# ARE AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT FAILURES DUE TO CULTURAL IRRATIONALITY OR THE MANNER OF DEVELOPMENT?: TOWARDS A THEORY OF SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COMMUNICATION.

BY:
EMMANUEL KASONGO

DEPARTMENT:
CENTRE FOR CULTURAL AND MEDIA STUDIES

Illustration on the previous page: A depiction of top-down development communication in projects supposed to be participatory. See Chapter Five.

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own unaided work, except the acknowledged assistance and referenced citations. It has not been submitted for any previous degree at any university.

Date: 3/5/99

Signature:

Name: Emmanuel Kasongo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

For me, understanding begins with unravelling. In this thesis I set out to unravel, so as to enhance, the understanding of development and the lack of it in Sub-Saharan Africa. Little did I know that this task would entail attacking the dominant discourse which has prevented rather than enhanced the understanding of, and has forestalled rather than fostered, development generally in the Third World and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. The task was difficult and fraught with contradictions, as questioning the established wisdom risked my own credibility. I probed and probed, sometimes feeling lonely, lost and frustrated due to the jargon and pretentiousness of the vanguard of the wisdom I was questioning. I thank God for the increased academic interest in the field of development communication in the years 1996 and 1997. There were many conferences on communication, development, culture and civil society's participation, which were aspects of my research. This could not be mere coincidence but God's providence. It provided me opportunities for presentations and further research. It alleviated my feelings of loss and loneliness, as I consulted with mentors like Professor Srinivas Melkote, Bowling Green State University, USA; Professor Frank Morgan, University of Newcastle, Australia; Professor Cornelius Pratt, Michigan State University, USA; Professor Andrew Moemeka, Connecticut State Central University, USA; Professor Francis Kasoma of University of Zambia; Dr. Eronini Megwa and Dr Cathy Barrett of Peninsula and Cape Technikons, Cape Town, respectively. I am grateful to these people for they spent their time and resources talking, e-mailing and/or posting me their comments. Most of them continued to encourage me even in my post-submission experiences.

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The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.
Karl Marx. The thesis of Feuerbach. 1845.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of the implications of the manner of development, decision making and communication therein on Africa's development performance since the 1950s. It sought to establish the causes of development failures in Sub-Saharan Africa and to explore a way for sustainable community development. Four hypotheses were set:

- *First, Africa's development failures are due to cultural irrationality, as many modernisation theorists have suggested, including Goran Hyden (1980: 3-4) who asserts that "Africa's underdevelopment lies in the persistence of its pre-modern and pre-capitalist practices and structures" and Ulf Himmelstrand (1994: 25) with his "European superiority" notion;*
- *Second, Africa's development failures are due to the exclusionary manner of development;*
- *Third, as justification for the exclusionary manner of development, community participation in development could lead to disorder and paralyse governmental delivery capacities (Huntington, 1991), and*
- *Lastly, community participation is untenable because communitarian values no longer exist in African communities.*

This study is in two parts. Part One verifies the first two hypotheses through reviewing the literature. Part Two verifies the last two hypotheses using field research data.

Literature review and field case studies

Relevant literature was reviewed and critically analysed. The findings of the literature review necessitated theorisation of the beneficiary-driven development model in the quest for meaningful, effective and sustainable community development. This model is an organic gemeinschaft type of model whose means lies with the participatory communication approach. The model is about conducting development at micro levels beyond uni-linear top-down prescriptions. It seeks to ensure that development is based on the beneficiary communities' lived realities and that the beneficiaries participate in their development. Participatory communication approach requires the use of 'oramedia' (theatre, folklore and oral communication or the combination of mass and personal communication), or other media that are widely accessible in the communities for participatory intra-community decision making. "'Oramedia' allow for both interpersonal and local media forms and styles characterised by culturally defined ways of making sense" (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 62). They would therefore help to make development contextually relevant and sustainable.

The practicalities of the beneficiary-driven development model and the difficulties associated with participatory communication development necessitated two mutually related sets of field studies. One set of studies was conducted between August and November 1996 among the Bemba people in three Zambian rural villages. Another was conducted in Clermont township, Pinetown, South Africa between April and July 1997. The studies in the rural villages were intended for exploring pre-modern (pre-1950s) indigenous African modes of communal work and communication for lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model. They were also intended for assessing the model's potential in the rural settings. The studies in Clermont were intended for assessing the model's potential in the urban settings. The data were gathered through unstructured scheduled interviews with men and women of at least fifty years old in focus group meetings and through participant observation.

Findings:

This study found no evidence of cultural irrationality, be it the communities' lack of cooperation or resistance to new innovations or indigenous practices, as the cause of Africa's development failures. In fact, the study found that not even African rural peasants "have been slow to adopt new innovations"; they have been cooperative and open to new innovations (Low, 1986: 135). Pre-modern indigenous African customs and practices, like chitemene shifting cultivation, were rational. Chitemene was a form of organic agriculture based on the use of local resources. Thus, though not part of the 'market', in local terms chitemene was efficient, economical and sustainable. The study conclusively found that the development manner has contributed to development failures in Sub-Saharan Africa. By excluding the intended beneficiaries from participating in their development, development practitioners ignore the communities' views and their real aspirations. This causes development to be ineffective and unsustainable.

*The findings on the indigenous African modes of communal work show that community participation, and hence the beneficiary-driven development model, is possible and could not lead to disorder. The modes of communal work study explored include **Imbile** (mutual aid, sometimes organised according to gender);**Salongo** (communal work, involving everyone, for the general good); **Umulasa** (communal work for the Chief) and **Icima** (communal work for a particular good or person, eg. collectively ploughing for unmarried women and/or widows). The process was such that anyone would identify the need and put it forward as a proposal for concerted efforts to the headman or/and chief. S/he then arranged for **akabungwe** (community meeting at which the community planned collective interventions). 'Citizens' were summoned either by **Imbila** (oral communication) or by drumming whose messages varied according to the type of drums(**Umondo, Itumba,** etc.). These media were effective, as they provided everyone the access to information and participation in decision-making. There were high levels of community participation because communal assignments were scheduled and timed according to the communities' work calenders, communities were small and nearly homogenous and there was great respect for (traditional) community leadership. Speaking the same dialect could have also encouraged participation because, as linguists have observed, language provides familiarity in which individuals find common grounds for understanding (Hostetler, 1963).*

The findings on the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work reveal that citizens would participate if they understood the benefit of committing themselves to community assignments. It is also clear that participation would not lead to disorder and that there would not be conflicts if the processes were led by appropriate community leadership. Other lessons for the model include that community participation would be·high if members participated in intra-community decision-making. These lessons suggest that community participation will depend on whether the communities know both the benefits and the particular beneficiaries of the projects being implemented in their communities. One way of ensuring this is to specify the beneficiaries of community projects and organise community work along the lines of gender, age, interest etc. There is also need for participatory communication structures and mechanisms in the communities to facilitate collective decision-making. This would help the communities to establish the benefits and the particular beneficiaries of the projects being planned for their communities. This would facilitate high levels of participation, which would lead to meaningful self-organising community development. Keeping the projects at micro levels would also help to achieve consistent and high levels of community participation.

Can the indigenous practices lead us to Beneficiary-Driven Development today?

The practices and values discussed above are potentially useful for self-organising beneficiary-driven community development today. However, it is doubtful whether there are still communitarian values and respect for traditional leadership and forms of organisation in the communities. The organic disposition of African communities has changed in the past three decades. As Daniel Lerner (1966: 399-400) noted long ago, "Traditional institutions became defenceless against the inroads of Western civilisation through the mass media". Villages have become larger, the 'citizenry' sparsely/variously spread, and some traditional values have become less prevalent. This makes community participation to appear less likely.

*However, as the study revealed, one still finds communitarian values expressed in various mutual aid and neighbourly practices. In case of death, illness or accidents, communities still come to the help of the affected members. Communities do the same in times of traditional ceremonies like birth and marriage rites. The institutions of chieftainship, headmanship and sub-headmanship still exist and command authority. They still conduct **Umulondo** (village inspection), hold **Pwando** (feasts at Chiefs' palaces in honour of 'citizens' renowned for consistent participation in communal work), arbitrate in community disputes and allocate land. The results of the two studies in Musaila and Clermont communities, where residents consistently participated in their projects, bespeak this continued existence of pre-modern African communitarian values. As the explication by the archaic-residual-emerging theory for analysing cultural value forms suggests, values do not progress in a linear progression precluding a return to the preceding ones.*

Such communal practices and communitarian values cannot be biological attributes. As Max Weber observed, people are not born with homogeneous mental states, but they acquire such as they meet corresponding representations. Where they may lack, due to generation-gap or other reasons, these values can be inculcated, learnt and passed on, unless their useful prospects are in vain. With proper organisational policies and procedures, and wilful awakening of the communities to the essence of self-organising community development, this 'cultural factor' can be 'boosted' and make the model to be applied widely in Africa. Success will reinforce the model, as successful acts of self-organising and collective community development will invite the possibility of replication.

ABBREVIATIONS

CMR	Communicator-Medium-Receiver
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GII	Global Information Infrastructure
GNP	Gross National Product
ODA	Overseas Development Agency
OECD	Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development
PCI	Per Capita Income
SABC	South Africa Broadcasting corporation
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and cultural Organisation
USSR	United Socialist Soviet Republic
WB	World Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning

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Introduction

Many studies on the subject of development have tended to be limited to and by theoretical and conceptual issues such as 'what is development', 'what is underdevelopment', 'what is capitalism', 'what is socialism', 'what is communism', 'what is imperialism'. Not that these are not important questions but that ending here and treating these issues as if they were ends in themselves and not means to a better understanding, leaves us still far away from comprehending and correcting, say, underdevelopment, dependent development, failing or unsustainable development. It becomes imperative to penetrate beneath the veil of the theses and antitheses of these issues, that is, examine the development process itself as it is conducted even in the present times.

Among the earliest efforts undertaken in this direction were the two offensives of the early 1970s, New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order. *Dependantistas* argued that dependant and unsustainable development characterising Third World countries owed to the pattern of North-South relations which they said were lopsided in favour of the former. Thus, so disproportionate were the North-South economic relations that they raised concerns, which led to the New World Economic Order. Likewise, the North-to-South information flow was found to be domineering and imperious that it spurred the revision of the world information system, culminating in the New World Information Communication Order. At the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's 1974 General Assembly a declaration was approved which, likening the skewed pattern of North-South information flow to neocolonialism, condemned neocolonialism in all forms including communication and culture. Spurring the two offensives, therefore, was the argument that the

First-Third World economic relations and information flow were so skewed in favour of the latter that they served as a means of neocolonialism mechanisms, causing or perpetuating underdevelopment of the former (Reyes-Matta, 1978). It was hoped, therefore, that with these two offensives will come self-sustaining, authentic and independent development for the Third World countries.

The problem

Since the inception of the two offensives, New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order, however, little appears to have changed in practical terms. Many Third World countries continue to face development problems. Underdevelopment, expressed by poverty and hunger, dependency on foreign aid and debt, failing and unsustainable development projects, continue to characterise these countries. The lack of resources has been the commonest explanation for these countries' development problems, attracting both sympathy and support of the international development agencies in the form of aid and debt, which still helps only a little especially as it makes these countries even more dependent on the donors or debtors.

Sometimes, even in cases where there have been sufficient resources, development targets have still not been met. A case in point is the new South African government's Reconstruction and Development Programme implemented in 1994. The programme promised social upliftment for black people in particular whose material and living conditions had been wretched by decades of apartheid. One of the programme's objectives or targets was to deliver an average of 200,000 houses annually or 1,000,000 houses in the new government's first five-year term. Given that

only 45% of black South Africans live in houses, this was indeed an important priority. By the end of 1995, nearly two years since the new government came into power, only 12, 000 houses had been built, which is only 6% of the annual target (Callinicos, 1996). Today, the Reconstruction and Development Programme looks like a fading letter.

The case of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, in terms of its dismal performance thus far, implies a lot about the failure being due to the manner of (community) development and its underlying communication theory more than to the typical reason of lack of resources, for instance. Save for stating that the projects shall be driven by the communities, the programme makes no stipulations on how this should translate into practice, leaving for the intended beneficiaries only one and typical role: the reception of munificence in the form of complete houses. Not only had development been decided already for the needy communities but so had the manner to implement such development. The effects of development comported in this way are well known in Africa, except that they have not been seriously documented and their causes analysed. This thesis identifies, discusses and analyses some of these experiences and their causes.

The thesis acknowledges the attempts made by some African countries to rectify the flaws of the externally-driven development practice, that is, the manner of development where the intended beneficiary communities' role is restricted to the beneficiation/reception of development project results. Based on the experiences of selected countries, the thesis critically discusses and analytically shows how and why such attempts could still not yield the intended goals of self-sustaining community development in the Third World countries. This is done by reviewing some of the development ideas before the 1970s and those which emerged thereafter, following

the two offensives discussed earlier, promising to reorient the development process towards a context-specific, self-sustaining development manner. These include such development ideas and fashions as participatory paradigm, community-based- and people-centred-development, and development support communication (DSC), which arose out of the perceived misgivings of its forerunner, the development communication (DC) approach.

However, as this thesis reveals, these new ideas were either insignificantly effective, or foreshadowed by the existing dominant ones or they simply passed by with the rate of *"obsolescence and failure comparable only with the unsuccessful mountaineers on Rum Doodle"* (Chambers, 1994: 1). If they were working, the impatience of development scholars-practitioners made the ideas appear not to work as Robert Chambers (1994: 1) concedes, *"we seem not to get there, or get there in time. We are always late, and out-of-date"*. Thus, in spite of the New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order and the concomitant development fashions and ideas, as this thesis contends, many Third World countries have continued to be trapped in the downward drift in development (Chambers, 1993). Prescriptions and policies are abandoned before understanding why and before they have time to adapt and improve in the light of mistakes and experience. It is hardly illogical to argue that the cause of such failure of several post New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order development ideas and fashions lies in the process or manner of implementation rather than in the ideas themselves because the new ideas, having arisen in the context of failure of the preceding ones, must have been well thought and vindicated. This thesis's literature review on numerous accounts of some Sub-Saharan African countries's development experiences corroborate this view.

To date, there are more studies done on particular aspects of development like economic, debt, land, education, etc., than on the development process itself. Little seems to have been done, for instance, to follow up and see how the New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order offensives translated into action in the Third World countries, how and whether the pattern or process of development really got reoriented.

Besides identifying the problems which the pre-New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order development paradigm had created, there was need for development scholars-practitioners to unravel how and why that particular development paradigm forestalled rather than fostered development in the Third World. Examining the logic of the paradigm's underlying assumptions and the extent of these assumptions' toehold on the conventional thinking of the ordinary people of non-Western societies could have greatly helped in the undoing or reversing of the skewed and domineering transnational development relations. Unravelling the subtleties of the pre-pre-New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order development paradigm and pattern held more benefits for future development lessons for the Third World than just identifying the problems which the particular development paradigm had created. As the opponents of Marxism argue that whether it is by the proletariat or by the bourgeoisie it is still dictatorship, the continuing of the skewed one-way flow of information in development processes within and among Third World countries themselves, resulted in the same dependent development as before. In this regard, little reorientation in the conception and practice of development was achieved, as all that was done was simply to revise the information flow and economic relations at the transnational level. The modernisation paradigm's assumptions, such as cultural irrationality as the cause of the non-Western societies' underdevelopment, continued to influence the manner of development. Views

from theories as old as Auguste Comte's modernisation theory which ascribed rationality and progress to modernisation and, as Bernard Woods (1993: 1) observes, posited *"Westernisation as the cure for the poverty of the Third World"*, continued to permeate the development understanding.

