment fit the timetables of traditional programs.

Media advocacy

Media advocacy is another approach that questions central premises of the traditional paradigm. Media advocacy is the strategic use of mass media to advance social or public policy initiatives (Wallack et al 1993). Its goals are to stimulate debate and promote responsible portrayals and coverage of health issues. Advocacy requires the mobilization of resources and groups in support of certain issues and policies to change public opinion and decisions. It consists of the organization of information for dissemination through various interpersonal and media channels towards gaining political and social acceptance of certain   issues.

Like education-entertainment strategies, media advocacy rejects the idea that the media can be a source of only anti-social messages, and instead, proposes to include socially relevant themes in entertainment. Both share the perspective that because the media are the main source of information about health issues, interventions need to focus on the media. Both also believe in the capacity of the media to transmit information that can result in changes. Unlike education-entertainment, which has been mostly concerned with directly influencing audiences, media advocacy centers on shaping the public debate about public health. It is not information-centered but aims to incorporate social themes in entertainment content in order to influence public agendas. It takes a political and social approach that differs from the social-psychological premises and diagnoses found in education-entertainment.

Because it locates problems in political and social conditions, social advocacy promotes social, rather than individual and behavioral, changes to health issues. It approaches health not as a personal issue but as a matter of social justice. It is explicitly set against the individualistic assumptions of mainstream approaches found in the dominant paradigm of development communication that fault individuals for unhealthy and antisocial behaviors and propose individual solutions based on the idea that health is primarily a question of individual responsibility. Instead, it advocates changes in the social environment that legitimize certain behaviors. For example, it sees tobacco and alcohol companies rather than individual smokers and drinkers as responsible for unhealthy behavior. Therefore, those companies should be the targets of advocacy and communication activities. Actions should target, for example, access to unhealthy products by involving communities in implementing policy changes

Here the contrast with behavior-centered health approaches is clear as media advocacy proposes that social conditions should be the target of interventions. Such interventions entail fundamentally a political process of changing conditions and redressing social inequalities rather persuading individuals about the benefits of certain lifestyles and behavior change. Health is a matter of social justice and partnering with interested parties rather than providing information to change individual behavior (Brawley and Martinez)

These premises set media advocacy apart from social marketing. Media advocacy criticizes social marketing for having an individualistic, behaviorist approach to health and social problems that narrows interventions to public information campaigns. Media advocacy espouses a community-level model of intervention in health issues. Development, defined to be the well being of communities, can be achieved through promoting structures and policies that support healthy lifestyles. Community organization is the process by which community groups are helped to identify common problems or goals, mobilize resources, and develop and implement strategies for reaching their goals (Glanz and Rimer 1995).

According to media advocacy theory, campaigns are not the panacea not only because their effectiveness is questionable but also because they ignore the social causes of unhealthy behavior. Public service announcements have shown limited success in stimulating change and fail to address the social and economic environment that ultimately determines health risk factors. Social marketing does not face

head-on the fundamental structures that sustain unhealthy behavior. Social advocacy does not minimize the importance of individual changes but, instead, it strongly argues that the latter require changes in social conditions. Because external conditions are responsible for health, the strategy should target those conditions instead of centering on lifestyle behaviors. Promoting individual health habits in developing countries without, for example, advocating for clean water supplies underplays the factors responsible for disease.

Media advocacy adopts a participatory approach that emphasizes the need of communities to gain control and power to transform their environments. It assigns the media a pivotal role in raising issues that need to be discussed and putting pressure on decision-makers. However, advocacy is not solely concerned with media actions.

Media advocacy theory assumes that the media largely shape public debate and, consequently, political and social interventions. To be politically effective, then, influencing news agendas is mandatory. AIDS and tobacco control coalitions and groups in the United States have been successful in their use of the mass media that has resulted in support, funding and the implementation of public policies. Media-savviness is necessary to get widespread coverage of certain health issues and to shape how stories are presented. Here again social advocacy differs from social marketing. Social advocacy is not about putting in action centralized actions to relay information to consumers but, rather, providing skills to communities so they can influence media coverage. It approaches the media not in terms of "health messages" but as agenda-setters of policy initiatives.

Moreover, the media might be willing to feature public service announcements for a variety of reasons to further its own goals. Lobbying the media to feature PSAs does not necessarily result in an examination of structural conditions responsible for health problems, however. Media interest in participating in health promotion activities by donating free airtime fall short from moving away from the individualistic view that dominates behavior change models. Such contributions by media organizations do not deal with external factors, unequal access and structures, and the political environment that is ultimately responsible for public health problems.

In summary, advocacy consists of a large number of information activities, such as lobbying with decision makers through personal contacts and direct mail; holding seminars, rallies and newsmaking events; ensuring regular newspaper, magazine, television and radio coverage and obtaining endorsements from known people. The goal of advocacy is to make the innovation a political or national priority that cannot be swept aside with a change in government. In the context of development programs, media advocacy may be carried out by key people in international agencies, as well as special ambassadors, but is gradually taken over by people in national and local leadership positions and the print and electronic media.

Social mobilization is a term used by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) to describe a comprehensive planning approach that emphasizes political coalition building and community action (UNICEF 1993, Wallack 1989). It is the process of bringing together all feasible and practical inter-sectoral social allies to raise people's awareness of and demand for a particular development program, to assist in the delivery of resources and services and to strengthen community participation for sustainability and self-reliance. A successful mobilization must be built on the basis of mutual benefits of partners and a decentralized structure. The more interested the partners are, the more likely that a project of social mobilization can be sustained over time. This approach does not require that partners abandon their own interests and perceptions on a given issue but are willing to coalesce around a certain problem.

One of the basic requisites is that groups carefully consider the best-suited groups to partner for a specific program. A child survival and development program in Ghana, for example, started with an analysis to identify individuals and organizations with the potential to serve as partners in a social mobilization project. The study included three sub-studies: interviews with members of governmental institutions, trade unions, revolutionary organizations, and traditional leaders among others; media content analysis that suggested the need for collective efforts between journalists and health workers; and the assessment of health information sources among parents.

Mobilization is a process through which community members become aware of a problem, identify the problem as a high priority for community action, and decide steps to take action (Thompson and Pertschuk 1992). It starts with problem assessment and analysis at the community level and moves to action on chosen courses, involving many strategic allies at all levels in a wide range of support activities. Central to social mobilization interventions is empowerment or the process through which individuals or communities take direct control over their lives and environment (Minkler 1990).

Social mobilization suggests that wide community participation is necessary for members to gain ownership so innovations would not be seen as externally imposed. Community mobilization is one of the main resources in implementing behavior change. Social mobilization differs from traditional social marketing approaches that are largely based on appeals to individuals. When there is no individual interest in adopting innovations and, particularly in the context of developing countries, reaching people only through social marketing techniques is not effective, interpersonal channels stimulated by social mobilization allow the wide diffusion of concepts and innovations and increasing demand.

Social mobilization is closely interlinked with media advocacy. To McKee, social mobilization "is the glue that binds advocacy activities to more planned and researched program communication activities." It strengthens advocacy efforts and relates them to social marketing activities. It makes it possible to add efforts from different groups to reach all levels of society by engaging in different activities

Examples of social mobilization interventions include World Bank (1992) nutrition and family planning projects in Bangladesh that also used a social mobilization approach by assigned non-governmental organizations (NGOs) the role of mobilizing communities. It defined community mobilization as "the process of involving and motivating interested stakeholders (general public, health workers, policy-makers, etc.) to organize and take action for a common purpose. Mobilization of communities should focus on building confidence, trust and respect, increasing knowledge base, and enabling community members to participate, and become more proactive with regard to their own health behavior."

McKee (1992) states that social mobilization programs require that government agencies, NGOs and donor agencies need to meet and review the objectives and methodology of the research, follow its progress through periodic briefings and give feedback on the final report. These activities have proven to

strengthen the sense of ownership among different stakeholders, which ultimately results in a more successful intervention.

Media and Development

Introduction
- Media Assistance & Dev't Communication
- Changing Environment: 1994-2004
- Communication and Nation Building
- Communication, Empowerment and Poverty
- Media and Conflict
- MDGs & Impact through Communication
- Summary of Challenges

Media Assistance & Dev't Communication
- A reliable news media enables well informed citizen decision making that contributes to democratisation"
- The Enabling Environment: Developing Professional journalism, independent regulatory frameworks and supporting media law and policy
- Dual public / private broadcasting / the role of civil society as a watchdog for social accountability
- Audio / visual / face to face participation / theatre / comics / puppetry / song etc
- Development Communication is bottom up

Changing Environment 1994-2004
- Global technologies & coverage increases media profile dramatically – impact of news / impact of learning / impact
- Only for those with access : cultural appropriacy / language / technological sophistication / electricity etc
- Old + New
- Interactive media enables participation of audience
- Personal communication technologies enhance this on a one to one & one to many basis i.e.: mobile phones + radio
- Increasingly important is the role of media as a change agent in political behaviour, "political and social will" through advocacy & demand driven public opinion
- Media and conflict - / local // national // international

Communication and Nation Building
"A necessary condition for sustainable development occurs when a just, tolerant and inclusive state is responsive to informed demand from citizens. Communication is a keystone of the relationship between citizen and state."
"There is more to governance than how the government conducts itself. It is about the whole realm in which the state operates, including areas like parliament, the judiciary, the media and other organisations of society which remain in place when a government changes."
"The media has a pivotal role in brokering public dialogue through increasing the knowledge of the citizen and providing space for debate and learning."