Statement of the research problem

Are Africa's development failures due to cultural irrationality or due to the manner of development?

The study

This study identifies modernisation as the dominant development paradigm in the post-War Third World. It argues that, although development imperatives may not always emanate from the Western countries and although those leading the development process may not always be from outside a given country, development in Africa has continued to be fashioned by the modernisation paradigm since the New World Economic Order and New World Information Communication Order offensives. The study examines the modernisation paradigm in terms of its disposition, theoretical framework, process and underlying decision making and communication theories. Decision making and communication in development have implications for the success and sustainability of development, as it determines the projects' relevance and legitimacy and influences the communities' goodwill to, and responsibility for, the projects. The study examines a number of development initiatives and projects undertaken by some Sub-Saharan African countries since 1950s, their manner or processes of implementation

and their results. This is intended to establishing the cause of the ubiquitous development failures in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa.

Tutelar note

Perhaps it is also important to state what the study is not about and the possible difficulties the reader may face when going through this thesis. Firstly, it is not the intention to engage into a comprehensive history of the period in question. Neither is it the intention to examine all development projects and processes undertaken by all the Sub-Saharan African countries referred to in the study. Rather, owing to the practicalities of the study, such as time and other resource constraints, the material is very selective in terms of the countries reviewed. The development historical accounts of the countries referred to in the study are also selective in terms the development initiatives and projects selected for review and discussion. The study is also selective in terms of the conceptual scope, which is limited to communication and media and development theories. The essential point intended to be established is whether and how the development manner has contributed to the kind of development performance, which is almost similar throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. This refers to how development ideas have been couched, passed on between the benefactors and beneficiaries and converted into development policies/projects. Based on the literature review and analysis of the projects accordingly selected, this study advances some ideas towards a theory for sustainable community development for Africa through communication.

Secondly, despite the fact that there are more professionals (development and information officers, policy makers and implementors, teachers, commentators and advertisers, etc) engaged

in communication than in any other single field, the concept and practice of communication remains only partially understood. This is not because the concept is difficult to define or because it is not fully appreciated. Rather, it is because:

- Many professionals and non-professionals alike hesitate, and sometimes genuinely find it hard, to connect the concept (and latter the practice) of communication to other concepts and fields of practice;

- Many regard communication as a spontaneous activity, needless of analytical consideration, planning and management (see also Fourie, 1977).

As a result of the above observations, many professionals take communication for granted. They consequently disregard the economics and other implications of communication in their undertakings, in this particular case, the development processes. This tendency has not only forestalled the deep understanding of communication in general but it has also fostered the generally insufficient and unanalytical understanding of the concept and practice of communication across the disciplines or fields. These difficulties are not any less likely for the reader going through this thesis especially that the connection between the concepts of communication and development has not been widely documented so far, particularly in the form of doctoral theses. To alleviate these difficulties, the reader should bear in mind that development communication, as used in this study, refers to decision making and dissemination in development. More specifically, therefore, this study is an <u>analysis of decision making and communication in development in Sub-Saharan Africa</u>. The study analyses how development imperatives have been couched, their bases, how they have flowed between the benefactors and beneficiaries and how they have implemented as policies/projects. This analysis is intended to establish the implications of the development manner for development.

The aims of the study:

▸ To contribute to the search for a sustainable and context-specific development model for Africa,

▸ To contribute to the better understanding of communication in the development processes,

▸ To contribute to the quest for empowerment of the African communities through access to and control over decisions about their development, and

▸ To fulfil the academic requirement for my Ph.D studies.

Objectives

1 Discovery - unravelling the causes of Africa's stalled road to development.

▸ establish whether and how Africa's indigenous cultural values and practices, reputed to be irrational, act as the barriers for Africa's development,

▸ find out whether and how the development pattern itself could be the cause of Africa's development problems,

▸ find out whether and how the pre- New World Economic Order and New World Information and Communication Order development pattern changed, and

▸ establish the reasons why that pattern has not changed, if it has continued.

2 Exploratory and contribution - towards unblocking Africa's development road

▸ explore the role and process of communication in sustainable community development,

▸ suggest a context-specific development model which encourages participatory initiative design towards sustainable community development,

▸ investigate the current situation regarding the distribution of, and the communities' access to, the information infrastructure and information technology (media) with a view to gauging how these media as modes of communication and decision making, guarantee the above objective,

▸ explore indigenous modes of communal work and communication for lessons towards the model,

▸ suggest the mode of communication fit for the development model proposed, and to contribute to the quest for empowerment of the African communities through access to and control over decisions about their development.

Operational definitions relating to the research problem and objectives

Development manner: the way in which development is conducted including the initiation, planning, management, implementation and post-implementation or evaluation. It is also called the process.

Development problems: *underdevelopment* - a state of poor living conditions and inability to meet basic needs completely or partly; *unsustainability of innovations* - failure of innovation due to either short of resources or development pattern; *dependency* -inability to assert own priorities, with much being done for the community/ country either because of lack of strong will, lack of own resources, or, where resources are available, because it is easier that way.

Community development: process of interventions based on the initiatives of, and in which efforts of, intended beneficiaries are united with those of facilitators (government, Non Governmental Organisations, etc.).

Cultural irrationality:	Resistance to new values and practices due to fatalism, failure to appreciate their benefits and adapt; adherence to values and practices bereft of any or significant gains.
Sustainable community development:	community development which, because it is based on the intended beneficiaries' efforts and makes the beneficiaries to use and realise their potentials, is self-generating and perpetuating.

Hypotheses

1(a) Africa's development failures are due to the African people's fatalism, irrational cultural values and practices and resistance to new values and practices

1(b) Africa's development failures are not due to the African people's fatalism, irrational cultural values and practices and resistance to new values and practices

2 (a) Africa's development failures owe to the way development has been carried out

2(b) Africa's development failures have nothing to do with development has been carried out

3(a) Involving the communities actively in their development through communication holds the prospects for the solutions to Africa's development failures

3(b) Involving the communities actively in their development does not hold the prospects for the solutions to Africa's development failure because such involvement is not possible

Significance of the study

Understanding the dimensions of development process such as communication and decision-making is important to ensure high-impact sustainable community development. Consensual

decision-making practices possess potential benefits of successful development interventions. They can foster the coherent expression of the particular communities' needs and collective planning of the intervention, leading to meeting social needs through convergence and synergy. Therefore, understanding how best this can be achieved is essential.

Plan of the thesis

The first part confronts the understanding of the notion of development, tracing the historical background of the notion. This part also identifies and discusses the dominant paradigm which shaped the practice of development in Africa since the 1950s, examining particularly the paradigm's communication theory and approaches. The discussion are also accompanied with table showing the characteristics the development models and communication approaches charts. As well as its success, the paradigms known failures and their possible causes are discussed in this part.

In the second part of the thesis, the beneficiary driven development model is suggested, both as possible way to forestall the recurrence of the development failures identified and discussed in the first part and as a possible way to foster sustainable community development. The beneficiary-driven development model expresses in practical terms the 'Another Development', multiplicity or participatory paradigm which holds that development should be conceived holistically to include social, economic and cultural elements of a community (Hedebro, 1982; Tehranian, 1985/4; Mowlana and Wilson, 1988). The model's theoretical framework, practical steps, strengths and potential limitations are discussed.

The perceived limitations of the model led to the research of pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work and communication for lessons which would be appropriated to minimise such limitations and enhance the model. This was conducted in three rural districts of the northern part of Zambia where the necessary data were gathered through focus group meetings and participant observation in one self-help community project during the research period. There was need to try out the lessons thus derived from the inquiry into the indigenous modes of communal work and communication. Likewise, it became necessary to gauging the urban perspective for the model. For these reasons, the research was extended for three months. It was conducted in Clermont township in Pinetown, South Africa. The studies' findings are presented and discussed, and suggestions and recommendations made, in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine is a recapitulation of the thesis. Schematically, therefore, this thesis can be represented as follows:

1----2----3----4----5----6----7----8----9, where

1=Conceptualising development

2=Establishing the dominant post-War development manner

3=Establishing the underlying theoretical basis of the dominant post-War development manner

4=Evaluating development performance of SSA under this development manner

5=Deconstructing and exposing the sources and causes of flaws of this development manner

6=Proposing the way forward

7=Searching for lessons for the way forward

8=Testing the way forward and drawing conclusions

9=Recapitulation of the thesis

PART I

THE NOTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE POST WAR DOMINANT

PARADIGM OF DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION

Chapter One

What is development?

A society develops when its members jointly increase their capacity for dealing with the environment. Every people have shown the capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature.
Walter Rodney, 1983: 10-11

Prologue

This chapter defines the notion of development. It attempts to trace the genesis of the notion and theories of development. This leads to the identification of the paradigm which dominantly fashioned the execution of development in the post-War Third World in general and in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. The paradigm thus identified is taken up in more detail in Chapter Two.

Towards a definition of the notion of development

All communities experience change in their institutions and lives over time. There is no sign however far back one goes into the past, of people who stayed under circumstances that never changed. When this change is a positive one, development must be said to have occurred. In this regard, the meaning of development ought to be a function dependant on the perceptions of those initiating and to be affected by it. Development, therefore, is a normative notion.

Many scholars have defined the notion, and by implication the process, of development variously. Some have defined it as a state that sets in when human social groups move towards a condition of life in which the present is perceived overall as an improvement upon the past (Riddle, 1981);

as a process by which a society goes from one (lower) stage to another (higher) stage (Worsley, 1981); and as the creation of necessary conditions for the realisation of human potential (Seers, 1972).

From these definitions, at least two denotations are evident. One is that development is a process of transformation of the community by its inhabitants. The other is that development is a self-generating and self-perpetuating process which uses and realises the potentials of the beneficiaries (the communities) themselves. These denotations imply that changes resulting from the intervention should be meaningful and desirable to those it will affect. From this, it follows that development interventions must be designed based on the perceptions, attached meanings and desires of those initiating and intending to benefit from them. According to these views, there is no doubt that the notion of development is a normative one. These views explicate what may be called the functional definition of the notion of development.

Other scholars have defined development as increasing the productive capacities of societies, establishing new and better ways of doing and making things to make more wealth available (Bernstein, 1971); as modernisation, i.e, supplanting cultural, economic, social and political forms of life and institutions of certain societies with Western ones to engender fundamental positive changes (cf. Lerner, 1958); as cultural, political and social changes that accompany industrialisation and are inclusive of urbanisation, changes in occupational structure, social mobility, improvement in education, changes in political set up from absolutist institutions to responsible and representative government and from laissez-faire to a modern welfare state (Bendix, 1981); as a dichotomy of industrialisation and modernisation by which industrialisation refers to economic changes caused by technology based on inanimate sources of power and on

the conversion of applied scientific research (Bendix, 1969).

Under this set of definitions, development is about major changes in the social and technical conditions of production. Development, although still intimating positive change, becomes content criteria based. The sense of development being a process designed and understood according to the given circumstances diminishes. Predetermined delivery of preestablished products, however protracted the process may be, assumes more prominence. It becomes a process towards one secure form of life that a community must attain to be regarded as developed. To attain that form depends on the delivery of the predetermined contents. These contents, based on the satisfaction gauge, are assumed to represent the needs of everyone. With the focus being solely on the content delivery, it is not important whether the delivered products (changes) are endogenously or exogenously induced. Likewise, development may be executed exclusive of those it is meant to benefit. Thus, contrary to the understanding issuing from the functional definition of the notion, development is posited as an objective notion. It is understood as an intervention that could be done based on theorems. This may be called the prescriptive definition of the notion of development.

However, it is still discernable from the two perspectives, functional and prescriptive, that development denotes change. The difference is ideological rather than conceptual. That is, both agree that development denotes change for the better. The point of difference revolves around the assumptions and modalities on how that change should be caused. Which of these two sets of views on the development notion influenced the execution of development in the post war Third World countries is the question that begs the answer. Looking at the genesis of the theories and process of development would be expedient. This would help the understanding of not only

which but why one or the other set of views dominated the field of development.

Sociology of the notion of development: Theories and process

The transition of European and North American societies in the nineteenth century from traditional, rural, agricultural-based to industrialised and urbanised societies caused and greatly influenced the social and evolutionary theories of social change or development (cf. Portes, 1976). During that time, social theorists were concerned with the upheavals of the existing societies and the new social forms arising from industrialisation and urbanisation. Their interest was explaining the transformation and the changing social conditions in the societies where the processes were taking place. From these scholarly efforts developed another school of thought: the social evolution theories.

Social evolution theorists were concerned with the maturation perspective in human societies. Alejandro Portes (1976) noted James Morgan, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and Ross Kidd as proponents of the evolutionary theory. Unlike the social theorists, social evolutionists used their theories to compare the development of Third world countries with those in Europe and North America (cf. Portes, 1976; Melkote, 1991).

Evolutionists became concerned with diagnosing and prescribing change. They explained the developed status of the western societies and the underdeveloped position of the non-Western societies through social evolution theories. They compared the transformation of cultures with the evolution of organisms as articulated in the biological sciences. For them, there was very little difference in the phylogeny of biological species and human societies. The growth of cultures

was inextricably tied, as in the growth of organisms, to a series of inevitable and irreversible stages. These (social evolution) theories led to what became the influential conceptual paradigms of development (cf. Portes, 1976).

The social evolutionary theories asserted themselves as the most celebrated manner of explaining, diagnosing and prescribing change. This led to the domination of the development discourses by essentially one but seemingly two articulations of change. One was wholly evolutionary in its conception of development. The other was equally evolutionary except that it posited development as issuing out of certain economic and ideological laws.

The first articulation wholly found justification in the evolution conception. According to this articulation, development of societies followed a uni linear path. The final or the highest stage in development was the stage reached by the advanced European and North American nations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Charles Darwin's locus classicus 'On the Origin of Species' (1859) provided the inspiration for this articulation of social change. Darwin argued that all organisms had evolved from simpler forms and that the general direction of biological evolution was uni linear, i.e. towards more complex forms.

Other early social evolution theorists such as Herbert Spencer and William Summer applied Darwin's ideas to the process of modernisation of human societies. Spencer applied Darwin's principle of 'Survival of The Fittest' to human cultures. He claimed that Western societies were superior to other societies and had excelled because their inhabitants adapted to face the changing conditions during the modernisation of societies. This school of thought, termed the Social Darwinism, won acceptance among intellectuals even in the late nineteenth century (Berger,

1976; Ryan, 1976; Robertson, 1977). Thus, this articulation viewed development as a deposition

of one unfit form of life by a fitter other, whether in cultural, economic, political, ideological or

social terms[1].

Several social change models or theories emerged in the early part of the twentieth century

displaying a great influence of this evolution articulation. They were based on a dichotomous

conception of the beginning and the end, the lower and the higher, etc. They were primarily

bipolar or binary. That is, they slimmed down the stages of change, undergone by European and

North American societies as expounded in the earlier social evolution theories, to ideal-typical

points: the beginning and end of the process of social transformation, the end being the stage at

which the nations in Western Europe and North America are and shall be (see Melkote, 1991).

Several of these are presented in Table One.

Table One.
Bipolar theories of modernisation

Maine (1907)	Status Versus Contract
Durkheim (1933)	Mechanic Versus Organic Solidarity
Toennies (1957)	Gemeinschaft versus Gesellscahft
Lerner (1958)	Traditional Versus Modern Society
Cooley (1962)	Primary Versus Secondary Social Attachments
Redfield (1965)	Folk Versus Urban Societies

Source: Melkote, 1991:40

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[1]. See how the term becomes associated with racism in specific contexts: Tomaselli, Keyan. and Ruth Tomaselli. 1993. "The economics of racism". *Critical Arts*. 2. (3). 1993. pp. 1-5.

In these theories, traditional society was the beginning. It was presumed as a small and mostly rural community in which everyone knew each other, where interpersonal relations were close with strong group solidarity and kinship ties. The end on the other hand was pondered as a large and mostly urban society. Interpersonal relations were impersonal with hardly any group solidarity and close kinship ties. It was a society characterised by loose association among people. Tradition, shared norms and values did not have any assertive influence in this society. Thus, besides the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation, the two societies were contrasted based on social bonds as well - mechanistic modern and organic traditional - as is put in Durkheim's analysis.

Other twentieth century development theories which resonated in the same articulation of change were Talcott Parsons' theories of Pattern Variables Scheme (Parsons, 1964a) and Evolutionary Universals (Parsons 1964b). The Scheme theory served as an extension of the classic bipolar theories. In this theory, traditional societies were posited as having certain common characteristics: ascriptive (i.e, acquired through birth) roles that are functionally diffuse and oriented towards narrow particularistic goals. On the other hand, modern societies were presented as having roles assigned or acquired through achievement (merit) rather than birth and were oriented towards broad, secular and universal norms (Levy, 1966; Portes, 1976). This theory has been widely used by the Functionalists as a model for diagnosing social change in different societies. The theory has been used, more particularly in contrasting Western societies with Third World ones (Portes, 1976). Bert Hoselitz (1960), for instance, used this theory as a model of the sociological aspects of economic growth.

In the Evolutionary Universals theory, Parsons defined societal features which he then forwarded

to explain why Western societies were developed. These features included bureaucratic organisation, money, markets, democratic association, and a common legal system. The theory prescribed these features as universals that were essential for the modernisation of the underdeveloped societies (Parsons, 1964).

Social Differentiation was another development theory that both derived from and corroborated the evolution articulation. According to this theory, societies modernise through increasingly greater differentiation in their institutions. Like organisms in biological theory, human societies pass through evolutionary stages to reach higher levels of complexity exhibited through greater specialisation of function. In simpler societies, there is hardly any differentiation in social institutions. A single institution may do several functions. For instance, the family may not only serve the function of reproduction but also take care of socialisation, education, and even economic production (Melkote, 1991).

A process of differentiation takes place where several institutions take over the functions that were undifferentiated and performed by one or two institutions. According to this theory, the European transformation from traditional to modern society hinged on functional specialisation and structural differentiation (Melkote, 1991). According to Alejandro Portes (1976: 63), differentiation *"results in an ever-growing societal 'complexity' or 'systemness"*. It is the argument, therefore, that Western societies sustained their development because they were more structurally differentiated than were non-Western societies. Like other theories, social differentiation has been widely used in the diagnosis and explanation of development in the developed and underdeveloped societies (see for example, Smelser, 1973).

The second articulation on the notion of development is equally evolutionary <u>except that it posits development as subject to certain economic and ideological laws</u> (Shepperson and Tomaselli, 1993). It defines development as a preordained process of successive stages. Certain laws stipulate preconditionalities understood to result in a specific kind of change. The attainment of these conditionalities moves a society from one stage to the next higher one in the development process. These laws, the conditionalities and stages of development they explicate are held to be universal.

Under this articulation, the conception of development becomes modified. Development ceases to be á given prior enterprise, ie dependant on the given circumstances and multiple perspectivism. It becomes a posterior or mastermindable enterprise that should result into a predictable state or situation (cf. Shepperson and Tomaselli, 1993). Thus, the notion of development becomes systematised and assigned with certain interpretations.

Among the theorists whose views resonated in this articulation are Daniel Lerner (1958) and Walt Rostow (1960). For Lerner (1958) development meant modernisation or, put otherwise, Westernisation. To develop, non-Western or traditional societies, as they were called, needed to give up their indigenous values and practices and adopt the modern or Western ones. Accordingly, empathy formed partly the prerequisite to achieve (this) development (Lerner, 1958).

Explicitly, the notion of development became interpreted as change which should be western. Western values became understood as representative of the values, aspirations and needs of all people in other societies. The force for sustaining this development lay in the individuals'

capacity to copy and adopt the Western societies' cultures. Thus, in Lerner's conception of development, homogenisation of cultures, based on Western values, was the key factor for development, and was development itself.

Many other twentieth century social change theorists such as Myron Weiner(1966), David McClelland (1966), Alex Inkeles (1966) and Everett Hagen (1966; 1969) imputed this understanding of development in one way or another. Like Lerner, they all accentuated individual attributes and social values as determinants of development. Implicitly, they also held development to be a predictable, posterior state which had one meaning and was achievable through one and same process.

Weiner (1966) believed that change in people's attitudes and values was cardinal for creating a modern socioeconomic polity. According to him, the individuals' characters mattered more than the character of the society as a whole for development to take place through modernisation. He argued that modern science, technology and institutions could not be grafted successfully on a society whose people were traditional, uneducated and self-centred, and development would be virtually impossible. Development impetus consisted in the adoption of certain values. Underdevelopment is an expression of the absence of such values.

Like Weiner, McClelland (1966) believed that certain social values were auspicious of development. He contended that the impulse to modernisation consisted in a personal variable which he named the n-Arch or need for achievement. According to him, some people were more enterprising, did things better, faster and more efficiently than others because they had what he termed a mental virus which ultimately nurtured a high n-Arch. This virus made people behave

in a particular way, modernise and achieve more than others. He cited economic prosperity of some societies as an expression of the virus among such people.

McClelland supported his theory with his findings about the life of the Greeks of Sixth century BC whom he said had been more enterprising than those of the later centuries. According to him, unlike the literature of the later centuries, the Sixth century BC Greek literature contained imaginative stories which the country used to teach its youth. This raised the nation's infection level of the mental virus, making the Greeks of that time more enterprising than those of later centuries. The spurt in Greece's economic activity in the later years of the Sixth century BC gave McClelland the confirmation of the theory.

His experiment in the Indian city of Hyderabad among a group of businesspeople provided further support for the theory. To raise the participants' infection level, McClelland injected them with the *virus* via a ten-day self-development course. McClelland asserts that it was later found that these men took their work more seriously and became more innovative, and there was an overall genuine desire to excel.

McClelland not only put forth his faith in individual attributes and social values as determinants of development but he also implicitly suggested that such values existed in some societies, the Western ones, and were absent in others, the non-Western societies. By implication, he suggested that the non-Western societies' development impetus lay in the adoption of Western values. Therefore, McClelland also endorsed the conception of development as a mastermindable, predictable, unidirectional enterprise.

For Hagen (1962) some people were more enterprising and, therefore, more developed than others because of what he called the Withdraw of Status Respect, a psychological virus and analytic variable of which alleged effect Alejandro Portes (1976: 70) best summarised as follows:

> *Humiliations resulting from status withdraw among parents have certain psychic consequences for their sons who, in turn transmit them to their own children. After a complicated evolution of complexes and stages, the 'virus' matures and becomes ready to do its work in society.*

According to Hagen the impetus for socioeconomic development consisted in a psychological characteristic present in certain groupings of people. This characteristic made people reject traditional values and take on new roles readily, and it made them more creative and innovative. Such people would accordingly develop more than others. Soviet Russia, Japan and Germany are cited as examples of nations which developed because the inhabitants of these countries were creative following their ancestors' suffering of the Withdraw of Status Respect (Hagen, 1962).

In this way, Hagen explicated development as a function of certain values, herein called 'viruses', and underdevelopment as a function of the lack of such values. By implication, Hagen subscribed to the idea of certain societies being emulative models of development and, similarly, to the notion of development being one secure, unidirectional and mastermindable enterprise.

Inkeles (1966) similarly explained development or the lack of it in a model he called Individual Modernity. He based the model on his research in six developing countries. According to Inkeles, transformation of individuals was both a means to an end and an end in itself in the development process. Inkeles asserted that it was the Spirit of Modernity that made for this transformation or development. He outlined the following as constituents of the Spirit of Modernity: readiness for new experiences and openness to innovation, disposition to form and

hold opinions, democratic orientation, planning habits, belief in human and personal efficacy, belief in the world being calculable, and faith in science and technology.

Besides agreeing with the views of others such as Parsons' (1964a; 1964b) Pattern Variable Scheme and Evolutionary Universals theories, Inkeles, by intimating that the world was calculable, was perhaps the earliest person to suggest boldly that development can be engineered. The perception that development followed one, unidirectional and 'scientific' process gained firmer grounds, with the conception of development as modernisation becoming more popular.

Walt Rostow (1960) had earlier expressed a similar conception of development in his five-stage model or theory of development. Rostow posited traditional society, preconditions for take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption as the five successive stages of development. The underdevelopment or traditional stage is the original stage. According to Rostow, these stages were universal. Every society starts from the stage of underdevelopment or traditional society to development, the final stage.

The model also explicates that the causes of underdevelopment are internal to each society. It is therefore up to each society to think itself out of backwardness through 'pure thought', that is, Western rationality and science. Underdevelopment is, accordingly, an expression of the lack or poor appropriation of 'pure thought' by the particular society.

According to Rostow, the stages and the movements between them are so specific that a society can be located at a stage any time. Thus, for instance, Rostow located and presented the United States, Japan and the whole of Western Europe as the leading countries which had successfully

passed through the five stages of development and, therefore, as emulative models of development.

The Rostowian theory universalised the notion of development by presenting development as a unilinear progression through a single procedure and process. This theory spurred the homogenised conception of development by presenting the Western countries as emulative models and Western ideas, attitudes and values, called pure thought, as the thrust for development. Consequentially, Rostow posited Western values as typifying everyone's values, needs and aspirations and development as meaning the same feat for all people. Therefore, Rostow acceded and inspired homogenisation of cultures as the key factor for development.

The foregoing perspectives suggest that the underdevelopment of non-Western societies was due to their bad social, political, cultural and economic institutional arrangements and values. There was need for change to foster appropriate features in these societies if development should be sustained. Change needed to occur at both the level of individuals and the level of societal institutions. The appropriate societal features in question comprised those prescribed in Parsons' Evolutionary Universals theory.

Many Western development scholars such as Shmuel Eisenstadt (1973), Wilbur Schramm (1976) and Ernest Gellner (1983) corroborate this understanding of development as a function of certain values. Schramm (1976: 46) asserts that development follows from "*a process in which old social, economic, and psychological commitments are eroded and broken down and people become available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour*". To Schramm, the development of Western societies owed to the existence of right values and the

underdevelopment of non-Western societies to the absence of such values. Therefore, the later should adopt the right values from the former to *"stimulate growth in the institutions and all institutions will move forward together towards modernisation"* (Schramm, 1976: 46). Thus, not only did Schramm agree with Lerner's postulation of institutional changes, but cogently endorsed the other scholars' homogenised conception of development as modernisation or Westernisation.

Conclusion

The prescriptive definition of the notion of development assumed greater popularity and influence over the functional one. Development became understood as Modernisation or Westernisation of which process was unidirectional and universal. This understanding, existing with increasing popularity in the 1950s and 1960s, inspired the exogenous practice of development, termed in this thesis as the externally-driven development. Since the 1950s and generally up to date, it is this understanding of development as modernisation which has fashioned the design and execution of development programmes and projects in Africa. Perhaps the continued existence of this model in Africa owes much to its exclusionary disposition, which makes the development processes to be controlled by only few but influential experts and/or benefactors. As Louise Bourgault (1995) observed, the elitist disposition of the modernisation paradigm secured the model great support among the elite class it created in Africa. The elite and the few protagonists have not wanted sincerely to relinquish the modernisation paradigm because they share from its spoils. The next chapter discusses the modernisation development paradigm in detail.

Chapter 2

Modernisation: The model and its disposition

Beneficiaries here I come; Provider-of-munificence-cum-developer is my name
Grants-and-delivery-of-goodies is the name of the game
What I bring is sure to please you, Just standby
I know your needs, being a professional and consultant in this field
All will gain, that is the notion
Help me to be a good provider - just take what I bring and get fed
When hungry again, just call
Until then, it is chao; I am off to the next community[1]

Prologue

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, the chapter discusses the disposition, process and indicators of development according to the modernisation model, identified in chapter one as the dominant development model in the post War era. Secondly, the chapter looks at the communication approaches for development under the modernisation model. Illustrations of the model and the communication approaches are presented in the discussion.

Emergence of the modernisation paradigm

The development paradigm which emerged out of the theoretical perspectives explored in Chapter One, supposed that Western cultures were the antidotes for the non-Western countries' underdevelopment. Non-Western societies were presented as repositories of ideas and values which were a bulwark of traditionalism antithetical for development. Therefore, for non-Western

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[1]Adapted from a poem entitled *The Bureaucrat's Plea To The Poor*, written in 1995. The author is anonymous.

societies to develop, they needed to tear down indigenous structures and values to pave the way

for, and finally acquire, the Western ones. As Shmuel Eisenstadt (1976: 33) puts it:

> *The basic model that emerged ... assumed that the conditions for the development*
> *of a viable, growth-sustaining, modern society were tantamount to continuous*
> *extension of modern components and destruction of all traditional elements. The*
> *more thorough the disintegration of traditional elements, the more able a society*
> *would be to develop continuously.*

Development was presented as a unilinear process of advancement of societies, with the Western

societies being in the lead. According to this understanding, non-Western societies needed to

dismantle their indigenous structures and forms of organisation, give up their indigenous cultural

and social values, and adopt Western ones to develop. The understanding analogised

development as a journey. A society taking such a journey passes through stages preordained and

emulatively modelled by the lead societies, the Western countries (cf. Fjes, 1976). Such a society

became developed only upon reaching a point at which it closely resembled the Western societies

culturally, economically, politically, religiously and socially. This became the popular and

dominant understanding of development and influenced the practice of development in the post

World War II era. Development scholars call this manner of development the modernisation

paradigm/model.

Daniel Lerner (1958), Walt Rostow (1960), Karl Deutsch (1966; 1969), Wilbur Schramm (1976),

George Foster (1973), Shmuel Eisenstadt (1973; 1976) and Ernest Gellner (1983) are among

scholars who subscribe to this understanding of development, implicitly or explicitly. They have

dragged Karl Marx also, consciously or unconsciously, into having supported this understanding

by his statement that the developed countries would show the underdeveloped ones the picture

of their future (see Worsley, 1988). According to its proponents, the modernisation paradigm

was able not only to induce change in social spheres but also to generate continuous change. It could also cushion the stress arising in the process and ease the adaptation to that change (see Gellner, 1983). It was also the view that changes thus sustained under modernisation were irreversible. That is, once the preconditions for take-off were established, a society took off and moved on to the next higher stage. It could either remain at that stage or move on to the next higher stage, but could never return to the previous stage (cf. Rostow, 1960; Schramm, 1976).

There are important similarities between this understanding of development as modernisation and the evolutionary conceptions of change discussed in Chapter One. These similarities are worthy of being mentioned here. It is little wonder that modernisation emerged as the dominant paradigm of development. Evolutionists such as Charles Darwin held that societies, like organisms, moved from lower or less developed stages to higher or more developed stages. They accordingly posited European societies, which had undergone transition in the nineteenth century, as archetypes of successful change from lower or less developed stages to higher or more developed stages. Similarly, the modernists present Western European and North American societies as the lead nations in development which had successfully gone through the stages of development.