Communication, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction
World Bank's 4 Key Elements of Empowerment
- Access to information
- Inclusion and participation
- Accountability
- Local organisational capacity

All rely on flows of communication

Media and Conflict
Different types:
- Media & humanitarian assistance
- Non conflict related disasters : disease
- Rapid onset disasters : environmental
- Media and conflict reduction
- Latent conflict : political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions
- Open conflict: violent conflict, light weapons, blurring of combatants & civilians
- Post conflict: once peace achieved, peace building, enhanced reconciliation & reconstruction

Key Points of Media & Conflict
- Communications disrupted during conflicts and other emergencies // low end technologies like radio are often the only way to reach large #s
- Those in greatest need demand most on traditional means – ie: radio. The challenge is to facilitate making programmes to reflect target audience needs
- Different forms of humanitarian emergency can require very different kinds of media intervention – e.g S. Leonne youth soldiers: theatre / video /

Key Points of Media & Conflict … cont
- Civil society are critical & most often the major players when states are unwilling or unable to deliver services

Examples: IRIN in Angola / Radio Okapi in DRC
- Media based initiatives can best be achieved by partnerships between donors, civil society humanitarian agencies and local / int'l media practitioners

Examples: Afghanistan / DRC / Sudan

Millenium Development Goals
- Get rid of extreme poverty & hunger
- Make sure that all children receive primary education
- Promote sexual equality & give women more power
- Reduce child death rates
- Improve the health of mothers
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other communicable diseases
- Make sure that the environment is protected
- Develop a global partnership for development

Key Challenges
- Freedom of Expression
- Recognising the rights of the citizens
- Financial Sustainability
- Capacity Building for all types of use of communication for democracy
- Partnership with service providers and civil society = active role in policy change processes
- Potential of communication technologies
- M&E techniques and tools
- Impact to provide evidence
- Funding: Public / Private

Conclusions
Media and Communication for Development is complex and often overlooked.

Communication is the lifeblood of transparent, informed and open societies as it enables debate, successful reforms and accountability of the state to the citizen.

Empowerment from poverty requires knowledge and learning from appropriate, accessible means of communication.

Without communication, openness is not possible and citizens voice is silenced.

Participatory development communication

Participatory development communication is a powerful tool to facilitate this process, when it accompanies local development dynamics. It is about encouraging community participation with development initiatives through a strategic utilization of various communication strategies.

By "community participation", we mean facilitating the active involvement of different community groups, together with the other stakeholders involved, and the many development and research agents working with the community and decision makers.

This guide presents its concepts and methodology. It is intended for the members of research teams, their development partners working with communities, community members involved in research or development activities and for practitioners involved in this field.

It introduces participatory development communication; addresses topics related to the use of effective two-way communication with local communities and other stakeholders; and presents a methodology to plan, develop and evaluate effective communication strategies.

How can researchers and practitioners improve communication with local communities and other stakeholders? How can two-way communication enhance community participation in research and development initiatives and improve the capacity of communities to participate in the management of their natural resources? How can researchers, community members and development practitioners improve their ability to effectively reach policy makers and promote change?

Tackling development problems, and experimenting and implementing appropriate solutions cannot be done only by researchers, extension workers and development practitioners. The process must be based on the active participation of the end users and involve the other stakeholders working with the communities. This is the fundamental basis of participatory development communication.

Traditionally, in the context of natural resource management, many communication efforts have focused on the dissemination of information and adoption of technical packages. The transfer of messages from experts to farmers, in a top-down approach however, did not yield the expected results. Rather, experience teaches us that it is much more effective to use appropriate communication strategies to build capability within local communities:

• To discuss natural resource management practices and problems;

• To identify, analyze and prioritize problems and needs;
• To identify and implement concrete initiatives to respond to those problems;
• To identify and acquire the knowledge required to implement such initiatives;
• To monitor and evaluate their efforts and plan for future action.

This communication process brings together all stakeholders – experts, farmers, extension workers, NGOs, technical services – in a dialogue and exchange of ideas on development needs, objectives and actions. It is a two-way horizontal process.

Using communication for facilitating community participation depends first and foremost on the abilities of the researchers and practitioners to strengthen the capacity of individuals and community groups in carrying out these five tasks. This guide offers an introduction to concepts and methodologies for making this process effective.

It is intended to help research teams, community groups, governmental services, and development organizations active in the field of environment and natural resource management to improve effective two-way communication with local communities and other stakeholders. It could also be useful to community media who want to strengthen their role in reinforcing local development initiatives. Finally, the guide is also meant for international agencies who support development research and initiatives in this field.

Originally intended as a reference document, it can also be used as a guide for training sessions. In fact it

should be useful to anyone who is interested in the approach presented here and who wishes to adapt it to her own sector of intervention, outside the specific field of environment and natural resource management.

The methodology presented here, however, is to be considered as a starting point to the practice of participatory development communication, not as a recipe. It has to be adapted to each different context, by the main actors involved in the research or development activities.

The guide consists of three parts: Roles, Methodology and Tools.

The first part, **roles**, presents participatory development communication. It discusses the notions of development communication, development, participation and research-action, and defines the roles of research teams and practitioners in using communication to facilitate community participation.

The second part, **methodology**, introduces a methodological approach for planning communication strategies. This approach consists of ten steps: establishing a relationship with a local community; involving people in the identification of a development problem, its potential solution and an action to implement; identifying the people concerned with the problem and the action to carry out; identifying communication needs, objectives and activities; choosing communication tools; preparing and pre-testing communication content and materials; building partnership and collaboration; producing an implementation plan; planning monitoring, documentation and evaluation; planning the sharing and utilization of results.

The third part, **tools**, discusses conditions for the effective utilization of some communication tools within a participatory approach. We invite individuals and organizations using this guide to send us their feedback and suggestions for improving future editions of the guide. Our address is indicated at the end of the publication.

Introduction

The purpose of this first part is to introduce the principal concepts associated with participatory development communication. Specifically, it should assist you to:

1. Reflect on your role as a researcher or development practitioner interacting with local communities.
2. Identify the potential and limitations of participatory development communication for facilitating participation in research and development.
3. Identify the various dimensions involved in using participatory development communication with communities and other stakeholders.

The researcher and the development practitioner as a communication actor

Communication is an essential part of participatory research and development. As the researcher working with a community or as a development practitioner, you are first of all a communication actor. The way you approach a local community, the attitude you adopt in interacting with community members, the way you understand and discuss issues, the way you collect and share information, all involve ways of establishing communication with people.

The way communication is established and nurtured will affect how involved people will feel about the issues raised and how they will participate – or not – in a research or development initiative.

Effective communication is two-way communication; it should not be a one-way dissemination of information, nor should it consist of telling people what they should or should not do. It should not be viewed as a way to motivate people to participate in activities in which they did not have an input. The role of the researcher or development practitioner interacting with a community should consist of establishing a dialogue with community members on development issues related to its mandate, and in facilitating this dialogue between community groups.

Participatory development communication

For many people, the term "communication" still suggests the use of the media, i.e. information

dissemination activities by which printed materials, radio or television programs, educational video, etc., are used to send messages. Researchers and practitioners are often less familiar with the use of communication as an empowerment tool.

Here, when we use the terminology participatory development communication, we refer to the use of communication to facilitate community participation in a development initiative. We can define it in the following way:

Participatory development communication is a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative.

By **stakeholders**, we mean community members, active community groups, local and regional authorities, NGOs, government technical services or other institutions working at the community level, policy makers who are or should be involved with a given development initiative.

This kind of communication means moving from a focus of informing and persuading people to change their behavior or attitudes, to a focus on facilitating exchanges between different stakeholders to address a common problem. This could lead to a common development initiative to experiment with possible solutions and to identify what is needed to support the initiative in terms of partnerships, knowledge and material conditions.

The same process can be adopted when the point of departure is not a development problem but a common goal set at the community level. These exchanges also serve to articulate that goal, to lead to a set of activities to realize it and to identify what is needed in terms of partnership, knowledge, and material conditions.

The researcher and development practitioner as a facilitator

In either case, the researcher or the development practitioner uses communication as a tool to facilitate participation.

Often researchers and practitioners will adopt a vertical approach: they will identify aproblem in a given community and experiment solutions with the collaboration of local people. On the communication side, the trend is to inform people of the many dimensions of that problem and of the solution they should implement and to mobilize them into action. But this way of working has little impact. After the completion of the research or the development project, things tend to return to the usual.

This reflects the old paradigm of research for development, in which the researcher applies her knowledge to the resolution of a problem, with the collaboration of a local community, and publishes her results. In the new paradigm, the researcher or development practitioner comes in as a facilitator of a process, which involves local communities and other stakeholders in the resolution of a problem or the realization of a common goal.

This requires a change of attitude. The researcher must perceive the communities not as beneficiaries but as stakeholders. You must also be ready to develop partnerships and synergy with other development actors working with the same communities. Acting like a facilitator does not come automatically. One must learn to listen to people, to help them express their views and to assist in building consensus for action. For many researchers and development practitioners, this is a new role for which they may not have been prepared. It is a new way of doing research and development.

Participatory development communication

Methodology

Introduction
First, it is important to state that there is no single, all-purpose recipe to start a participatory development communication process. Each time we must look for the best way to establish the communication process among different community groups and stakeholders, and use it to facilitate and support participation in a concrete initiative or experimentation driven by a community to promote change. It is important to adapt one's intervention to each different situation and to each specific group of participants with whom research teams or practitioners will work. This being said it is important to plan.

If we want to support a participatory process, project or research identification and planning should involve representatives of the community and other stakeholders with whom the researcher or development practitioner intends to work (for example an NGO, a department of natural resources, a community radio, etc.).

Participation in the planning process is important. The model presented here derives from the first models of development communication in which planning consisted in preparing and transmitting messages suitably adapted to target groups. We saw earlier that these first models have evolved considerably and now put the accent on two-way communication and participation. Therefore, if we want participants to become fully engaged in communication and development efforts, we must adapt this methodology and undertake participatory development communication that will foster dialogue and decision-making at each stage of the development process.

We have already stressed that using PDC demands from researchers and development practitioners a change of attitude. Traditionally, the way many research teams and practitioners used to work was to identify a problem in a community and experiment solutions with the collaboration of the local people. On the communication side, the trend was to inform and create awareness both to the many dimensions of that problem and to the solution community members should implement (from an expert point of view). We discussed earlier that this practice led to little impact, but many researchers and development practitioners still work along these lines.

Working with PDC means involving the local community in identifying the development problem (or a common goal), discovering its many dimensions, identifying potential solutions (or a set of actions) and taking a decision on a concrete set of actions to experiment or implement. It is no longer the sole responsibility of the researcher or the development practitioner and their organizations.

Using communication to support a participatory development or research process also means sharing both traditional and modern knowledge related to the analysis of problems as well as the identification of potential solutions. It also involves nurturing a process in which the experimentation design or implementation plan will be developed with the active participation of the end-users. This is the process we will be planning and nurturing.

Again, the model presented here must be used as a reference only. It has to be adapted to each different context. It is a logical process based on a prior familiarity with the local setting, begins with the expression of development needs in a given community, and involves specific stakeholders in addressing those issues, while supporting and accompanying this process of participation.

The methodological approach
Participatory development communication supports a participatory development or research for development process.

We usually represent such a process through four main phases, which of course are not separated but are interlinked: diagnosis, planning, intervention or experimentation, and assessment (see Figure 1). Upon completing these phases we need to decide whether to return to the beginning of the process (diagnosis)

and start another cycle; or iterate to a revision of the planning phase; or proceed with scaling-up, starting another planning, implementation and evaluation cycle.

The PDC model (see Figure 2) supports such a process with ten specific steps. The process of planning and developing PDC itself is however not sequential.

Step 1: Establishing a relationship with a local community and understanding the local setting

At the beginning, it refers to collecting preliminary information on the community and its environment, entering the community, getting to know the people and the resource persons in the community, developing a more thorough collection of information with the participation of the local people and resource persons, and facilitating a dialogue with them.

But what it really means is building a relationship, developing collaboration mechanisms, facilitating and nurturing the exchange of information and knowledge, negotiating roles and responsibilities, and most importantly, building mutual trust. We will discuss the tasks involved here separately but of course, they are not sequential and overlap with one another.

Consulting existing information and planning the approach of a local community

Generally, it is researchers or development practitioners who approach a community; the other way round also happens but not very frequently. So in the first situation, there is a process of selection and there is a preliminary collection of information to support this process.

Choosing a Particular Community to Work With

How does one choose a particular community or specific communities to work with? There are many considerations. Often, researchers will target specific communities because they are representatives of certain characteristics important for the research. Development practitioners will often target a community where they feel the need for intervention is more acute. Both will take into account opportunities for resources or travel to the field. There can be many reasons. Two of them merit special attention.

One important factor to consider is the agreement of a community to work with a research or development initiative. In many cases, the authorities of a specific community will give their agreement without the community itself being aware of this, and without understanding the implications in terms of participation and involvement in a concrete development action. This often leads to artificial situations. So before selecting a specific community to work with, it is better to discuss this in the field with different community groups and resource people, and explore the interest and potential of such work.

A second factor to consider is the link between working with a specific local community and the possibility of extending results either to other communities, or to the policy environment. This can also play an important role in the selection process.

Consulting Existing Information

Let us also mention that in many contexts, statistics and other information from secondary sources are not accurate. So visiting resource persons knowledgeable of the community setting or of the problem involved should complement and supplement the information. The selection itself should only be finalized after contacting and discussing with community members.

Before Going To the Field

Researchers and practitioners should develop a prior understanding of the local setting before going to the field and conducting formal meetings with a given community.

Without such prior knowledge, it is often very difficult to build a sound understanding of the setting, even by conducting participatory rural appraisal activities. This being said, it is often difficult to assemble all this knowledge. Doing so requires time and money (if only to cover travel and accommodation costs), and

may demand skills that not everyone possesses. As a result, activities are often based on an incomplete understanding of the setting in which the researcher or the practitioner is trying to act, and of the problems she is trying to address. Research teams and development organizations must be aware of this and should plan time and necessary resources to understand the setting more thoroughly.

Hence the identification of relevant sources of documentation and resource people and/or organizations that know the community very well should be the first item to be considered.

In addition, when several communities are involved, the manner, order and time necessary in approaching them must also be considered. The schedule should be established taking into consideration the working and seasonal calenders of the different communities. The difficulties of access to some communities, especially during the rainy season, should also be considered, since they will have a direct effect on the amount of time researchers and practitioners will have at their disposal to work with the communities.

Introducing The Research Or Development Initiative To The Community
Attitudes should also be given proper attention: it is not the same thing to identify three or four different field sites where a research team will work and establish a working relationship with a certain number of communities.

How will the research or development initiative be introduced to the community?

Usually, the process begins with researchers or development practitioners having a set of preliminary planning meetings with the local leaders. A first visit will present the research or development initiative idea to the community leaders and ask for an agreement to discuss the idea and work with the community. Often, another visit to the community leaders will be useful to review the research or development initiative proposal before introducing it to the community.

All this takes time and should be given careful consideration. Often, this phase of the research or development initiative does not receive the attention and time it deserves.

Conducting a visit to the authorities
In many settings, a visit to the authorities in the community is part of what is required in order to enter the community. It is often important to visit both political authorities and traditional authorities, in order to inform them of the research or initiative, ask for their cooperation, and understand their perspective on what is being initiated. This should be done modestly and respectfully and is often better achieved with the help of someone from the community making the introductions.

The role of the researcher or development practitioner
As discussed earlier, in the context of participatory development communication, we must see ourselves as communication actors and realize that our way of interacting with others will influence the way people will or will not participate in the research or development initiative. In that perspective, it is important to facilitate a two-way mode of approach: the research team or development workers approaching a community through community leaders and community groups, and the community approaching the research team/development workers. The intention of establishing a dialogue should prevail over the demand for collaboration.

Attitudes and perceptions
Many researchers and development practitioners have been trained to perceive community members as beneficiaries and as future end users of the research results. A shift of perception at that level is also desirable. We have to recognize that the delivery of technologies to end users (like farmers and other community dwellers) simply does not work. A first desirable change is to consider community members as stakeholders in the development process, not as beneficiaries. So approaching a community also means involving people and thinking in terms of stakeholders' participation in the different phases of the research process as a whole.