Besides their similarities in content and form, social evolution and modernisation perspectives have contextual similarities. Both articulations were based on the social experiences of the European and North American societies, yet claimed universality. What is more, nearly all the proponents of the two articulations had their origins in the same societies presented as the archetypes. It can be inferred that the modernisation model is a product of the social evolution theories which arose out of the context of European societies' transition.

According to modernisation model, it was the Third World that needed development. The Western or First World countries were believed to have already passed through the stages of development successfully, and hence their being held to be emulative nations (cf Rostow, 1960; Eisenstadt, 1976). Thus, under modernisation, the major objective was to deliver (that) development to the non-Western or Third World countries. Development meant the acquisition of Western societies' attributes. This understanding had implications on the development of the Third World countries in terms of how development would be comported and measured. A look at the model's disposition illustrates this contention clearly.

Disposition: Externally-driven development model

Modernisation entailed planning, directing and executing development on the behalf of, and for, beneficiaries, who could be either/both local communities or/and countries as a whole, by benefactors or actors external to the intended beneficiary communities. Nearly always, projects originated and were based on ideas from outside the intended beneficiary community. As Isaac Obeing-Quaidoo (1985; 1987) observed, referring to the manner of development in Africa in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, modernisation was about carrying out Western-designed projects.

Since the 1970s, the modernisation paradigm has undergone its own evolution. The paradigm does not exist as it did in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, many development projects today are localised, i.e., run by local experts and/or agencies such as non-governmental organisations. Also, unlike in the 1980s and before, today development benefactors 'consult' the beneficiary countries/communities, or at least they appear to do so. The beneficiaries 'participate' and have some say through 'choice', i.e., they can accept or reject a development programme or project.

However, despite this 'participation' by the intended beneficiaries, development in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be carried out largely in the manner typical of the modernisation paradigm. The programmes and projects are designed and implemented according to the perceptions or based on the understanding of the benefactors, who are usually 'foreign' to the intended beneficiary communities. The imperatives, which instruct the projects, are still determined by the benefactors, often external to the intended beneficiary communities. As will be shown later when illustrating the levels of community consultation, participation and choice-making, the much publicised participation of the intended beneficiary communities in their development is no more than selecting between choices already established by the benefactors. The key decisions regarding what the projects will deliver to communities purported to be in need, remain the prerogative of the benefactors. Sometimes, there are instances, especially among African countries, where leaders encourage this tendency. A case in point is the recent expression by South Africa's Vice President Thabo Mbeki who, at a dinner held in his honour by the Chicago (USA) Chamber of Commerce, said, *"we need your management styles, your modern forms of work organisation ... for our development"*[2]. Thus, the modernisation model continues to fashion development in the Third World countries.

This thesis conceives modernisation more broadly than the typical conception held by African intellectuals and leaders. Modernisation is taken being more than a paradigm under which imperatives for development in Third World countries originate from Western countries.

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[2] Mr. Mbeki was quoted during a live broadcast of his speech to the business community of Chicago, USA. This was broadcast on SABC Television news at 07.30 pm, 26.07.96. On Al Gore's second visit to South Africa in February 1997, Mbeki expressed similar sentiments. He unequivocally stated the hunger for modernisation in its original form of westernisation. USA responded by opening Federal Bureau of Investigation offices in South Africa, sending volunteers to teach science and mathematics, commissioning a project on caring for water against weeds (get a sense of priorities and dependency?). In this context, it is not difficult to see the role of African intellectuals and leadership in perpetuating western concepts of development.

Important is the understanding that under this model development imperatives initiate from outside the intended beneficiary community. This external initiation of development imperatives may be at international or intra-national, macro or micro level, from within or from outside a country or community. It is with these considerations that the model in this thesis is conceived more broadly and called the externally-driven development model[3].

The first characteristic of the externally-driven development model, therefore, is the exclusion of the majority from actively participating in their development. Few people make development decisions, lead, direct and control the development processes on the behalf of, and for, the intended beneficiary majority (cf Bourgault, 1995). The process is akin to social engineering, a bastion of assumptions that development or 'progress' can be engineered or masterminded. The few experts who lead the development processes retain for themselves the role of valuable and key agents of social improvement.

Underlying this externalisation of development drive and control is the perception that the few protagonists, often experts, know both the problems facing the communities and their solutions. This understanding draws from the transcendental notion of science and rationality or, as Kyalo Mativo (1989) calls it, rational omniscience, which posits knowledge as a prerogative of the few. This approach assumes that the change agents, experts, elites and outsiders possess the solutions to the problems of African communities. The understanding also draws from the theory of representation, which sanctions and rationalises the idea of acting for and on the behalf of others (cf. Huntington, 1991).

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[3]Externally-driven development refers to the fostering of positive changes in the social conditions of living and in the technical conditions of production however protracted the course of such changes.

Other characteristics of the externally-driven/modernisation model are:

▸ Delivery orientation: With the understanding that problems facing the communities are well known, the concern of the few people acting for and on the behalf of others rightly becomes the delivery of goods to meet the needs and <u>improve</u> the living conditions of the people they are acting for.

▸ Beneficiaries as clients: The notion of delivery implies a binary understanding. Since there is a deliverer, there must be a receiver. Accordingly, <u>benefactors sustain development under this model</u>. These act on the behalf of and for beneficiaries, who are designated as <u>clients</u>. Therefore, development under the externally-driven/modernisation development model entails prepackaging and delivering 'goods' for the beneficiaries.

▸ Quantitative Criteria-base: Criteria indicating the volume of goods delivered usually set as quantitative targets like 100 houses, 10 water boreholes etc., are another element of the model. The satisfaction of these criteria denotes the achievement of development and vice versa. Among these criteria or indicators are the macroeconomic indices of GDP, GNP, and PCI (cf. Seers, 1972). These indicators not only mark but also measure how much has been delivered and therefore how much development has been sustained. Consequentially, it is the understanding that there is a proportional correlation between growth in these indices and development: The higher the GDP, GNP or PCI the more development is said to have been sustained. As Dudley Seers (1979:707) observed, *"development became increasingly identified with economic growth, as measured by the national income (defined according to Keynesian conventions)"*

The prominence of the macroeconomic indices of GDP, GNP and PCI as indicators of the externally-driven/modernisation development cannot be without a deliberate link to the modernisation theory's original explication. First, the modernisation model posited, *among others*, industrialisation as the cornerstone and benchmark of, and reasons for, the Western countries' development (see Bourgault, 1995). Industrialisation, accordingly, increased production and ensured broader distribution of goods and services, therefore making for the country's increased material well-being or development. Achieving industrialisation then became, and has since remained, the aspiration of non-Western countries on their journey to development. The speedometer on this journey to development consisted in the GDP, GNP and PCI indices which measured the production and distribution of goods and services. Growth in the GDP, GNP and PCI indices, which as said earlier suggested the sustenance of development, is a market function of production and distribution. Production and distribution in turn were posited as dependent functions of industrial technologies. Accordingly, it appeared to many Third World countries that without Western technologies (ideas and assistance), development was unlikely to sustain. Production and distribution of goods and services would be low in GDP, GNP and PCI terms[4]. The prominence attached to these indices by African countries confronting development issues demonstrates a deliberate link with the modernisation paradigm's original tenets.

Secondly, only GDP, GNP and PCI provide the easiest measures of both the scale of that importation and the concomitant development, which in modernisation terms means approximating the Western lifestyle. When these indicators are low, a country knows that it is

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[4]Therefore, for the Third World countries, which for several reasons did not have such technologies, this understanding or quest for raising production and achieving growth in the GDP, GNP and PCI, and hence development, spurred the importation of modern industrial technologies even if that would be ill-afforded.

not achieving much towards 'development'. This suggested the need for growth in the indices

through the importations of developmentally viable technologies, values practices and other

goods from Western countries.

Subtly, therefore, the prominence of GDP, GNP and PCI as development indicators reinforces

the notion that Western or industrialised countries are emulative models in development. These

indices indirectly influence and determine the scale and rate of importation of technologies by

Third World countries from their Western counterparts in the quest for development. They make

the developmental thrust to appear to lie in the importation of Western industrial and

technological goods with their accompanying social and cultural practices. Today, like the

modernisation theory's tenets, these indices carry claims of universality of their measures.

- Scope or level of operation

(i) Macro level: externally-driven/modernisation development model has been understood

popularly as a macro-level theory because, in seeking to bring forth change, it operates

at macro or societal institutions level. The modernisation model holds that the non-

Western societies' underdevelopment is partly due to their backward indigenous cultures.

Accordingly, these mus be supplanted with the Western ones for these societies to

develop. Thus, under the externally-driven/modernisation development model both the

problems (in this case, bad institutions) and the solutions (in this case, Western values)

are presumed to be known beforehand (cf. Gellner, 1983; Nyamnjoh, 1996). Not only

does this understanding require change to occur at the macro or institutional level but it

also vindicates the model's delivery orientation of prescribing and ensuring the

accomplishment of change at the macro or institutional level. In this way, the model is

indeed a macro theory.

(ii)   Micro level: However, the modernisation model is also a micro-level theory as it aims at changing the target individuals' attitudes to adjust, adapt to, accept and cope with change. Thus, for their success, innovations under the externally-driven/modernisation development model depend on their being embraced by the target individuals and not so much on the institutions. It can therefore be argued that in fact the modernisation model is more a micro than a macro theory.

The model's delivery orientation characteristic can be viewed from two standpoints, which affirm the model's dual character. First, the model targets institutions and not directly the individuals who live under them, because problems are understood to lie with the institutions. The model aims to reorient such institutions and hence its delivery orientation. The structural adjustment programme presently being implemented in many African countries provides the case in point and vindicates the macro nature of the model.

Secondly, the model targets individuals with centrally predetermined novelties, which are presented as cardinal for the sustenance of progress (cf. Nyamnjoh, 1996; Moyo, 1997). Under the modernisation paradigm, development benefactors-practitioners ensure that the individuals targeted for change/development embrace the new ideas. Sometimes this is done by narrowing the target individuals' choices and, sometimes by devaluing their usual ideas or lifestyles. Therefore, although development imperatives are originated, planned and handed down from central levels of decision-making (i.e. the macro aspects of the externally-driven/modernisation development model), modernisation is largely a micro model. Deciding at the macro level does

not mean that the decisions are already yielding the required effect. It is not until the decisions reach the target individuals that they work or fail. It follows, therefore, that the success of the externally-driven/modernisation development model hinges on the responses from the micro units, the target individuals themselves, more than on the macro institutions which initiate, direct and implement the ideas. Consequentially, it can be argued that the externally-driven/modernisation development model is a micro theory. Awareness of the model's dual character, that is, its macro and micro dispositions, facilitates understanding whether, how and why the projects may succeed or fail. This awareness can facilitate to target more correctly the community needs and to engage more effectively the intended beneficiaries in their development processes. Thus, this knowledge is essential as it can help in designing and ensuring effective development interventions.

Several modernisation scholars consciously or unconsciously rendered corroboration to the view that modernisation model is a micro theory. In their diagnosis of change, modernisation theorists held non-Western people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviours to be the reason for the underdevelopment of their societies. Accordingly, modernisation theorists believed that if Africa were to develop *"there was a need to reconstitute African peoples for the modern world"* (Bourgault, 1995: 228). This demanded expunging their cultural belief and value system understood to be counterproductive and for modernity (see Malamah-Thomas, 1987).

Lerner (1958) strongly posited empathy as necessary for modernisation development. By this attribute, Lerner referred to the need and capacity of the individual to put him/herself in another person's shoes. He contended that such a capacity constituted a great force to move out of traditional settings and modernise.

Weiner (1966) also acknowledged the micro character of the modernisation model. He believed that individual attitudinal changes were prerequisites for creating a modern, socioeconomic polity. He argued that development was virtually impossible unless the (alleged) traditional, uneducated, unscientific, self-centred individuals themselves were modernised (Weiner, 1966). In the light of these views, modernisation is understood more correctly if taken at least as both a micro and macro theory and not only as a macro theory.

- Individualistic: Lastly, by stipulating individual ability to empathise as a key prerequisite for developing or modernising (Lerner, 1958), the externally-driven/modernisation development model can be said to have an atomising or individualistic character. It fosters and depends on individualism. Self-interest seems to form the basis for modernisation development. The understanding is that individuals will empathise or emulate an idea, or participate in an undertaking only if it promises personal satisfaction. Thus, the model is akin to a system *"premised on the accumulation of rights rather than duties"* because it enjoins individuals to get involved in undertakings for personal gains with their personal attributes serving as determining capacities (Theobald, 1990:9). The model's characteristics are summarised in Table Two below.

Table Two
The externally-driven/modernisation development model[5]

Assumption: Modernisation, ie, human progress can be engineered Development imperatives need not be contextually couched Reason as transcendental: science and rationality.
Level where imperatives initiate: International and/or national, foreign and/or local
Basis: Anthropological assumption of commonality of needs
Modus operandi: Planning, implementing and directing development for beneficiaries Professionals and benefactors drive and control the process Representing and acting for and on the behalf of recipients Beneficiaries are taken as clients
Aims Delivering 'development' (goods/contents and services) Improving living conditions of beneficiaries
Assessment: Quantitative criteria-based: GDP, GNP, PCI etc.
Orientation: Atomic or individualistic, ie, focusses more on the individual than on the group; not organic Self-interest, ie, personal satisfaction constitutes the thrust
Communication: Info tech: small and/or big media; centralised; usually one-way

Communication

As development is inextricably dependent on communication (cf. Wenburg, 1973), the modernisation model evolved its particular communication approaches. With Western values and change-accepting personalities stipulated as development prerequisites and the interaction

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[5] The model may not be found in any text exactly as presented here. It is a creation based on the texts cited in this discourse, views and faith of the author, and a personal interview with Prof. James Buchanan (USA), a development/communication scholar, during his visit to University of Natal, Durban in May 1996.

of urbanisation, literacy, industrialisation, higher per capita income and political participation as indicators, the mass media were posited as the means for effecting (that) development (Lerner, 1958). Not only were the mass media seen to possess the means for reaching and unlocking the isolated villages of non-Western societies and spread modern (Western cultural) ideas and attitudes, but they also were believed to foster large scale emulation and role playing. The mass media therefore appeared well placed to dismantle and overcome any resistance of traditionalism, and foster rapid social mobility and development (Kumar, 1989).

According to Lerner, growing mass media system in the Third World countries led to the quicker delivery of development, as traditional values would be supplanted rapidly and continuously. Therefore, it became the understanding that the non-Western societies' development would be a matter of diffusion of Western ideas and cultures and the concomitant trickle-down benefits. This is the understanding which typified the character of the modernisation model and influenced, particularly, the pattern of communication in the development processes.

The genesis of the Development Communication approach

With development thus conceived in Western terms, the prompt to abandon non-Western traditional practices for Western ones became unquestionable wisdom since the 1950s. Under the guise of promoting development, especially through expunging their people's traditional and developmentally antithetical values to modernise quickly, *"African governments rushed in, established and extended centralised mass media systems"* with the aims of disseminating development programmes and ideas widely and rapidly for quick development (Bourgault, 1995: 128). This paved the way for what is known as Development Communication: a pro-innovation,

persuasive, centre-to-the-field mass media approach for disseminating development innovations and information (cf. Rogers, 1976a).

The Development Communication approach can be traced to the post War II Marshall Plan of the late 1940s, which was a recovery programme for war ravaged Europe[6]. Besides providing financial and material resources, the Marshall Plan worked through mass media dissemination of information and innovations in Europe's redevelopment process (Arkes, 1972). Initially, the Development Communication approach was used among farmers in some parts of the United States as an extension service programme (cf. Lerner, 1958; Rogers, 1962). Its role was to make farmers aware of alternative and generally better farming methods, and to make communities at large aware of better lifestyles in terms of health, nutrition and sanitation. This entailed disseminating productive and socially useful information and skills to the end-users or receivers (Melkote, 1991; Hyden; 1994)).