Discussing agendas

It is important at this stage to recognize that the interests of communities, researchers and development practitioners are not similar. Generally, researchers and development practitioners come to a community with a specific mandate. So, if we want to start from the needs and priorities of the communities, it can only be done within a specific category of needs. This has to be clarified at the first moment of approaching a community. When resource people come from the outside into a poor community, people will present them with all their problems. They will not make a distinction between different categories, such as soil fertility, health, and credit facilities problems because it is all part of the same reality for them. Because you cannot address all of those issues, the scope and limitations of your mandate must be fully explained and discussed with community members.

Avoiding the danger of raising expectations

In so doing, researchers and development practitioners must be aware of the danger of raising expectations in local communities. To counteract this risk, it is important to be clear on your mandate with community members, to discuss possible negative and positive outcomes of what they will be doing together, and to involve community members in activity planning.

Talking about short-term and medium-term impact may also be useful. Some communities lose interest in a given project when they do not see any concrete "benefits" coming from it.

Finally, there is the issue of financial and material advantages for participating in research or development activities. First, we should try to find substitutes for the word "project". Whenever researchers or practitioners come to a community to discuss a "project", many people tend to see an opportunity of great sums of money and material advantages. These considerations should be addressed at the beginning of the relation with the community.

Agreement should also be made to recognize whenever compensation is justified and what form it should take. It is important here for research teams and development practitioners to be clear on this issue in order not to raise the financial expectations of community members.

Understanding culture

Among the problems that researchers and development practitioners may face in the course of their work are cultural barriers and systems of beliefs.

Cultural and religious characteristics, and the ways people approach and discuss subjects or take decisions, can vary greatly from one region to another, especially when it comes to specific social groups (women and children, for example) or ethnic groups. It is very important that you identify these cultural elements for each specific group involved in the development of the research process. Once again, it takes time to understand and appreciate these factors, in a context where there is usually little time available.

Resistance to change and the force of local customs, habits and taboos are other cultural aspects that can often pose significant obstacles. It is essential to understand and appreciate their real influence. Here again, we cannot overestimate the importance of taking sufficient time to know the community and discuss with people.

Some teams try to have some of their staff spend more time living in the communities among local farmers and organizing and participating in social activities in the communities. This can make a big difference for the outsiders in understanding the community and for the community to understand and know better those researchers or development practitioners. Visiting the village elders and collecting information from different groups are also good practices.

It is not always possible for research teams and development practitioners to do so however, as often it was not planned at the beginning of the project. This should be given better consideration.

Using local language

There is also the issue of the level of language. The way a topic is dealt with, the vocabulary used, the ways different groups and individuals perceive a topic will differ from one place to the next and from one group to another.

Taking time into consideration

Participation demands not only a change of attitudes from researchers and development practitioners, but also from community members. In order for people to participate meaningfully in the development process, they must first develop the perception that they can make a difference, moving from a passive attitude of waiting for donors to an attitude of self-help. This takes time and does not happen in a matter of days or weeks.

Apart from attitudes, participation also demands that community members develop confidence and skills that help them participate meaningfully and effectively in research or development initiatives. Time, again.

Finally, in some contexts, community members are strongly influenced by market trends and self-interest comes before community interests. This is often linked to a breakdown of traditional systems and beliefs, in which individuals seek to use the resources as fast as possible to gain better income. So, for improvement to take place, people need to start working together again as a community. This also takes time.

Therefore, expectations regarding the achievement of research or development objectives should be tempered, taking into consideration these factors.

Understanding the local setting

As we saw, understanding the local setting goes hand in hand with the process of entering a community. But there are also some specific considerations to take into account.

Facilitating communication and community participation first depends on a thorough understanding of the local setting in which the researcher or development practitioner wants to work. This also includes gathering information and knowledge related to the problem corresponding to the specific mandate of the researcher or the development practitioner.

Traditionally, communication was about whether people understood the message. But the focus should be recast the other way: how well does the researcher or practitioner understand the setting in which she is planning to work and the people she wants to work with?

This process of understanding involves the following aspects that we will now discuss.

Entering a flow

Any intervention happens in a temporal dimension. So it is important for the researcher or the development practitioner to understand that her action is connected in a certain way with a given context of past and present development initiatives.

Those initiatives may be past or present projects lead by NGOs or international organizations, but they can also be local initiatives developed by community groups and organizations. The knowledge of these interventions and of the other actors involved in these will be very useful, not only to develop potential synergies but also to understand the attitudes of community members and other stakeholders toward the "new" initiative.

Collecting and sharing information

Classical research tends to be extractive. Researchers have been trained in doing data collection at the beginning of a research initiative. Similarly, many development practitioners have been trained to collect information to feed into the design of a project.

Researchers and development practitioners working with a participatory development communication approach should try to collect and share information together with community members and associated

stakeholders. The idea is to associate them to the different phases of the research or project so that researchers or development practitioners are not only receiving information from community members, but are also building a process with them.

In sharing the information they have on a local setting or development problem, researchers confirm if they understood correctly the information provided by the local people, and the people obtain a broader perspective of their community through the information that has been put together. This broader perspective also helps in involving people in the identification of a problem or a common goal, the analysis of the causes, and the decision-making on an initiative to be carried out.

Using PRA and related techniques

Many researchers and practitioners now use participatory techniques, such as participatory rural appraisal, to actively involve members of a community in quickly gathering the maximum amount of information on the state and management of natural resources, and basic social, economic and political data.

The exercises can include the use of different techniques like collective mapping of the local area, developing a time line, ranking the importance of problems inside a matrix, wealth ranking, doing observation walks, using Venn diagrams, producing season ability diagrams, etc.

The use of PRA as a collection of techniques for putting together this information in a limited time is a powerful tool for facilitating the participation of community members.

But it can also be used restrictively, when the techniques are not fully appropriated by the participants and remain techniques used by the research team only to gather information for their own purposes.

The main idea in using PRA is to collect information quickly with the participation of community members and to share it so that everyone becomes empowered by that information and can participate better in the analysis and decision-making processes.

When this does not happen, and when researchers or development practitioners go back with the information without nurturing this empowerment process, the technique is not applied as it should. In fact, such a process can be detrimental because researchers and practitioners then think that they are doing participatory work, when in fact, community members are only "being participated".

A general knowledge of the local setting

Knowledge of the local setting includes knowledge in terms of natural resource mapping and natural resource management practices, but it should go beyond that. It refers to general knowledge on the community and its environment: not just geographical, environmental and ecological, but also demographic, linguistic, religious, cultural, political, economic, social, educational issues, livelihoods and aspirations, and others.

Collecting information on communication issues

In this preliminary phase of the research or development initiative, efforts should also be made to identify the different specific groups in the community. It is important not to consider community members as a homogeneous group. It is better, after an initial community meeting, to plan specific meetings with different community groups or members and ask for their own specific perspective.

Also, in the same way that they collect general information and do some PRA activities to gather more specific information, researchers and development practitioners should also ask some communication questions which will help them in a later stage to design a communication strategy.

Developing strategies to identify reliable information

Many community members, approached in the process of collecting information, especially poor farmers,

will not speak their mind in response to the questions they are being asked, but say what they think the researcher or development practitioner wants to hear. So validating the information and also developing strategies adapted to specific groups are especially useful. For example, there may be more chances in getting reliable information through a discussion with poor farmers led by a farmer rather than by an impressive outsider from the city.

Developing collaboration and partnership

These first stages of approaching a community and collecting and sharing information are also a first opportunity to identify resource persons and organizations working in the same area and to involve them in the process. It can be an NGO working with the same community, a rural radio or a theatre group, etc. It is always better to do so in the beginning, where people feel they can play a role in the design of the research or intervention than after, when they perceive themselves as mere contract providers.

Building trust

To close this part of the discussion, we must stress the importance of building trust and understanding between the researcher or development practitioner and community members.

During the implementation stage, it will also be important to maintain the motivation and interest of the participants. We cannot expect this to happen by itself without support.

Participatory research or development activities will often be launched in a rush of enthusiasm, yet we must be aware that this is only one phase of a long and complex process that demands sustained attention and dedication. It is essential to be prepared to reinforce this climate of confidence and share the activity's objectives among all participants.

In that sense, the preliminary gathering of information is a way for you to start developing a dialogue with the community and involving local people and resource persons in the process.

Step 2: Involving the community in the identification of a problem,

its potential solutions, and the decision to carry out a concrete initiative
A second step consists of involving the community in the identification of a problem and potential solutions, and in making a decision to carry out a concrete initiative.

Starting with a problem

The most common situation is when the research team or the practitioner seeks to work with a local community facing specific natural resource management problems.

Identify and analyze the causes and consequences of that problem with thehelp of a specialist in the area of the question;

- Decide if they can act on that problem;
- Identify potential solutions with the help of a specialist;
- Decide on experimenting a set of potential solutions in particular;
- Define a communication strategy that will support the experimentation or implementation.