The Development Communication approach underwent change in both its conceptualisation and application when the Marshall Plan, of which part it had been, was extended nearly unchanged to the development of Third World countries. The Marshall Plan's extension to Third World countries was motivated by the Plan's success in the redevelopment of Europe. Thus, it was *extension* rather than *adaptation* of the development programmes to the Third World conditions

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[6] Marshall Plan was a Western European and North Atlantic countries' redevelopment plan hatched after the World War II in 1945 largely with the USA's influence. It was under the administration of Harry Truman. Initially, the Plan's main aim was to facilitate the rebuilding of the war ravaged Europe through providing financial and material aid, skills and information to the affected countries. With the coming into existence of agencies such as the United Nations in 1950 as part of the international aid system, the aid scenario started to shift and spread to other parts of the world: Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was in this context of wanting to extend the Marshall Plan's European fruitful experiences to and for the development of Third World countries that the Development Communication approach which characterises the development processes in these countries arose. See Robert, E. Wood (1986) From Marshall Plan To Debit Crisis: Foreign Aid And Development Choices In The World Economy, Berkeley; University of California Press.

in that although they were no longer called the Marshall Plan projects, the development programmes thus extended to the development of the Third World in the 1950s were modelled after the Marshall Plan. This extension had the support and goodwill of several international development agencies. These agencies included the United Nations, which had just been just founded, the Overseas Development Agency and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Several reasons justified both the extension of the Plan and the modification of the Development Communication approach. First, the Plan had worked successfully in the redevelopment of Europe and therefore it held development lessons and prospects for other parts of the world. As Goran Hyden (1994: 310) points out, *"the success that Europe had achieved in the post-war reconstruction, making use of the Marshall Plan, had convinced even conservative and liberal politicians about the potential benefits"* of similar ideas elsewhere. Secondly, the programme's success in redeveloping Europe was attributed largely to the Development Communication approach. This attribution provided empirical support for the approach's efficacy, spurring its extension into the Third World's development processes. Thirdly, it was seen that change in the circumstances required new orientations in both development practice and development communication. So, extending the Marshall Plan to Third World development entailed new challenges. These challenges in turn demanded different ways of attending to them and new creativity of development scholars and practitioners. Therefore, to ensure that development related to the new contexts and to ensure that it succeeded, it was inevitable and justified that both the development practice and communication approach used under the Plan had to be revised despite the Plan's European success. In other words, the process of development in the emerging nations was new and therefore, as Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (1978: 289) put

it, "*it is little wonder that the Western model of modernization had to undergo significant transformation*". Furthermore, the paucity of indigenous expertise in the Third World countries at that time meant that the same experts and expertise that were used in the redevelopment of Europe under the Marshall Plan had to be (*kindly*) extended the to the Third World countries' development.

However, the reality is that, contrary to the foregoing rationale, the development and communication practices did not change significantly from their earlier forms under the Marshall Plan. Nowhere were the 'new' development and communication practices near engendering context-specific development in the Third World countries. All that the 'revision' did, in fact, was to ensure and guarantee the replication of development notions drawn from the experiences of the successful redevelopment process of Europe. The Development Communication approach in particular had its disposition diametrically changed from its earlier European form but only to a pro-innovation, persuasive monologue, top-down communication. The practice of development itself continued essentially the same way, with the omniscient development experts/agents determining both what development was and how to measure it (cf. Nyamnjoh, 1996).

By the time development experts and agencies that had been involved in the redevelopment of Europe came to help in the development of the Third World, it had already been established that it would not be adequate simply to convey development information and innovations to the intended beneficiaries. Besides ensuring that they were conveyed to the intended targets or beneficiaries, development communicators had to ensure that the innovations and information were actually adopted by their intended targets. It was in this vein that the Development

Communication approach in particular was re-theorised or revised upon being extended to the Third World countries' development under the Marshall Plan. Thus, Development Communicators assumed another role of change agents (Rogers, 1962). Since then Development Communication experts have not only determined the nature of information and the mechanism for information flow and dissemination but also they have enforced it onto the intended beneficiaries.

The Development Communicator became *"a professional who not only conveys but influences the adoption of innovations or decisions in a direction that he/she feels is desirable"* (Rogers, 1962: 283). This understanding was underpinned by the belief that through the transmission of loaded or mediated information and through the enforced adoption of innovations, recipients or intended beneficiaries would turn to better life practices in areas such as education, literacy, health, and nutrition, leading to enhanced productivity, increased incomes and general improvement in people's living conditions (cf. Servaes, 1995).

The modification of the Development Communication fitted in and reinforced the modernisation conception and practice of development. The experts came with the knowledge of what was needed for the Third World to develop, just as modernisation explicated. The understanding that the experts knew what was needed to develop the Third World meant that they did not only have to convey development information but also to ensure that it was implemented. Thus, as Lerner (1973) points out, it became the experts' mission not only to *inform* but also to *transform* Third World inhabitants towards modernisation.

For ease of the revised Development Communication, Third World governments to whose help

development experts had come, not only enjoined their people to embrace new (Western) ideas through the centralised mass media but they also ensured that the traditional practices deemed developmentally unfit were abandoned, however popular. Thus, occasionally certain indigenous practices were downrightly outlawed to ensure that the new ideas were not resisted for older ones. The Zambian government's proscribing of the Bemba people's Chitemene system in the late 1970s demanding them to turn to growing maize, as will be discussed later in this thesis, is a case in point[7].

Revision of the Marshall Plan for modernisation of non-European and non-North American countries can be summarised as follows:

▸ Just as modernisation model's *modus operandi* explicated, ie, experts/benefactors having to initiate, plan and deliver development, the extension of the Marshall Plan experiences to the development of the Third World demanded that Development Communication be appropriately revised, ie, to pro-innovation, persuasive, one-way communication by experts.

▸ In both theories, expertise denoted and resonated in the experiences of Europe and North America, thus paying a deaf ear to empirical reality of the non-Western societies.

▸ Modernisation or Westernisation discourse, so intellectually couched, followed closely the extension of the Marshall Plan to the Third World as geopolitics in the development

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[7] Chitemene system was a kind of shifting cultivation that was practised by the inhabitants of the Central, Northen and Luapula provinces of Zambia. The system entailed cutting tree branches on a portion of land measuring at average twice the size of a football pitch. The tree felling was done in May and the felled branches were pulled together by the end of June. In August the collected branches were then burnt so carefully, ensuring only a friendly fire and not an uncontrollable bush fire. It was the ashes remaining from such burning which was the core of this practice: they served as 'fertiliser'. The ashes were mixed into the soil in the month of September. With the first rains, which usually come about mid-October, either millet or cassava or both would be planted. These crops were the staple food for these people at the time. Cassava took longer while millet would be harvested in January. It was shifting cultivation in that the farmers moved on to another portion of land the following May, going through the same process. After two years they would return to the earlier portion of land.

of the Third World which emerged in 1952 gained momentum throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Several African scholars have suggested some sort of conspiracy between the ideology-laden, geopolitically motivated extension of aid via the Marshall Plan experiences to Africa and the modernisation/development 'science' aimed at justifying western penetration, devastation and subordination of Africa and the Third World overall. As Okwudiba Nnoli (1980: 2) points out, even by social scientists, there was *"unconditional condemnation of African culture ... and the unconditional affirmation of the colonisers' world view"*. Kyalo Mativo (1989: 787) puts it even more clearly as he asserts that, *"even people with nothing of consequence to say, or those whose views coincide with orthodox American academia, continue to receive opportunities and strong support to propagate academic nonsense about Africa"*.

The new understanding of Development Communication became the core of training for development work around the world (Kumar, 1989). Rogers' work both as a consultant to the USAID and as a rural sociologist at Michigan State University put him in the mainstream of the discussion surrounding Development Communication. His 1962 work, *Diffusion of Innovation*, became the *locus classicus* which delineated, stimulated and popularised the conception of (development) communication as *"information flowing in a linear, vertical fashion from an expert source through local opinion leaders... out to receivers"* (Kumar, 1989: 4). Thus, Rogers' book, admittedly the first comprehensive theoretical framework for explaining communication in the development processes, and his position as a development academic and consultant to one of the world's major governments and modernisation development protagonists spurred the new Development Communication discernment to become the standard training text for development.

Schramm (1964), heavily subscribing to the efficacy of the mass media in development, also promoted the new understanding of Development Communication to dominance. Working as Director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University and as a consultant to the United Nations and particularly the United Nations Education, Scientific Cultural Organisation and the organisation's member countries, Schramm very convincingly argued that for development to be sustained the mass media were needed to disseminate modernising information.

Like Rogers', Schramm's argument was widely embraced by both developing countries and development agencies. Thus for instance, the United Nations, and particularly the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, who were then Schramm's 'consultees', embarked on the campaign of enjoining their member states in the 1970s to build up press, radio broadcasting, film and television facilities in their countries for use in the development processes (Kumar, 1989). Thus, as shown in Table Three below, the mass media have since the 1950s been the sole information technology for Development Communication in the modernisation development process.

Table Three
Development Communication Approach[8]

Source:
University-based
Structure:
Top-down; authoritarian
Paradigm:
External-direction of social change
Level:
International and national
Media:
Big media: TV, radio, n/papers
Effects:
Create a climate of acceptance by beneficiaries of exogenous ideas and innovations
Pattern:
Sender-medium-centred; centre-to-the-field
Disposition:
Highly professionalised

Source: This was sourced from Melkote, 1991: 263 where it had been reproduced from Ascroft & Masilela, 1989: 16-17.

From Development Communication to Development Support Communication.

The notion of Development Support Communication emerged in the 1980s, following the realisation by some development scholars-practitioners that the problems of the post colonial Third world were different from war ravaged Europe of the late 1940s. They contend that Pro-Innovation Development Communication has not worked in the development processes of Third World countries as successfully as it did in Europe's redevelopment (cf. Melkote, 1991). These

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[8] Except for the last two characteristics, pattern and disposition, Development Communication approach was sourced from Melkote, 1991: 263 where it been had been reproduced from Ascroft & Masilela, 1989: 16-17. The two added characteristics are the author's creations based on the referenced citations in this discourse.

scholars attribute such failure to what they have termed a communication gap between the Development Communicator and the intended end-users at the grassroots. They argue that Development Communication had created a lacuna between the information communicator and the end-users, mitigating against the full comprehension and use of the messages by the end-users and inhibiting the intended results in development.

These arguments led to another communication approach known as Development Support Communication in the 1980s (Jayaweera, 1987b; Ascroft and Masilela, 1989). The objective of this approach is to bridge the *communication gap* between development experts and the end-users of information, the development beneficiaries (Melkote, 1991). Development Support Communication is intended and expected to remedy the communication flaws and the consequent development failures associated with and attributed to the communication pattern of the Development Communication approach.

DSC theory represents one of the few notable efforts aimed at reorienting the role and process of communication in development. Underlying it is the need to increase participation of beneficiaries in the development process. Proponents envisaged a shift from the "*concept of development communication to development support communication focussed on co-equal, little-media-centred government-with-people communication* (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989: 3; Melkote, 1991: 262).

The proponents of the Development Support Communication approach claim that the approach has noted and catered for the Development Communication approach's problems such as the communication gap between developers and beneficiaries. They claim that the approach has

discussed and addressed the "*operational impasse caused by the absence of a common language of communication between the administrators and technical experts on the one hand and the receivers on the other*" (Melkote, 1991: 262). Thus, Development Support Communication ensures that communicators in development "*translate technical language and ideas into messages understandable to the beneficiaries thereby creating a climate of mutual understanding*" (Melkote, 1991: 263).

The Development Support Communication approach relies on the use of media but not necessarily the big mass media. It relies more on the small media which include the use of "*video, film strips, traditional media, group and interpersonal communication*" (Melkote, 1991: 263). This approach is characterised in the Table Four below.

Table Four
Development Support Communication Approach[9]

Source: Development-agency based
Structure: Horizontal knowledge-sharing between benefactors and beneficiaries
Paradigm: Participatory, endogenously directed; the quest for maintaining control over basic needs
Level: Grassroots
Media: Small media: video, film strips, traditional media, group and interpersonal communication
Effects: Create a climate for mutual understanding between benefactors and beneficiaries
Pattern: Sender-agency-centred
Disposition: Still highly professionalised

Source: This was sourced from Melkote, 1991: 263 where it had been reproduced from Ascroft & Masilela, 1989: 16-17.

Conclusion

Since the 1950s, the modernisation paradigm has fashioned the notion of development in Africa

and the Third World overall. The modernisation model explicates development as the evolution

of non-Western societies from 'traditional', pre-literate, pre-scientific, pre-logical or illogical to

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[9] Except for the last two characteristics, pattern and disposition, all the characteristics of Development Support Communication were sourced from Melkote, 1991: 263, where Development Support Communication had been reproduced from Ascroft & Masilela, 1989: 16-17. The two characteristics are entirely my own creation rationalistically based on the referenced citations in this discourse.

'modern' Western-type societies through the infusion of a *"rationalistic and positivist spirit"* (Lerner, 1964: 45). Thus, development has been synonymous with the delivery of directed, purposed progress which results in economic growth and increased material outputs, hence externally-driven development. Accordingly, the macroeconomic indices of GDP, GNP and PCI serve as the measures of development. Communication in development has consequentially been about persuading people to adjust and adapt to cut-and-dried, ideologically mediated messages designed to result in the intended progress. Communication for development has since been done through the mass media to ensure the wider dissemination and adoption of the messages. The approaches employed have largely been Development Communication and Development Support Communication. The next chapter seeks to unravel the externally-driven/modernisation model's rationale, or the theoretical framework, for basing development on ideas, and for having development carried out by people, external to the intended beneficiary communities.

Chapter Three

Theoretical framework

Static societies are brought to life by outside influences, technical aid and knowledge.
Peter Golding (1974: 43).

Messages had only to be loaded, directed at the target, and fired; if they hit their target, then the expected response would be forthcoming.
Sheila Steinberg (1997: 135).

Prologue

The last two chapters have established the externally-driven/modernisation development model and the Development Communication and Development Support Communication approaches as the dominant paradigms of development and communication in the post War development drive of Africa and the Third World overall. This chapter takes the discourse further. It explores the theoretical assumptions that underpin this development understanding and practice. The theories are unravelled separately: those underlying the externally-driven (modernisation) development understanding and those underlying practice of communication in this kind of development.

1 Theoretical background of externally-driven development understanding

As the eighteenth century transition of European countries showed in Chapter Two, the development imperatives of Western countries emerged from their immediate circumstances and environment. This, however, has not been the case in the development of the post war Third World countries. As Gunder Frank (1966: 5) clearly points out, these countries' development has been externally induced based on the assumption that *"the development of the*

underdeveloped countries and, within them of their most underdeveloped domestic areas, must

and will be generated and stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc. to them from

the now-developed metropolitan countries". The Third World countries' development has since

the 1950s been carried out along the modernisation lines expressed in the above observation by

Gunder Frank. Although, as indicated earlier in Chapter Two, there has been some shift in this

manner of development in these countries since the 1970s towards. However, as indicated in

Chapter Two, there has been some shift in this development manner since the 1970s towards

basing development on intended beneficiary Third World countries' lived realities and using

local or indigenous experts. This followed the disillusionment of some development scholars

and policy makers with the modernisation view of development. They felt that the modernisation

development view was simply not enough as, for example, "*despite the presence of 80,000*

development expatriates in Sub-Saharan Africa alone by the 1980s and despite an annual

expenditure of more than US $24 billion solutions could not be found for Sub-Saharan Africa's

development problems" (Timberlake: 1985: 8, 10).