Facilitating synergy

Another situation is where an action has already been undertaken within a local community to deal with a natural resource management problem, either by a support agency, a development organization, a technical service or by a local group.

In this case, when it is possible, you should try to support that community initiative, instead of coming up with something different. You can facilitate the discussion on the causes of the identified problem and on potential solutions and help define the communication strategy, which will support the experimentation or

the implementation.

Sometimes, a problem that many communities face with research or development initiatives is their multiplicity, often in the same areas. They are then faced with a fragmentation of activities funded by different donors and undertaken by different organizations. Synergy between those different initiatives should be pursued very seriously. It may not always be possible to do so but we can observe, in the cases where it has been done, the many benefits that result from this approach.

Starting with a goal

There is also a third situation, where the point of departure is a common goal that a community has set. Instead of focusing on what goes wrong, this approach focuses on a vision of where a community (or individuals, or community groups) wants to arrive at in a given period of time. Sometimes it will also be the case of a successful initiative that a given community group wants to share with others.

As with the process developing from problem identification where a community identifies a set of potential solutions to experiment with, in this case the community will decide on implementing a set of actions to approach that goal.

Therefore whether the process derives from a problem or from a common goal, there is a community decision to act. Ideally, this is where the research objectives or the development initiative objectives should come into play.

Putting the community first

In any of these three contexts, it should be the local people, not the research team or the development practitioner, who identify the problem to be addressed or the initiative to be carried on. The global idea is to start from people's own perceptions of their needs, rather than coming in with a preconceived project and trying to fit it in a local community. The role of the research team or development practitioner consists in facilitating this process, not in taking it on herself.

Prioritizing a development problem

When you as the researcher or development practitioner begin a new dynamic with a community, you must be clear on your mandate. As we mentioned earlier, it has to be clarified at the first moment of approaching a community. When resource people come from the outside into a poor community, people will present them with all their problems.

They will not make the distinction between different categories, such as soil fertility, health and credit facilities problems because it is all part of the same reality for them. But the researcher or development practitioner cannot address all of these issues, so the scope and limitations of her mandate must be fully explained and discussed with community members.

Another dimension related to this issue is to be attentive to the power relations in the community, which will affect the prioritization. Sometimes, a development problem identified by a community can reflect the priority of an influential person of that community only (a chief, a religious leader, an opinion leader, etc.). It is important at that level to use a democratic mechanism to ensure the process remains truly participatory.

Discussing the causes of a development problem

If communication is to contribute to the resolution of a development problem, the process should bring people to understand the **causes**, identify possible **solutions** and decide what **action** to take.

There is often a temptation to jump directly from the desired goal (for example, resolving a conflict) to an action (for example, an awareness campaign) without looking closely at the underlying causes of the problem (for example, the lack of an adequate quantity of a given natural resource for all local inhabitants).

The technique of the problem tree, practiced by many NGOs, may help a group to identify a problem more clearly. The trunk of the tree represents the problem itself, and the branches, the consequences. But we must also discover the roots, which of course are hidden. This involves a lot of discussions and negotiations on what is a cause and what is a consequence. In many cases, it helps to take note of the complexity of a given problem.

For example, community members may have identified the lack of drinkable water as a major problem and may want to launch a campaign to build a well. Yet further investigation may show that there already exist some wells in the area but that they were not cared for and are no longer functional. With a little research, it may be found that the community was never associated with the project of having a well and that before digging another one, there should be some discussion on the project, the locating of the well within the locality, responsibilities for maintenance and the rights of specific community groups to drinkable water. This is where participatory development communication is particularly useful.

Again, the local people may identify desertification as a major threat to the community because soil productivity is declining and the environment is getting poorer in trees. If we go no further than this, we might be tempted to conclude that what is needed is a broad public information campaign. Yet if we document the situation, and discuss it with technical partners working in the area, we may find that some groups in the community are particularly at risk. The problem in this case is to discover how to reach these specific groups and discuss with them ways to improve their agricultural production and their livelihood.

Involving specialists

Understanding the cause of a problem often requires not only common knowledge, available locally, but also specialized knowledge. It can be someone from the community holding appropriate local knowledge, or an external specialist contributing with modern knowledge. The recourse to a specialist in discussing the causes and consequences of a given problem and in identifying its potential solutions is quite important: this is where specialized knowledge comes into play. Many problems and questions related to soil fertility or to water for example are so complex that a deficit in information at that level
can lead to bad decisions.

In the case of a development intervention, it is important to get the assistance of a specialist. In the case of a research intervention, members of the research team may have specialized knowledge, but it is not always adapted to the local context. Validation of that knowledge in the local context is then an important process.

Increasing the accuracy of information in a discussion and facilitating its sharing and understanding is an important issue in the process of involving the community in the assessment of problems and solutions and should be given proper attention.

Deciding on a concrete initiative to undertake

Once the development problem and its causes have been identified, the next step is for the community to decide if they can act on that problem. As noted earlier, there are some things that communities can do by themselves, with their own resources; then there are cases where other people must be involved, or where there are certain conditions that must first be assembled. Finally, there are things that local communities cannot control
  directly (policies and laws, for example) and which necessitate the implementation of a complex decision-making influencing process.

If there is little possibility of implementation, then we must go back to prioritization. If there is, the next tasks are to identify potential solutions with the help of a specialist and then decide on experimenting with a set of potential solutions in particular or on implementing a specific set of activities (in the case of a goal-oriented process).

Again, in identifying possible solutions and actions to undertake, it is important to bear in mind the real constraints associated with this enterprise and to keep objectives realistic and modest.

This is where ideally, development and research objectives should be identified to strengthen and accompany the community initiative. In general, however, such objectives have already been identified in the proposal before going to such a process with the community. A way to go around this problem is to plan a revision of the initial objectives with the community at the start of the research or development project.

Adjusting choices in mid-course

In the course of an experimentation or implementation, we may need to revise the initial choices. As work proceeds, we may find that the action identified at the outset is not appropriate to the problem at hand. A problem of water access in a community may in fact turn out to be a problem of management or community participation. A project aiming to fight bush fires may first demand an initiative on soil fertility. These kinds of situations happen all the time.

In other cases, we may discover that some preliminary actions need to be taken before we can proceed with the project as planned. For example, a set of actions initially planned with women may have to wait till the realization of preliminary communication activities with their husbands or in certain cases, with the traditional authorities. Often we will have to reassess the scope of the initial ambitions in the light of the constraints that now exist. Often too the number of activities planned must be reduced in order to take into account the time factor for their realization or the availability of the participating groups.

In any case, it is important to adopt an iterative approach and to readjust initial choices as we go on in order to better attain our objective. Going with a plan and not proceeding with any modifications on the way may be a good attitude if you are building a bridge but with human situations, it is totally different.

STEP 3: Identifying the different community groups and other stakeholders concerned with the identified problem (or goal) and initiative

Who are the different community groups and the other stakeholders concerned with the selected problem and solution?

At this stage, the research team or the development practitioner needs to identify the different community groups or categories of people concerned with a given problem or with a given development action, and to identify the best way of making contact and establishing dialogue with each of them. The same applies to the other stakeholders involved in the given problem and solution to experiment. Addressing ourselves to a general audience such as "the community" or "the people of such-and-such village" does not really help in involving people in communication. Every group that makes up the community, in terms of age, sex, ethnic origin, language, occupation, social and economic conditions, has its own characteristics, its own way of seeing a problem and its solution, and its own way of taking actions.

In participatory development communication, the communication is targeted in order to reach specific groups. We often speak of "target population" or "target groups" to designate those to whom the communication is to be addressed. This term, of military origin, once referred to the kind of communication where the communication facilitator sought to prepare and transmit messages to reach specific groups within a given population. While we take a different approach today, where community groups are invited to become participants in the communication process, the former term still remains in use. However the metaphor is misleading and it is important to change the way we refer to the specific groups with whom we are working, if we want to modify our way of establishing a relation with them.

How do we differentiate these groups?

The main criterion for identifying the different groups is to identify the various categories of persons who

are most affected by the development problem and those groups that might be able to contribute to its solution. The principle is the same if we are speaking of a development initiative rather than a problem: we must identify the people most concerned about it.

We may distinguish among these categories on the basis of factors: age, gender, language, ethnic or other specific social factors, livelihood or socio-professional categories (and periods of availability), income, educational level, localization, culture, values or religion, behavior or common interests.

For example, in the case of forest management, concerned groups can include not only "youth", "women" or workers from a logging company, but may also include a group of people who protect a sacred area of the forest, another group consisting of traditional pharmacologists, a group of people living on the edge of the forest and who "clean" the forest by collecting dead fire wood, a group collecting wood for charcoal making, etc.

Groups of participants can often be identified at the outset of an intervention. But it may sometimes be necessary, once the intervention is underway, to refocus or revise our initial selection and identify the groups most specifically affected by the problem.

Similarly, we might identify other stakeholders who, although not directly affected, have the capacity to provide assistance in resolving the problem or in conducting the planned activities. In the example discussed above, we might, depending on the circumstances, call upon the assistance of traditional or religious authorities, personalities who wield influence among the young, such as sports heroes or popular singers, teachers or social workers.

Who and with whom?

One way to identify those specific groups is to ask first "Who is involved in the problem or in the initiative to carry out" and then ask ourselves "With whom are we going to work?"

A first list can be made out of three global categories: community groups, policy makers and other stakeholders. We then identify every group in each of these categories who is affected by the problem or can play a role in the solution. In a second list the research team or development practitioner will identify within these groups those with whom they will work as a priority.

If all the small-scale farmers of a specific county are involved with a soil fertility problem for example, the researchers or practitioners may decide to work in priority withfarmers involved in actions aiming to manage the erosion, with women groups, and with poor farmers.

Similarly, although all the local and district leaders should be involved, they might concentrate their action on sub-county authorities. Within the third category, they might decide to work first with the extension people working in the area, although there are other stakeholders involved. It is a question of priorities and resources.

The gender issue: paying particular attention to the different needs and social roles of men and women

In all cases it is important to pay particular attention to the issue of gender. In every setting, the needs, social roles and responsibilities of men and women are different. The degree of access to resources and of participation in the decision-making processes may also be different between men and women. And the way they will view a common problem or potential solutions is also very different.

The same is true for the young people of each sex. There is often a sharp distinction between the roles and needs of girls and of older women, or between older men and young people's perceptions of the same problem.

Consequently, their interests are different, their needs are different, the way they see things are different, and their contributions to development are different. Formerly, the focus of interest was on "the community", without really taking this difference into account. As a result, women and young people alike were often overlooked in the development process, although their participation was an essential condition. If their involvement was to be enhanced, it was quickly realized that it was not enough simply

to focus on women or on young people as a separate group: what was needed in all cases was to pay attention to the different roles of men and women in the development situation
 concerned, and to the various relationships between these roles. It is this realization that underlies the preoccupation with gender.

From the communication perspective, the gender issue implies two things. First, it is important to distinguish clearly between the needs of men and women. In order to achieve this, we must learn how to establish communication, in all settings, with both men and women.

In many settings, women are often barred from village meetings, or if they are admitted, they do not always have the right to speak. Even where this inhibition is cultural rather than formal, it must be taken into account. It often happens that women who are authorized to participate in these meetings are not really representative of local women as a whole. It is important then to be aware of these realities. Within each category of participant groups, we need to think about the specific roles and needs of men and women.

Secondly, it is important to encourage and promote women's participation. The challenge here is to bring women to participate in defining problems that concern them and in seeking solutions, rather than "mobilizing" them. Here again, depending on habits and customs in each setting, the ways of establishing communication will be different.

Sometimes it may be necessary to interact with the men first, and proceed only later to bring together groups of women and discuss issues with them.

A third important aspect of the gender issue is to distinguish between gender roles in each of the specific groups we intend to work with and not to build separate categories of "women" and "young people". Many researchers and development practitioners at this stage will have the tendency to identify groups such as: farmers, foresters, fishermen, women, young people, etc. that is a mix of gender and socio-professional roles. But this categorization is not very productive: first, there are women and young people in each of these socio-professional categories and their roles, needs and perceptions are often different from those of the men. Second, one has to ask how people, in each of these categories, are affected by the problem or involved in the initiative.

How well do we know each specific group?

Each specific group has its own characteristics and these must be taken into account in any communication action. In the same way, each group will be concerned with a given development problem in different ways.

For this reason, we cannot approach each group in the same manner. Moreover, each group has its own social codes and ways of doing things. Similarly, their ways of participating in communication will be different and certain conditions will have to be assembled if real communication is to be established with each group. It is important then

to take the time to become familiar with each group and identify the general characteristics that must be

taken into account in communication, as well as the factors that may condition their participation.

It can be useful here to draw up a profile of each group as if we were trying to describe the group to an outsider. This profile should specify:

- Physical characteristics: age, sex, etc.
- Ethnic and geographic background.
- Language and habits of communication.
- Socio-economic characteristics: lifestyle, income, education, literacy, etc.
- Cultural characteristics: traditions, values, beliefs, etc.
- Knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with respect to the developmentproblem to be dealt with through communication.

It is also important to identify each group's own methods and channels of communication (the ways in which people interact, or specific places where they do so), not only in order to make contact initially but also to facilitate the expression of the group's viewpoints.

Finally, we need to identify the particular context of each group: the season or the time of day when its members are available, the seasonal nature of their economic occupations, their physical setting (meeting places, availability of electricity, means of communication, etc.). In fact, many communication initiatives run into difficulty because

they fail to take into account this aspect.This information-gathering process does not require an in-depth sociological survey,but rather a quick review of basic information that will serve to orient the communication strategy. This review is best done when it involves directly the representatives of the local community.

Step 4: Identifying communication needs, objectives and activities

Starting with communication needs

When planning communication strategies, many tend to take a very broad problem as a starting point (desertification, for example), and then to move right into planning communication activities (information sessions, awareness campaigns).

The result is that the target is often missed and, despite all the activities undertaken, the problem remains untouched. To avoid situations of this kind, we should start from the needs expressed by local communities and identify the communication objectives we want to achieve before undertaking specific activities.

Material needs and communication needs

Development needs can be categorized broadly between material needs and communication needs. Any given development problem and attempt to resolve it will present needs relating to material resources and to the conditions to acquire and manage these. However, we will also find complementary needs which involve communication: for sharing information, influencing policies, mediating conflicts, raising awareness, facilitating learning, supporting decision-making and collaborative action etc. Clearly, these two aspects should go hand in hand and be addressed in a systemic way by any research or development effort.

Participatory development communication puts the focus on the second category of needs and ensures that they are addressed, together with the material needs the research or development effort is concentrating on.

For example, in an initiative aiming to resolve water conflicts in a village, we will probably find a need for an improved access to water, and development initiatives are needed to address that need. At the same time however, we may find out that in order to find adequate solutions in the present context, we must first understand the reasons behind the conflicts, such as the time schedule for various categories of users or the conflicting needs of herders, women and farmers. Or we may find that villagers do not know how to set up or manage effectively a water management committee. Or there may be a need for the village authorities to advocate for more water access, such as the drilling of another well, to the national water program.

In a community initiative aiming to manage collectively a forest, there may be material needs such as tools to cut wood, seeds to plant new trees, access to drinkable water, etc. and again development resources are needed to address those needs. At the same time people must understand the necessity to manage the forest if they want it to survive, and be able to take into consideration the specific needs of different categories of users. There may also be needs relating to learning different techniques, or needs relating to the setting up of a community forestry management mechanism.

To identify such needs, it is not enough to ask the question directly in a community meeting. This work needs to be done with each group of participants, both those most directly affected by the problem and those who are in a position to help resolve it.

Sometimes, needs will be identified not through direct answers from community members, but through an observation of the different practices in use or by comparing the answers or lack of answers of the different groups.

Again, this identification of needs must be linked to the problem or to the goal identified previously and to the initiative to be carried out. The question which can guide us in this is the following: What do the different groups we are working with need in order to experiment with or implement a specific set of activities, which can help solve a specific problem?

Communication objectives

Communication objectives are based on the communication needs of each specific group concerned by a specific problem or a set of research activities. These objectives are identified and then prioritised. The final choice of objectives may be made on the basis of the needs that are most urgent, or those most susceptible to action. They are then defined in terms of the action which needs to occur for the objectives to be achieved.

Generally, in the context of natural resource management, the objectives are linked to one or several of these communication functions: raising awareness, sharing information, facilitating learning, supporting participation, decision-making and collaborative action, mediating conflicts, influencing the policy environment.

An important aspect though is not to limit oneself to awareness-raising objectives. It may be important to raise awareness for a community management of a forest, or for a better community management of water resources. However, this objective should be accompanied by other objectives aiming to:

- develop a plan for such a management,
- set up a community mechanism to carry it forward and monitor it,
- learn specific forestry techniques (in the case of the first situation).

One question we may ask ourselves in identifying these objectives is the following: what are the results, (in terms of knowledge, attitudes, behavior or problem-solving capacity) that each group of participants should be expected to achieve by the end of the initiative? Each of these results then constitutes an objective.

In this way, we will have a general objective, which defines the final results that we hope to accomplish, and more specific objectives relating to each of these results, which will serve as the basis for the activities to be undertaken.