However, despite this realisation and shift, little changed in the development manner.

Development has continued to be carried out generally as it was carried at onset of the

modernisation paradigm. As Alan Brews (1993: 1) rightly asserts, not only do development

imperatives still originate from outside the intended beneficiary communities but also "*many*

development projects in the Third World countries are driven and controlled by people external

to the community which directly benefits from them". To understand this development manner

requires unravelling its underlying logic and theories. As nearly every modernisation theory

includes what Ronel Rensburg calls "*prejudices of the West*", which are, "*preconceived ideas the*

Western World had about the Third World development realities" (1996: 178), it would be useful

to begin by discussing these 'prejudices'. These are innovation, psychological, persuasion and media prejudices.

Innovation prejudice

The globalization of modernisation as a *"civil religion"* began in the 1950s by Western development scholars (Haque, 1991: 221). This 'religion' *"had little regard for the non-Western societies' traditional practices"* - cultural and social, economic and political practices and values (Rensburg, 1996: 178). Under modernisation, non-Western societies' values and practices appeared to be antithetical to development. This view led to was what Ronel Rensburg (1996: 178) calls *"innovation prejudice"*. The innovation prejudice influenced the modernisation development scholars's views that in order to develop the Third World countries would have to reject their cultural and social, economic and political values and practices *"in favour of Western innovations"*, that is, *"technologies and ideas which the recipients experience as new"* (Rensburg, 1997 178). Implied by this assumption is the view that the non-Western societies' practices and values did not have any developmental potential. It also implied that these societies' inhabitants were like *"empty vessels"* waiting to be *"filled"* with the allegedly developmentally viable Western innovations (Rensburg, 1996: 179).

The development of the Third World countries became a matter of their inhabitants' *"self-denial, self-evacuation or self devaluation, and glorification of everything Western"* (Nyamnjoh, 1996: 4). It became a process based on mimicry rather than creativity, thereby fostering and perpetuating the conception and practice of development in the Third World as exogenously induced amelioration.

This innovation prejudice found expression in the **diffusion of innovations** theory developed by Everett Rogers (1962, 1971) supported by the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Colombia University in New York. It was based on his research on the *"factors influencing the adoption of fertiliser and hybrid corn by the farmers in his home community in Iowa"*. The diffusion of innovations theory was a *"synthesis of current thinking about development communication and modernisation. It was about 'getting effects'"* (Kumar: 1989: 4). It denoted a *"process by which innovations spread to members of a social system*, by innovations being meant, as stated earlier, *"Western ideas and technologies"* (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971:12). In relation to the development of the Third World countries, modernisation development saw this theory as the means through which Western social institutions, skills, values and practices would spread to these countries and through which these countries would become developed.

Psychological prejudice

Closely related to the above prejudice, is the *"psychological prejudice"*, which presented the *"failure or lack of development in the Third World countries as being due to their inhabitants' ways of thinking* (Kumar, 1989: 3; Rensburg, 1996: 180). Daniel Lerner (1966: 133) espoused this 'prejudice' when he attributed the lack or slow pace of change among the Balgat people of Turkey to what he called *"psychic traits"*. He asserted that the 'psychic traits interacted *"endlessly with established institutions of Traditional society"*, reinforced them; and formed a *"'courage culture' in which the absence of curiosity is a primary component and goes with the lack of knowledge"*, resulting in *"ignorance and immobility"*. Thus, to modernisation development scholars and practitioners, besides the cultural limitations, the non-Western societies' underdevelopment was not only due to cultural factors but also to psychological or

mental factors. Lerner (1966: 47) identified *"ethnocentrism expressed politically in extreme nationalism and psychologically in xenophobia"* as some of the psychological factors blocking modernization among the Middle Easterners. Fatalism was also identified as another psychological factor, and was defined as *"the degree to which an individual perceives a lack of ability to control his future"* (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971: 188). According to this understanding, it is fatalism which makes even well-funded development programmes like birth control programmes in Third World countries to fail, as *"the recipient is fatalistic and believes that the size of the family cannot be controlled because it was determined by fate"* (Rensburg, 1996: 180). Similarly, as Shiv Kumar(1989: 3) points out, modernisation scholars blamed the Third World countries' poor socioeconomic conditions on low agricultural yields which *"they argued was due to the peasant farmers's fatalistic and traditional attitudes"*.

Persuasion prejudice

For the diffusion of innovations theory to work and bring about the envisaged broad-based development through the trickle-down or ripple effect, the innovations had to be accepted and adopted and diffuse through out the community. This meant that as well as spreading the innovations into the Third World communities, it was important to ensure that these innovations were accepted and adopted in the communities for development to take place. Given the concerns of such psychological factors as fatalism, it was realised that this might not happen without persuading the communities about the innovations. Thus, development in the Third World required getting rid of fatalism. This led to another prejudice, the *"persuasion prejudice"*(Rensburg, 1996: 179). This prejudice denoted the need for the messages to be that were persuasive so that the individuals could not only *"know"* about the innovations but also

"form" favourable attitudes towards the innovations, *"decide"* to adopt it and *"confirm"* the decision to adopt the innovations (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971: 102-118).

The developers needed to be aware that the individual's decision to reject or accept an innovation depended on her/his perception of, among other things, the following so that they could design their messages accordingly:

- the *relative advantage* of adopting a particular innovation,

- the *compatibility of the innovation* with the existing values and beliefs, and

- the *complexity of the innovation* (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971: 138-157).

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that the 'psychological prejudice' posited cognitive factors like fatalism as the causes of the Third World's underdevelopment. The innovation prejudice not only diagnosed social and cultural factors as the causes of the Third World's underdevelopment, but it also prescribed, through the diffusion of innovations theory and the 'persuasion prejudice', the panacea for this problem. For this panacea the *"supposedly universalistic and achievement-oriented Western culture was expected to penetrate the backwards-looking cultures with its value through a uni-linear process of inter-cultural communication"* (Himmelstrand et al., 1994:3). Thus, under modernisation *"development or progress was anything new, as long as the new was Western"* (Nyamnjoh, 1996: 3). This understanding fostered the development manner of basing development on the imperatives originated from outside the intended beneficiary communities. Development became an exclusive function of people external to the intended beneficiary communities. This understanding is imputed by many twentieth century social change/development scholars like Daniel Lerner (1958), Walt Rostow (1960), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Everett Rogers (1962), and

Peter Golding (1974).

2 Communication and Information: Theoretical basis of communication in externally-driven development[1]

Theoretical views on communication and information drove the externally-driven development model forward. The following sections illustrate the point.

2.1. *Communication theories*

The 'persuasive prejudice' made the development practitioners to decided and implement development, as it required them not only to introduce the innovations but also to ensure that they were adopted by the communities. It encouraged making development decisions without involving the intended beneficiaries. It also encouraged the one-way communication in development, as it inspired the development practitioners to exclusively design and disseminate decisions to the audiences, whose role became limited to receptions and adoption of the messages. This 'prejudice' fitted well with several theoretical articulations of communication for change which existed in the 1950s. Most of them presented communication as the transmission of messages from a source/sender to a destination/receiver. Two of these articulations are the functionalist theory of communication and the Mathematical model of communication.

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[1]The distinction is made here between communication and information theories. By communication theory is meant study of the production, process, effects and the means of conveying information; by information theory is meant the quantitative study of the transmitted information (by signals, words, pictures, etc) or simply the study of the measure of the amount and rate of flow of information in systems of communication. E. Edwards. 1964. *Information transmission.* London: Chapman and Hall.

2.1.1 *The functionalist theory of communication*[2]

As it put much emphasis on the effects and functions of development messages, communication in modernisation development can be said to have been underlain by the functionalist theory of communication. The functionalist theory focuses on the contributions, aims, consequences and/or effects of communication more than on the process of communication (i.e. how, by and for whom the messages are constructed). Among other tenets, the this theory holds that

- However different the aims of communication might be, the final intention is to hold society together for the survival of the whole system

- Since knowledge is inter-subjective, media messages would generally represent the majority's views and aspirations despite the differences between the communicator and the audience

- Messages will be generated in the generally acceptable, though not necessarily scientific/objective, way, adding, in justification, that the truth does not reside in the method but in the subjects, of which communicators (developers) are part (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989: 15-16).

The net effect of the functionalist theory on communication in development was the encouragement of the externally-driven/modernisation development practice. It encouraged the viewing of communication in development as transmission of development messages. It inspired the development practitioners to make development decisions based on the assumptions of commonality of human needs and aspirations. Furthermore, this theory spurred the development practitioners to communicate development imperatives in a uni-linear way, as it did put less

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[2]The functionalist theory of communication represents views of communication theorists who emphasis the aims, consequences, effects and functions of communication more than the process of communication.

emphasis on the process of identifying development needs than it did on the development needs themselves. It can therefore be argued that the functionalist theory of communication readily complemented the conception of development as modernisation. This relationship between modernisation development theories and the functionalist theory of communication since the 1950s has had grave and lasting implications for the practice of communication in development. This relationship fostered the linearity of communication in development, which in turn reinforced the exogenous practice of development. Communication in development became a matter of development practitioners disseminating messages to the intended audiences and development beneficiaries.

2.1.2 *The mathematical theory of communication*

Another aspect of the functionalist theory of communication which spurred the linear practice of communication in development is the Mathematical communication theory of Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949). This theory conceived of a 'source', from where information was transmitted through a channel or medium to a destination or audience. Schematically, this understanding of communication can be represented as follows:

Figure 1

The sender-audience conception of communication.
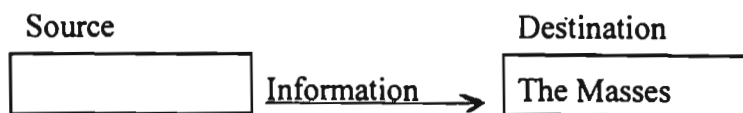
Source   Destination
┌──────────────┐ Information → ┌──────────────┐
│   │   │ The Masses   │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘
Source: Kyalo Mativo, 1989: 350.

The mathematical communication theory by Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949) provided the greatest inspiration and basis for the extension of the 'source-to-the-audience' understanding of communication into the social and economic development process. Shannon

and Weaver (1949) explicated in more elaborate terms the intellectual understanding of communication. As a model, this theory is represented as follows:

Figure Two.
Shannon and Weaver Mathematical communication model
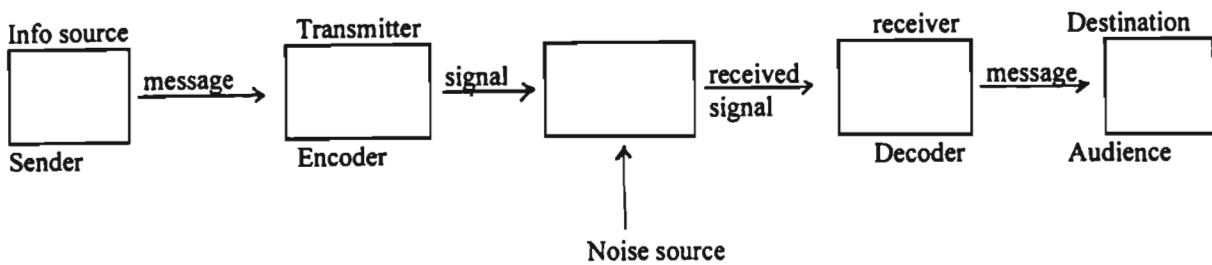
Source: Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver, 1949: 5.

The model may be interpreted as follows. From the *source of information* (info source), the sender despatches a 'desired' message to the receiving terminal. The message goes through a *transmitter* which encodes it into a signal. The message is encoded into a signal so that the *channel*, which might be a pair of wires, a coaxal cable, a band of radio frequencies or a beam of light, is able to transmit the message from transmitter to receiver. During transmission, the signals may be disturbed by *noise*. The receiver performs the inverse operation of that done by the transmitter, reconstructing the message from the signal. The *destination* is the person for whom the message is intended (Shannon and Weaver, 1949: 5-6)

This 'source-to-the-audience' understanding of communication inspired the perception that people (audience) could be moulded into a desired end, or development, through persuasive communication. This understanding drew other support from the Russian psychologist Ivan Pavlov's Stimulus-Response experiments in which he tried to prove that stimulus (or change) that consisted in the transmitted messages and maintained that given a right stimulus, people

would behave like puppets, responding in a predetermined manner to a messages or need. It became accepted that development messages could lead to change through the Stimulus-Response relationship. Consequently, this understanding encouraged the both the uni-linear practice of communication in development and the externally-driven modernisation development practice.

2.2 Information theories

2.2.1 Communication theory and information theory

Functionalists believed that the Third World countries' development would be a matter of communication '*effects*' (Kumar, 1989: 1). Development communication scholars held that they could realise the intended effects, that is, development, simply by transmitting carefully and particularly designed messages to the target audiences and intended development beneficiaries. Applying the diffusion of innovation concepts, they believed that the wider the transmission, the broader the intended effects or development would be. It became accepted that *communication theory and information theory* held the key to development. The perceived result of these two theories in relation to social change/development was summed up by Daniel Lerner's (1958/1966: 46) explication of the correlation between media exposure and social change/development when he asserted that "*everywhere increasing media exposure has gone with wider economic participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting)*". Lerner (1966: 52) saw the mass media as the "*mobility multiplier*" which, by mediating experience through mass communication, would lead to "*the expansion of psychic mobility*" and enable people to "*command greater skill in imagining themselves as strange persons in strange situations, place and time*". Thus for Lerner media exposure could lead to social

change/development by making many people who never left their native heath learn, acquire and even try out ideas from other lands. So optimistic was Lerner (1966: 55) about the role of the in social change/development that he asserted *"no modern society functions efficiently without a developed system of mass media"*.

Besides Daniel Lerner (1958), several earlier scholars of social change are linked to the extension of communication to development and the positing of the media as an important tool therein. Wilbur Schramm (1964: 27) saw the media as the means that would *"speed and ease the long, slow social transformation required for economic development, and, in particular, speed and smooth the task of mobilizing human resources behind the national effort"*. Everett Rogers (1976b: 134) notes that the media were expanding in the 1950s and 1960s and according to him they *"seemed ideally suited to the role of penetrating every village"*. Another scholar who saw the media as playing an important role in development is the economic historian, Harold Innis (1950; 1951), renowned for his post Second World War 'Toronto School' of thought. Based on his study in Greece of 470 BC, Innis attributed Greece's successful ancient civilisation to the prevailing and dominant communication modes/media of the time. Studying the Greek experiences, Innis traced the Greek society's change from stone to papyrus, which in turn caused a shift from royal to priestly power, and later from papyrus to oral traditions and flexible alphabet as modes of communication. Innis noted that the use of oral tradition and a flexible alphabet as modes of communication not only favoured inventiveness and diversity but also prevented the emergence of a king-making priesthood which held a monopoly over education. The net effect of this, he concluded, was the competitive production and distribution of knowledge, which in

turn made change on a broader scale possible.[3]

2.2.2 *Mass media prejudice*

As the foregoing anecdote shows, the extension of communication into the development

processes and the communication media's role as the tools for development date many centuries

back. However, it was not until the late 1950s that the mass media became regarded as the most

important medium for promoting development. Unlike Innis, (1950; 151) many of his

contemporaries and nearly all of the development communication scholarship that came after him

underplayed or disregarded traditional, oral and folk communication and their role in

development. Nearly all of these scholars posited the mass media as the only tool for

communication in development, capable of bringing about social change/development. This

understanding is what is referred to as the *"mass media prejudice"* and it can be traced to the late

1950s (Rensburg, 1996: 179). Mass media prejudice denotes the understanding which holds the

mass media as the primary tools for development. This understanding is premised on the mass

media's ability to reach people far and wide quickly.