It is best if these objectives can be set out in observable terms, because that will greatly facilitate subsequent evaluation. However, we should not overdo that. For example, it may be very difficult to tell, at the end of a communication strategy for improving soil fertility, whether we have "reduced desertification risk". It will be easier to ascertain whether the specific community groups with whom the communication facilitator worked understand the process of desertification as it takes place in their own setting, whether they are aware of appropriate protective measures, and have put one or more of these into practice. But on the other hand, to be too specific may be as problematic as to be too general. It may be more appropriate to formulate an objective as "to facilitate the understanding of causes related to a water conflict problem in the community" than to formulate it as "75% of the community members will be able to identify five causes related to the water conflict problem in the community". The latter would be a better formulation in the context of a class (pedagogical objectives) but is rather unproductive at the scale of a community.

Again, this planning exercise should be done with the participation of the various groups of participants

and resource persons working with the initiative.

From communication objectives to communication activities

The next stage is to regroup the different objectives involving the same community groups and to consider the best way of supporting each group in achieving them. For each group of participants and for each objective, we should then ask ourselves what the most appropriate modes of communication are.

For example, if we want to work closely with women on water use, in many settings, it may be better to arrange first for a global meeting with husbands and wives to explain the intention, discuss the problem and then arrange for working exclusively with groups of women, than trying to isolate women for participation in communication activities. It is on the basis of such strategic considerations that communication activities are then identified and ranked by order of priority. It is particularly important at this point to be realistic about the feasibility issues and not to compile an endless list of activities that is too ambitious.

Step 5: Identifying appropriate communication tools

Communication tools and the planning process

Until now we have gone through a planning process which starts with identifying specific groups, their communication needs and objectives, and goes on to identify communication activities and then communication tools.

The process is different from when people say, "we're going to do a video, or a radio program, or a play", without knowing exactly what contribution it will make to the initiative.

Here, we want to respond to specific communication needs. We identify the communication objectives we want to attain and communication activities are developed for that purpose. Now the communication tools we are going to use in those activities are exactly that: tools. They are not the "product" or the "output". We use them to help to achieve the communication objectives we are pursuing with each category of stakeholders we are working with in the community.

The expression "Communication Tools

Everyone is familiar with the notion of communication "media". Generally, we distinguish between the mass media (newspapers, radio, television), the traditional media (storytelling, theatres, songs), "group" media (video, photographs, posters), and community media such as short-range rural radio broadcasting.

The media, and the different forms of interpersonal communication, are our communication tools.

If we use the expression "communication tools" here, it is to stress the instrumental nature of these media: their purpose in this case is not to disseminate information, but rather to support the process of participatory communication.

In that perspective it is important to choose those communication tools which will support two-way communication and which are in relation with what we want to do and the people we want to work with.

What should we consider in selecting communication tools?

In selecting the appropriate communication tools, we need to consider three essential criteria:

Criterion 1: Community Use

Whenever possible, rely on the communication tools already in use in the local community for exchanging information and points of view or the ones they are most comfortable with. Remember that we are not working anymore with a view to disseminate information and knowledge from a resource person (researcher or expert) to community members, but to facilitate the realization of the set of actions they decided to implement or experiment with, at the beginning of the planning process.

For example, the goal will not consist in producing a video to explain a given technology to a community but to use it as a tool for community members to discuss their own experiences with it and share their learning.

Tools of Participatory development communication

Introduction
Communication Tools

Communication tools already in use in the local community, costs, time and technical conditions of use, and   various kinds of utilization.
We stressed that we are not using media with a view to disseminate information and knowledge from a resource person (researcher or expert) to community members, but to facilitate the realization of the set of actions a community decides to implement, in order to act on a given development problem.
Where there is some learning to do, we are reminded that the use of communication tools should go hand in hand with what we have learned from adult education: we should always start from the experiences of people and build an active learning experience. In this third part of the guide, we will first present some user's notes on examples of communication tools that are often used in the context of communicating with local communities, with a participatory approach. Of course, this list is by no way exhaustive. But we will see that we will find the same elements again and again, independently of the tool itself and that they can be applied to other communication tools as well.
In a second section, we will consider usages related to different kinds of utilization (the third criterion of selection).

Types of communication tools in PDC
Generally, we distinguish between mass media (newspapers, radio, and television), traditional media (storytelling, theatres, songs), "group" media (video, photographs, posters) and community media such as short-range rural radio broadcasting. The media, and the different forms of interpersonal communication, are our communication tools. The following describes some of the tools and techniques you may wish to use in your communication strategy. It may be useful to remember that often the use of more than one approach, tool or medium can strengthen your approach so these should not be viewed in isolation or as independent of one another.

Interpersonal communication tools

Discussion and Debate
Group discussion and debate are widely used. They are so common that we seldom think of them as communication tools. But if we do, we can greatly enhance their utilization. As communication tools, they should support a given activity (in this case, generally a community meeting), in order to reach a specific objective. Usually, the objective will consist of raising an issue publicly, stimulating awareness and preparing for other activities.
A large group discussion is not always the best tool though to facilitate participation. Often, only certain categories of people will talk, offer their arguments or ask questions. In many settings, young people or women will not talk in front of the older men. And of course, many topics cannot be discussed openly in public.
The effectiveness of discussion and debate resides in its complementarily with other activities, for example discussions with smaller and more focused groups.

Visioning Sessions
The same applies to visioning sessions of a film or video. Usually, these sessions are organized during a public meeting where resource persons talk about a given issue, and where, after the projection, a discussion is organized. This tool is very effective in raising awareness on a specific issue, or to introduce knowledge or behavior elements, but as a single activity, it has little potential to stimulate participation to work out some solutions.
Again, the effectiveness of the tool is linked with the organization of other activities, again with smaller and more focused groups.

Focus Group Discussions
A focus group discussion is held with a small number of people (7–10) who share similar characteristics. The information obtained through this technique is considered valid for other community members who demonstrate those characteristics.
The discussion evolves along the lines of a discussion guide, prepared before hand, but the questions are open-ended. The idea is to enable every participant to express his/her opinions on a given topic.
In many cases, a focus group discussion can also evolve in a strategy-developing activity, with each participant contributing not only to the identification of a problem, causes or solutions, but also in a strategy which could facilitate community participation to the resolution of that problem and the experimentation of the potential solutions.

PRA Techniques
Participatory rural appraisal techniques are well documented and used in the field. The exercises can include the use of different techniques like collective mapping of the local area, developing a time line, ranking the importance of problems inside a matrix, wealth ranking, doing observation walks, using Venn diagrams, producing season ability diagrams, etc. As communication tools, they give us a lot of of information in a limited time span about the characterization of natural resources in a given area and basic social, economic and political information, in order to plan a development or research project. As such, they are powerful tools for facilitating the participation of community members. But as mentioned earlier, they can also be used restrictively, when the different techniques are not fully in the hands of the participants and remain techniques used by the research team only to gather information for their own purposes.
The main idea in using PRA is to collect information quickly with the participation of community members and to share it so that everyone becomes empowered by that information and can participate better in the analysis and decision-making processes.
When this does not happen, and when researchers or development practitioners go back with the information without nurturing this empowerment process, the technique is not applied as it should. In fact, such a process can be detrimental because researchers and practitioners then think that they are doing participatory work, when, in fact community members are only "being participated".

Role-Playing
Role-playing can be a very interesting way to facilitate participation in a small group, identify attitudes and collect views and perceptions. In a role-play, two to five people take a specific identity and play the interaction between the characters. It is interesting when the situation asks for one character to make a case before the other ones or try to influence them.
As an example, one character could take the role of a researcher coming to the community, and another would play a community member. Each would simulate a situation in which the researcher engages in a dialogue with the community member to identify her communication needs regarding a specific natural resource management initiative.
After the play, a discussion follows. Each participant explains what happens in her group and how she felt in the guise of her character interacting with the other character.
The facilitator underlines the main ideas related to the topic of discussion and links the exercise with the topic of discussion. Afterward, the participants and the facilitator evaluate if they reached the objective of the activity.

Visits, Tours, Workshops and Exhibitions
Home visits are an excellent way to raise awareness on a given topic and to collect the views of people on a given problem. Often, people who will not speak openly in a community meeting, or who will not participate in it, will be more at ease to share views and information in the context of their home or their field.
In the context of rural poor, it is often more effective when contact farmers instead of the research team itself make the visits, or when contact farmers accompany the research team.

Tours and visits by farmers to other farmers are useful to demonstrate some solutions, which have been used in other settings, and also to raise the motivation to try them out and experiment with them. But to be more effective, they should be prepared by the farmers who are going to visit, after many discussions on the problems they face and the solutions they could implement, instead of having farmers participate in a tour by itself.

The organization of a workshop on a given topic is useful to present and discuss specific technologies, which can support solutions to a given problem, or to assemble similarly minded people in order to develop a common strategy. It is however often more effective regrouping resource persons and collaborators from the community than community members themselves. Farmers often will not feel at ease in the context of a workshop given in the city, and the poorest and more marginalized people certainly will not come. So attention must be paid to the issue of who is at ease with the formula and who is not.