Mass media prejudice fitted well with 'persuasion prejudice' and the whole modernisation

development conception and practice. While 'persuasion prejudice' required the developer to

ensure that the innovations were accepted and adopted by the communities, mass media

facilitated persuasive communication in terms of scale, speed and frequency. Subscribing to this

understanding of communication for development and the role of the mass media therein,

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[3]For a fuller discussion see Innis, H. H. 1950. *Empire and communication.* Toronto: Clarendon Press; 1951. *The bias of communication.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

implicitly and/or explicitly, have been such scholars as Harold Lasswell (1948)[4], Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962), Lucien Pye (1963), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Alan Hancock (1968) and Michael Kunczik (1984). Several of these scholars worked for the US State Department and other international agencies for development as consultants, and therefore easily influenced the broad acceptance of modernisation concepts regarding Third World development. These scholars understood communication for development as one-way transmission of information/messages from a knowledgeable source to the unknowledgeable.

2.3   Stimulus-Response or magic-bullet theory

Perhaps no theory has had greater influence on the conception and practice communication for social change/development than the *"bullet-magic theory"*, also variously known as *"the hypodermic needle or transmission belt theory"* (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989: 164). The theory *"later became known as the stimulus-response theory"* (Steinberg, 1997: 135)[5]. This theory embodies a collection of assumptions about the mass media's ability to engender predictable,

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[4]According to Alan Hancock's mass communication theory, mass media can accelerate development in the following way: dissemination of information (also described as free flow of info), reaching out the people in remote areas, passing on information from the leaders and experts to stimulate discussion, involving the population in the process of government, allowing them to assist with decision-making. A. Hancock. 1968. *Mass Communication*. London. Macmillan.

Harold Lasswell's 'act of communication' theory postulates an information source called the sender from where a desired message is despatched to a wanting receiver. But between the sender and receiver, certain modification occurs following the interventions by the transmitter and other mechanical devices belonging to the whole system. H. Lasswell. 1948. 'The structure and functions of communication in society' in L. Bryson (ed.). *The communication of ideas*. New York: Harper.

[5]The hypodermic needle theory is not a theory that can be ascribed to any one particular communication theorist. It is an eclectic collage of viewpoints of different communication scholars who, in their different theorisations as early as the first decade of this century all ascribed to the belief in the *"vulnerability of the receiver to the influence"* of the mass media messages (McQuail: 1997: 339). The historical context in which this theory arise is the First World Wartime propaganda. As populations tied to play active anc coordinated roles in the efforts against their enemies, they relied on propaganda. Top-level policy makers carefully designed messages which they filled in the mass media with a view to maximizing their citizens' hate for the enemy, love for their country and commitment to the war effort. It was claimed that the intended stimuli was achieved. See M. DeFleur and S. Rokeach, 1989: 160-163.

uniform and powerful effects on the audiences. After the World War I, there emerged an even greater *"belief in the power of the mass communication"*. Communication scholars increasingly believed that *"the mass media could shape public opinion and sway the masses towards almost any view desired by the communicator"* (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989: 163). In their investigations of the mass media's potency these scholars *"relied on the model borrowed from psychology in which correlations were sought between degree of exposure to media stimuli and measured changes of, or variations in, attitude, opinion and behaviour"* (McQuail, 1997: 130; cf. DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989). More specifically, they borrowed from the works of the Russian psychologist Ivan Pavlov (1849 - 1936), who in his experiments, tried to prove that a human being is essentially a conditioned-reflex or response machine. For Pavlov, given the right stimulus, a person would respond in a predetermined manner. Development communication scholars subsequently began to explain the media's role in social change *"in terms of stimulus-response relationship"* (Marx and Hillix, 1963: 98; Markin, 1974: 239).

In summary, the bullet magic theory assumed that:

- cleverly designed messages/stimuli would reach each member of the society through the mass media,

- each member of the society would perceive them in the same way, and

- they would provoke a more or less uniform response from all (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989: 163).

The theory's influence on the practice of development communication has been its implication that mass media messages (development messages) would be received by all in the same way. As Wilbur Schramm (1974: 8) concedes, *"communication was seen as a magic bullet that*

transferred ideas or feelings or knowledge or motivations almost automatically from one mind to another". The theory also implied that the audiences of development messages would immediately and directly respond to the incoming messages according to the development communicators' intention. It therefore encouraged the uni-linear practice of communication in development the exclusionary practice of the whole development process (cf. DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989; Musa, 1997; Steinberg, 1997).

Some of the theorists of communication for social change or development who ascribe to the stimulus-response (hypodermic needle) theory of communication, in various ways, are Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949) with their Mathematical model of communication, Daniel Lerner (1958/1966), who espouses the correlation between media exposure and social change/development, and Wilbur Schramm (1964: 41), who holds that it is hardly possible to imagine development without some modern information multiplier and asserted that "*without a sophisticated and efficient development of communication, the modern industrial society cannot be established*". For Schramm (1964: 41), therefore, "*it goes without saying that some countries are underdeveloped*" because they "*have underdeveloped communication systems*". Allan Hancock (1968) also ascribes to this theory, asserting that mass media could stimulate development by disseminating information to people in remote areas. Melvin DeFleur (1970: 122, 123) also implicitly ascribes to this theory. He mildly espouses the media's power by asserting that "*media messages contain particular stimulus attributes that have differential interaction with audience members. Members will select the more or less the same communication and will respond to it in roughly the equal ways*". Others are Everett Rogers who, at least until the 1970s, espoused the media's developmental potential by their ability to channel the desired information to the grassroots to "*get desired effects*" (Rogers, 1971: 4), and

Gladys Lang and Kurt Lang (1981: 659) who even in the 1980s disputed the growing 'no effect' or 'minimal effect' assessment of the mass media when they argued that "*the evidence available by the end of the 1950s, even when balanced against the negative findings, gives no justification for an overall verdict of 'media impotence* '".

Schramm's (1964: 43) alluring argument that the mass media were essential for development indicates the stimulus-response theory's influence on him. He contends that the mass media are capable of ensuring that modernising information reached nearly everyone everywhere, adding that they widen the targeted audience's horizons quickly, focus their attention and raise their aspirations. In this way, according to him, the mass media foster the transition to new customs and practices, and create "*the climate for national development*".

The stimulus-response theory had influenced Daniel Lerner as well. In his work <u>The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernization in the Middle East</u> Lerner (1958/1966: 47, 62) explicates the correlation between media exposure and social change/development as he asserts that "*everywhere increasing media exposure has gone with wider economic participation and political participation*". Media exposure "*raises participation in all sectors of the community like literacy, accelerates the spread of empathy and equips people to handle new experiences*". Thus, it is Lerner's view that 'media participation' would expose people to modernising messages and create 'informed' communities, hasten the replacement of traditional values, which he sees to be impeding development, with new ones which would facilitate development. As Louise Bourgault (1995: 229) points out, the media were expected to hasten the pace of development by promoting the "*adoption of specific modern ideas or practices through society*". Given their ability to transmit information quickly, timely and widely, the mass media indeed

appeared to be potent means for development. In this sense, it can be inferred that the mass media became perceived not only as means but also as indices of development. That is, the more mass media a society would have the more development it could expect, as more people would be exposed to modern information, ideas and practices.

Everett Rogers (1971) also subscribes to the stimulus-response theory through his *Diffusion of Innovation* work, in which he espouses the potential role of the mass media in disseminating and adoption of innovation. Thus, discussing the communication process in rural extension systems and other processes of communication, Rogers espouses the mass media's effectiveness in channelling development information to the grassroots in order to "*get effects*" (Rogers, 1971: 4). Rogers sees the mass media as being capable of generating development even without regard to the socio-political factors. They can facilitate people's awareness and adoption of new innovations and abandonment of behaviours which block development. Thus, as Kyalo Mativo (1989: 350) notes it would appear that Rogers understands the media as the ends and means of development which could "*distribute the benefits of new technology (innovations), break down the barriers of traditions to pave the way for modernity and to achieve economic growth*".

Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovation* work provided the point of reference for communication in development in the Third World countries for over two decades (1970-1980s). It was especially applied to Africa. Since the 1960s, development communication scholars increasingly held that development would be a matter transmitting modernising ideas from the Western to the Third World, from the urban to rural countryside through the mass media. As Srinivas Melkote (1991: 92) points out, " *the mass media were entrusted with the task of preparing individuals in developing nations for rapid social change by establishing a climate of modernization*". The

"ubiquity, standardisation and omnipresence were the features which recommended the mass

*media"*as potent tools for development (Krippendorff, 1979: 74). These features made the mass

media the only means that could reach the *"immobile isolate villages, where change was slow*

and experience (rather than imagination and curiosity) *was the only teacher"* (Lerner, 1966: 399).

The mass media's reputation as the means with unequalled ability for engendering development

derive from the mass media's characteristics, which include:

diffusion: ability to make information easily and readily available

expressiveness: ability to convey a wide range of messages in one issue, and

swiftness: ability to overcome terrestrial constraints[6].

In a nutshell, the mass media held the promise for rapid and broad-based development because:

i.   they could transmit development messages quickly,

ii.   increase the rate and scale at which the traditional values which impeded development

       would be broken down,

iii.   simultaneously raise the people's awareness of the new innovations, and

iv.   through persuasive (mass) communication, hasten the communities' adoption of new

       innovations.

Schramm argued along similar lines in 1964 that the information technology or

telecommunication media could accelerate the process of development, as they would widely and

quickly make the people aware of the needs and the opportunities available for meeting those

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[6]These characteristics were developed and first stated by an American sociologist, Charles Horton Cooley, in 1909. C. H. Cooley. 1909. *Social Organization*. Boston: Charles Scribner's Sons. p 63.

needs. According to Schramm (1964: 37), arguing that it was not the functions of communication but the amount of communication that mattered in development, information technologies could facilitate the villagers' participation in "*decision-making, the process of modernizing their society, building their nation and improving their lot*". Thus, their quick rate of transmitting information made the information technologies to be seen as the means that could make the people adopt and practise new innovations smoothly and swiftly. So convinced, was Schramm about information technology's potency for development that, as Shiv Kumar (1988/89: 5) observes, he noted that:

> *it is hardly possible to imagine national economic and social development without some modern information multiplier; and indeed, without mass communication probably the great freedom movements and national stirring of the last few decades would never have come about at all.*

Other theoretical bases of the externally-driven development practice

The other theoretical views which underlie the externally-driven development practice derive from quite eclectic sources. Besides the succinct communication and development academic discourses, the moral and philosophical, the economic and political discourses also provided the rationale for the externally-driven development practice in the Third World. One may contend that on these discourses' tacit views was hinged a development 'science' which justified western penetration, devastation and subordination of Africa and the Third World as a whole. This sections discussed moral philosophical, economic and political perspectives which might have fostered the externally-driven development practice.

Moral philosophies

The modernisation development approach presumes the intended development beneficiaries to lack knowledge about their problems. Even when they are presumed to know their problems, the intended development beneficiaries are presumed not to be fully capable of solving those problems. Everett Rogers (1969: 48) makes the point when he asserts that "*since invention in a closed system like a peasant village is a rare event*", without the "*ideas from sources external to the village, little change can occur in peasant knowledge, attitudes and behaviour*". Therefore, there is no point in consulting the intended development beneficiaries or actively involving them in the process of solving their problems. Solving problems or delivery of solutions becomes the most important objective of development according to this development understanding. Development would be decided by the benefactors and the decisions and development messages would be disseminated in a uni-linear way. Among other views, the moral requirement of doing good for people as intimated in the biblical philosophy of "*whoever is not against you is for you*"(Luke. 9: 50), appears to provide the justification for this understanding and practice of development. The quest for improving people's living conditions as the ultimate objective of development, however protractedly that might be achieved, finds further backing in such assertions as Fred Inglis's (1990: 110) that "*we can agree ... that the point of living is to lead a good and happy life*".

Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan played a great role in fostering the externally-driven development understanding and practice in the Third World countries. Seemingly spurred by the need to

develop the Third World, Africa in particular, the North American governments extended the Marshall Plan to the Third World in the 1950s. The Marshall Plan served as the conduit for several forms of development assistance and effectively as the earliest arrangement through which modernisation development was started in the Third World. When the Marshall Plan was extended to the Third World, there was little or no indigenous expertise in the Third World countries that could implement the Plan's development ideas and realise its prospects like in the case of rebuilding war ravaged Europe[7]. This perception meant that development in the Third World under the Plan would have to be carried out by experts external to it. The attribution of the Western societies' admirable development to the ideas upon which was the Plan was based provided the strongest fervour towards the Plan and the whole arrangement of development being conducted by experts external to the intended beneficiary countries and communities. This is was effectively the advent of modernisation or Westernisation notions of development in the Third World.

In the 1960s, development scholars strongly expostulated modernisation as the reason for the general well-being of North American and Western European societies. Among other things, Western agriculture, medicine and technology were held to be superior to those of the non-Western societies. The successful rebuilding of the war ravaged Europe under the Marshall Plan, which was based on Western/modern ideas and implemented along the lines of the externally-driven/modernisation development paradigm, appeared to provide the empirical support for the renowned efficacy of the paradigm (Wood, 1986; Kumar, 1988/89; Hyden, 1994).

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[7] Such expertise apparently existed only in the Western European and North American societies. Certainly this should be so given that only they (western societies) knew what modernisation (Westernisation) entailed.

As stated earlier, the extension of the Marshall Plan to the Third World countries' development entailed the provision of various forms of development aid to the Third World. Among other forms of aid, a burgeoning stream of Third World students started to flow to the 'modern' or developed countries for training and education so that they could return with the necessary expertise in 'development'. This form of aid was particularly very attractive to the Third World because, as Keval Kumar (1988/89: 2) notes, *"the new nations were very much attracted by the promise that technical assistance would help to rapidly, almost magically, overcome problems of hunger, illiteracy and bad communications"*. Meanwhile, a corresponding stream of experts from United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organisation, United States Agency for International Development, Volunteer Service Overseas, Peace Corps and Catholic Relief Services, to mention but a few, flooded the Third World. Thus, this in-flow of technical assistance and the emergence of indigenous experts, as the Third World scholars returned from their training in the West, fostered and secured the modernisation paradigm, the Development Communication and Development Support Communication approaches in the Third World's development.

Nearly all the leaderships of the new nations, anxious to deliver and fulfil the promises of broad-based development on which the mass anti-colonialism campaigns were often won, could not help embracing the paradigm for its unmatched promise for quick and easy delivery of development (Mativo, 1989). To some extent, it can therefore be argued that the entrenchment, perpetuation and dominance of the externally-driven/modernisation development paradigm in the Third World countries partly owes to the indigenous development scholars, practitioners and policy-makers.

Economic theoretical articulations

Economic theories have also added to the inspiration for the externally-driven/modernisation development. Many economic theories embody theorems or laws which, like the modernisation paradigm posit development as partly a function of economic formation. Thus, while the modernisation paradigm posits *"development as directed, purposive progress"*, the economic theories measure this development in terms of *"increased material outputs"* (cf. Moyo, 1997: 94). By explicating development in this way, economic theories, like the modernisation paradigm, posit the economically better off countries as the ideal yardsticks of development, and present underdevelopment as a result of failure to apply certain economic laws. Besides inspiring the exogenous development practice, this perception leads to development being understood dominantly in economic terms, as the following modernisation collateral economic theories show.