Finally, on-farm exhibitions and on-farm experimental plots, are more effective than exhibitions or plots at an experimental station. They are however are more difficult to organize, except if contact farmers and participating resource organizations identify them as a workable strategy and help in their realization.

"Group" media tools
Photography, Drawings, Flip Charts
When considering using photography (or drawings), we usually think of taking pictures to illustrate what we want to discuss with other people, and use them during a visioning session, or as cards or posters. It is in fact a very flexible and supportive tool. But there are also other ways to use this tool. One utilization consists of producing what people in West Africa have called flip chart. It is a succession of photographs or drawings that tell a story with three to ten pictures, and without any text. The images illustrate problem situations and situations where the problem is resolved. It is used with the facilitator asking people what they see in the images. This tool is very effective in stimulating discussion, comparing points of view and developing consensus on a given issue.

The images can be drawn, printed or glued on paper or cloth. The same process can be used by making a game of cards from those photographs or drawings and distributing the cards from one person to another, each trying to identify the image and commenting on the situation.

Another interesting utilization consists in giving disposable photo cameras to people in the field, asking them to photograph problematic situations they have to cope with or solutions they would like to see adopted and multiplied. An exhibition is made and discussions are conducted to identify strategies for action.

Similarly, photographs can be used with a discussion where people put forth their points of view with the help of what they illustrated, or to present a "before" and an "after" situation.

They are also powerful tools in the context of home visits, where they can be used to ask people what they see in the pictures and how they feel about the situation.

Posters and Banners
Posters and banners are often used to raise awareness on a topic. As such they are not very effective in facilitating participation. It is important to combine them with interactive activities with community members. At that point they can be used as the flip chart process, instead of being just glued on a specific spot.

This being said, sometimes the realization of posters or of banners by community members can become a rich communication activity. For example, it can be quite effective with children, in order to raise awareness on a specific issue, or with farmers, in order to illustrate a given technology. In the latter, a resource person will work with the research team and community members to develop the poster along the guidelines of community members. The discussion along this activity is often very rich and productive.

Video Recordings
Today, digital video cameras make the use of video simple. They come with batteries that can last up to 7 or 8 hours, and can fit in a small backpack. They also have a screen that can be used not only to capture

but also to show immediately the images to a small group of people. They are very easy to learn to operate and handle and make a good tool that community members can use by themselves.
As in the case of photography, video is usually used to illustrate a given problem or to demonstrate a given solution, by way of a program put together by the research team or produced elsewhere.

In cases where the document is produced by the research team, it is always more effective when it is done in a participatory way, including community members, in the planning, scenario development and realization. Video is also more effective when it positions a problem and documents the causes without suggesting solutions. Those are to come from participants viewing the documentary.
As in the example of disposable cameras, it can also be a tool put in the hands of community members for them to show an aspect of a problem or solution, or record a "video letter".

A powerful utilization of video is what is known as the "Fogo Process" (the name comes from a Canadian island where it was first used). In this process, video is used to introduce an issue and is followed by a community discussion. The discussion is captured and shown to the community afterward where it triggers other discussions to bring forth a consensus for action.
In some contexts, the discussion of the issue by a community can also be shown to other communities, where the discussion is also recorded, etc.

Audio Recordings
Audio recording can be used to capture the views of community members and stir a discussion afterward on these views. The recording can be played on tape recorders in the context of a community meeting or small group discussions, but it can also be broadcast on the radio when such collaboration has been achieved.
Audio recordings of songs and dances and the use of small audio players can also be effective tools for community members working with the research team to reach other members of their communities.
Audiocassette forums have also been used with some success. In this approach, tape recorders and cassettes are given to specific community groups, who decide on their content and discuss the problems and potential solutions to implement.

"Traditional" media tools

Theatre
The same considerations can be said of using theatre or other traditional media: it must be complementary to a process involving a set of interactive activities. Usually, theatre is used to raise awareness on a given issue. A play will often attract a large number of people in the rural areas, but will not do much by itself to accompany a community initiative to resolve a given problem. It must be part of a global strategy and like other communication tools, contribute to the identification of a given development problem and a concrete initiative set up by the community.
Theatre debate (where a debate with the audience follows the play) and theatre forum (where some parts of the play are played again by audience members, usually to try to convince a character of the play to change her behavior) are powerful techniques used to address critical issues. But again, they must be linked to a longer-term initiative in order to accompany a development initiative in the community.
Another strategy is to have specific community groups participate in the writing and production of the play. When the play addresses specific problems and demonstrates useful solutions, the message is much more convincing when the actors are people from the community.

Songs, Music, Sayings, Stories
Songs and music are powerful tools, whether they are used to create an ambience or produced in a way to deliver a message, they can greatly facilitate a process of sharing points of view and contribute to awareness raising. Again, they are only tools. Sayings and proverbs have also been used in order to facilitate discussion on a given topic. Stories, especially hiatus stories, which have to be filled in the middle or completed at the end also can create an ambience, raise awareness and facilitate group discussions.

"Mass" media tools

Rural Radio
As everyone recognizes, rural radio is an especially appropriate tool for reaching large groups, or groups beyond the immediate vicinity. Many producers working with rural radio are aware of participatory communication and will steer clear of the conventional "journalistic" approach. For example, they will attempt to include discussion panels in their broadcasting, and will do their best to make local voices heard. There are two important provisos, however, for using radio successfully: first, it is important to enlist a producer (or the broadcast authorities) in the initiative and work with her in planning the entire communication process. This means an ongoing cooperative relationship, and not just occasional requests for help. Maintaining such a relationship is not always easy and requires constant attention.
Secondly, it will be necessary to put together the funding needed to produce the spots or broadcasts (local FM stations often charge less than others), or to seek an exemption from the ministry or agency responsible. For these reasons radio is not used as widely as it could by communicators working with participatory approaches involving specific community groups.
The use of rural radio should also be combined with field work to ensure that communication flows in both directions: in this case, radio can either follow or support a communication initiative being undertaken at the same time, or it can be made an integral part of that initiative as a means for allowing people to express themselves.

Local Press
Local press is of course not an interactive medium. But it can greatly assist the efforts of a participatory development initiative, by informing the community or targeted decision makers on the evolution of the initiative. Again, collaboration with a journalist at the beginning of the initiative may develop into a partnership, while occasionally requesting the participation of a journalist may be considered a demand of services.

Television
Television is not used the way it could mostly because of the costs involved. In some countries where it is well-developed, community television can host debates and interventions, giving them the reach that working with small specific groups cannot have.
But this is seldom the case. In other countries, there is sometimes the possibility to connect with the producer of development programs and use television to illustrate the realization of a given community initiative, thus influencing other communities to embark on such a venture. But again, this is not very common.
There is a lot of potential though to use television in a participatory way by relying on community television viewing and discussion clubs. Experiences in India and Africa have been quite successful in using that tool. But again, costs have made it unsustainable.

"Information and communication technologies" tools

The Computer as a Slide Show Projector
Portable computers now also come with batteries that can be self-sufficient for many hours. They also fit easily in a carry-all bag. With software like PowerPoint or others, it is easy to store photographs, maps, video sequences, etc. and show them to specific groups in the field or in poor communities where there is no access to electricity.
Photographs taken by the community members can also be scanned and integrated into such presentations. Likewise, comparing satellite maps with community maps, or viewing the data on the availability of water, and comparing with indigenous knowledge on the issue, etc. can be powerful activities.

Using the Internet

The Internet, especially through the use of e-mail, can link together different community initiatives. This type of communication can motivate the actors in the development initiative, and enable them to get support or relevant information or to exchange ideas.

In some cases, it is feasible to produce a web page for an initiative. Again, for the actors involved in the development initiative, it contributes to breaking the sense of isolation and nurtures the motivation to act, knowing that progress on what they are doing can be known around the world. Again, this information can also be used in the context of a similar development initiative carried out elsewhere, to show what other people have been doing in a similar context.

Identifying communication tools for different kinds of applications.

This second section discusses the identification of appropriate tools for different usages.
For our purposes, we will consider the following usages:

- Triggering the process of participatory communication.
- Supporting and moderating discussion groups.
- Extending group discussion sessions.
- Reaching other groups or participants beyond the immediate locale.
- Supporting learning and the exchange of knowledge.
- Evaluating and keeping a record of activities.

Again, this list is of course not exhaustive. The main idea is that we have to identify the use we want to make of a communication tool in a given communication activity.

Triggering the process of participatory communication

The first stage in the approach to participatory development communication consists of helping to identify a problem, its causes, and deciding on actions to take to resolve it.