(i)   Orthodox economic theory

According to orthodox economic theory, the ubiquitous informal trading, peasant or small-scale farming activities which characterise most Third world countries are due to the traditional values, practices and customs of these countries. The Third World countries' values, practices and customs of the are seen as a bulwark of traditionalism under which only subsistence economies would flourish. As Srinivas Melkote (1991: 140) points out, modernisation scholars like Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm saw the *"the traditional sector as backward because of its traditionalism and anti-change attributes"*. So, in orthodox economic theory, Third World countries' indigenous institutional values and practices are partly the source and cause of the unproductiveness, stagnation and retrogression of the production sectors, and, therefore, of the

development failures of these countries[8]. For example, according to the orthodox economic theorists, the Third World's poor agricultural output is partly due to the peasant farmers being reluctant and *"slow to accept innovative practices because they have fatalistic and traditional attitudes"* (Kumar, 1988/89: 3). Therefore, according to these scholars, unless these countries modernise their sectors by supplanting their traditional values, practices and attitudes with Western ones, they can expect little or no development (cf. Lerner, 1958; Reynolds, 1969; Rogers, 1969).

(ii)   Economies of scale theory

The economies of scale theory explicates that development is a function of size of industries and firms, and technology (that is, inanimate source of power in production). According to Michael Todaro (1981: 257) economic growth and development *"result from expansion of the scale of productive capacity of firms or industries leading to increases in output and decreases in its cost of production per unit of output"*. The theory holds that with industries and firms, just as with nations, there is an irresistible trend, dictated by modern technology, for units to become bigger and better (Harper, 1977)[9].

According to this theory, gigantic organisations are inescapably necessary for development. Every Third World country should aim at becoming developed like the industrialised countries, which are better and successful because they moved towards small numbers of large enterprises from large numbers of small enterprises. In terms of his theory, Western countries are able to

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[8] See Fei and Rannis, 1964; Stanley and Morse, 1965; Jones, 1968; Frank (Charles), 1971; Hofmeister, 1971; Oshima, 1971; Hyden, 1980; Himmelstrand, 1994.

[9] See how this understanding resembles that of the social evolution and modernisation theories discussed earlier.

afford the latest machines and techniques, compete effectively on the world markets and afford their citizens better social well-being due to their big firms. According to this theory, this is because big firms create strong tax bases and enable their host nations to collect sufficient revenue, make direct transfers to their people and cater for health care and other welfare needs. Furthermore, big firms are seen to have a greater scope of generating employment, which is why Western countries are able to cater for the problem of unemployment (cf. Harper, 1977).

Economies of scale theory interprets the Third World countries' stalled development as a consequence of the small scope of their industries and firms. The widespread informal sector (small-scale activities), in the Third World countries is seen as vindication of this theory. It appears as though the presence of small scale business and chronic dismal development performance of Third World countries cannot be a mere coincidence. According to this theory, the small scope of operations, lack of skills and lack of adequate capital outlay militate against the informal sector's capacity to afford modern technologies, increase their output and contribute to national output significantly. This leads to low incomes per worker in the sector and subsequently to the sector contributing little or nothing to general upliftment (Reynolds, 1969).

The economies of scale theory existed with increasing support and influence between the late 1950s and 1970s. The logic of such development models as Arthur Lewis' (1955) Two-Sector model, Walt Rostow's (1960) Five-Stage economic development model and Harrod-Domar's (1972) model resonated in the economies of scale theory. This theory reaffirmed the understanding of development industrialisation and modernisation and fostered the externally-driven development practice in the Third World. It spurred the Third World countries' reliance on, and importation of, Western innovations for their development. Western notions and

practices (external) rather than the local realities (internal) became the basis of development.

Political theoretical articulations

Political realities provided further inspiration for the externally-driven/modernisation development practice in the Third World. There are numerous political theories which attempt to explain development and/or the lack of it and why development is conducted in certain ways, in this case, why it is carried out based on ideas which originate from outside the intended beneficiary countries or communities. Some of these theories are discussed in the following sections.

Socio-Political Development theory

Socio-political development theory provides two sets of explanations: Why Third World countries' development is often based on external imperatives and why development in these countries tends to be done in a centralised, non-participatory manner[10]. With regard to the external initiation of development imperatives for the Third World countries, the theory interprets this as the expression of the dynamics between (development) aid and economic vulnerability

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[10] This theory represents the meshing of political dynamics on the one hand and poverty and development on the other, hence the name Socio-political development theory. It makes assumptions about the desire for development but, due to underdevelopment and thus lack of means, the way towards development becomes dependent on foreign aid and debt leading to the recipient nations' compromise of political will to decide for themselves (Moore, 1993; Robinson, 1993). The theory's other assumption is about the quest for "directed' national development which ends up in centralised development processes, rewarding only a selective constituency of elites whose support is important for a given regime's continued tenure in office (cf. Herbest, 1990; Bourgault, 1995). Analytically, the craving for hegemony and suzerainty in the case of international or external initiation of imperatives (cf. Moore, 1993), and, nationally, the need to garner support through patron-client relations for political stability and status quo rather than for development constitutes the reasoning behind the externally-driven development model of development (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982; Herbest, 1990; Moore, 1993).

of the aid recipient countries. This explanation is ramified into two theories: *"Political Dominance and Functionalism"* (Stiles, 1990: 959-960).

(i) Political Dominance theory

Since the 1950s, the infusion of geopolitics into the international resource transfer arena has been a key factor for the Less Developed Countries in negotiating the dilemma of the desire for development on one hand and the lack of means to realise that desire unaided on the other. Consequently, the Less Developed Countries have become extremely dependent on foreign resource transfers, which have often been in the form of international loans and underpinned by certain requisites such as creditworthiness. A country's inability to regularly and significantly meet loan obligations constitutes the lack or loss of creditworthiness (Corbridge, 1993).

The changes in the post-War pattern of resource transfer exacerbated the Third World countries' position, as it upset their creditworthiness. The 1970s, remembered as the decade of international bank loans, saw a phenomenal shift from official to private sources of development funds. This shift was forced by the USA, which orchestrated a jaundiced view of development through aid, popularising a view of development part-financed by private funds. The USA argued that private banks would fulfill more efficiently the role played by aid organisations before[11]. As expected,

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[11] There were a couple of reasons why private banks readily became interested and involved in syndicated lending of funds to Third World countries. First, there was the question of a breakdown in the preceding 'aid regime' engineered by the USA (Wood, 1986). In August 1971, President Nixon unhinged one of the main pillars of the Bretton Woods system (ie. international arrangement under which operated such institutions as IMF, WB etc) when he broke a commitment on the part of the USA to exchange gold for dollars at a fixed rate. This rapture, together with the move to floating exchange rates in 1973, led to the general deregulation of international economic affairs. The concerted efforts of the USA and Western nations that had began under the Marshall Plan for European Recovery and later extended to the Third World, disintegrated with the ODA detaching itself from direct USA control. Secondly, following the 1973 OPEC oil crisis, the recession was biting hard in the OECD countries with the money-centres experiencing low demand for new loans and business. In this context, the Third World became particularly very attractive to these banks with Latin America particularly promising the highest profits. An ideology of public sector developmentalism, well underscored by the then Chairman of Citi Bank Walter Wriston's dictum

a syndicate of USA banks such as Citi Bank, Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, Chicago First, etc took up the lending of funds to the Third World countries, particularly African, Caribbean and Latin American ones (Corbridge, 1993).

This switch had two major implications for the Third World countries' development. Firstly, underlain by the profit motive, the switch introduced lending at relatively higher interest rates thereby adversely impacting on the volume of resource transfer to the Third World. Secondly, the switch meant that to secure further loans, a debtor country needed to demonstrate creditworthiness which was simply the capacity to borrow less and repay more. Failure to meet this criterion left a debtor country with only aid as the avenue for development resources. The aid avenue has since taken the form of grants and gifts and, occasionally, the form of loans with a great element of concession (Corbridge, 1993).

Contrary to the claims by the international development aid agencies and donors that aid is freely given to the Third World countries to fill the gaps in their economies, aid to these countries is always tied to certain conditions. Aid-tying can be traced to the events of the 1950s, which followed the extension of development assistance under the Marshall Plan by the USA-led Western countries to the Third World. In the mid-1950s, the USSR set up its own aid programme to compete with this assistance which it considered as American aid. This led to aid being bound with geopolitics (Frieden, 1987a). Since then aid to the Third World countries has been tied with geopolitical ambitions and perceptions of the aid givers, both bilateral and multilateral ones like the Bretton Woods Institutions - the International Monetary Fund and

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that COUNTRIES NEVER GO BANKRUPT (Wriston, 1986), inspired the move even further. Profits looked secured: loans would be made at floating interests rates leaving the borrower with most risks (see Wood, 1986; Corbridge, 1993).

World Bank (Korten, 1990; Stiles, 1990).

In some multilateral aid arrangements, aid-tying is exacerbated by the influential positions some parties have. The USA's position in the International Monetary Fund arrangements bespeaks this point. Due to the weighted system of voting, *"the USA has unilateral veto over decisions"* it does not like (Stiles, 1990: 960). The comment by a US official following the fall of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko to the then rebel leader Laurent Kabila that aid would be forthcoming for Kabila *"provided that he behaves"* further bespeaks the dynamics of aid-tying to date. It also shows how aid seekers are at the mercy of influential members of the so-called multilateral aid organisations. Chester Crooker, US assistant secretary of state for Africa under Ronald Reagan, openly stated: *"The point is that we and our friends control the keys to the clubs and the treasuries that Kabila will need to tap if he is going to rebuild the country"* (McGreal, 1997: 11).

Given the above scenario, *political dominance* becomes inevitable. It leads to the situation whereby development imperatives and policy outcomes of the aid recipient countries are decided upon by the aid givers. Vulnerability of aid recipient countries to such situation increases with their inability to secure resources elsewhere. Thus, as many Third World countries today are hardly creditworthy to secure large scale loans because most of them " *have not been able to regularly and significantly repay their debts since 1982"* (Lindert, 1989: 250), they are largely dependent on aid and are consequently more vulnerable to manipulation through external initiation of development imperatives than ever before.

Such vulnerability is rife among Sub-Saharan African countries where foreign aid equals 40 per cent of the region's import. For low-income and middle-income oil producing African countries,

aid equals 50 and 24 per cent of their gross domestic investment respectively (WB, 1981). The ratios are even higher when looked at country by country. In the 1980s, aid provided 90 per cent of Mali's investment, financing 80 per cent of the country's public expenditure. The ratio was 53 per cent for Sudan, 36 per cent for Tanzania and 25 per cent for Kenya (Bourgoignie, 1984; OECD/DAC, 1983a; WB, 1984i). The high incidence of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's co-designed and sponsored structural adjustment programmes among Sub-Saharan African countries in relation to other parts of the Third World today testifies to these countries' lack of alternative sources of development aid and vulnerability, therefore, to the external initiation of development imperatives.

(ii)   Functionalist theory

The aid givers have not seen the practice of aid-tying as subtle imposition of development imperatives. Rather, they interpret it as *"decision-making based on rational objectivity"* (Stiles, 1990: 959). They argue that international aid agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, Overseas Development Agency and the World Bank are *"composed of disinterested and dispassionate experts whose role is to best interpret the financial information"* viz-a-viz development policies based on *"consistent theoretical traditions"* (Stiles, 1990: 959). According to aid givers, influencing the development course of the aid recipient countries is an attempt to coordinate efforts aimed at fostering appropriate *"political organisation and administrative competence"* to ensure efficient use of the donated development resources (Cassen, 1986: 22). Therefore, aid tying is seen as a way to *"set procedures for a coherent approach to development and a broad based sustainable development in the recipient countries"* (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1992: 4).

The poor development performance record and state of many Third World countries have earned them the reputation of incompetent managers of their destiny. This has vindicated the contentions of the aid givers, spurring them *"to circumvent the recipient countries' government and social structures, in the guise of wanting to deliver better and directly to the people* (Bourgault, 1995: 232). As former British Prime Minister John Major put it, referring to the Harare Declaration, aid tying was aimed at setting *"principles upon which we should operate and we must all move in that direction. We must all meet basic standards: universal standards not merely western standards"* (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1992: 2).

So serious are the aid givers about 'ensuring competent use of aid' that some even keep *"aid recipient countries under close scrutiny to monitor their performance"* lest they *"waste resources on discredited (development) systems to support their folly"* (Ibid., 3). Britain's Overseas Development Agency provides the example of the aid givers that keep aid recipients under scrutiny. Their underlying argument is that aid cannot be given in a policy vacuum (see Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1992). Thus, it is as clear as it is inevitable from the above discussion development imperatives of aid recipient countries initiate from outside and, worse still, from outside their local communities, the real intended beneficiaries.

(ii)a Neo-functionalist theory

Another reason development in the Third World countries tends to be carried out in centralised, non-participatory ways is to ensure directed national development so that citizens can benefit equally from national efforts. This explanation is underpinned by the neo-functionalist theory which sees centralised planning and control as essential if broad-based progress is to be achieved (see Huntington, 1991). This theory's explanation is valid for the experiences of both the past

(colonial) and present (post colonial) manner of development in the Third World countries. Thus, in the colonial period, modernisation development model did not allow the intended beneficiaries to participate in deciding their development because, as Keval Kumar (1988/89: 4) puts it, the model was not stimulating "*a process of articulating ideas and information from the grassroots horizontally or upwards towards the centres of political and cultural decision making*". Rather, it was about transforming the 'traditional' societies into modern, hence developed, ones.

In the post colonial period, the non-participatory development orientation continued but under new logic: the quest for directed national development. The dependence-dissociation strategy, which became popular among the newly independent nations in 1970s, was intended to discontinue the erroneous disposition of modernisation and the dependency of the new nations on their colonial masters. Accordingly, these nations held political, economic and cultural independence to be their priority. They saw developing along the Western/modernisation practices as perpetuation of the old colonial dependency. So, they defined development as self-reliance, which expressed through independent political decision and non-alignment. Later in the 1980s, this articulation found expression in the building of a New World Economic and New Information and Communication Order, i.e., a vision representing the goals of the new nations for political, economic and cultural self-determination within the international community of nations (Kumar, 1988/89). The new nations accordingly saw centralisation policy in media, development and other administrative processes as the means through which they could realise their objectives of self-reliance (dependence-dissociation) and broad-based development (equal provision for all). This policy entailed centralized planning and control, designing and dissemination of development messages and programmes. Since then development has been

carried out by a few people (professionals and authorities), who are external to the intended beneficiary communities. This is how the dependence-dissociation policy fostered the non-participatory development orientation in these countries (cf. Kumar, 1988/89).

(ii)b Rational Authoritarianism

Socio-political development theory also explains non-participatory development manner as the quest for avoiding the risk of stalemate or inability to reach decisions on development priorities, which could result in developmental capacity failure (see Huntington, 1991). Gordon White (1995: 3) calls this explanation the *"Rational Authoritarianism"* theory. Rational authoritàrianism theory posits democratisation in development as a potential impediment to development because it is likely to cause *"problems which are peculiarly characteristic of democratic systems: stalemate, demagoguery and domination by vested interests"* (Huntington, 1991: 210). Thus, participatory practices in development are seen as a luxury which underdeveloped societies can ill afford (White, 1995).

Proponents of the *Rational Authoritarianism* ranges from political leaders and development practitioners to political scholars and development scholars, from First to Third World. Thus, Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (quoted in White, 1995: 3) asserts that *"what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy (participation). The exuberance of democracy leads to indiscipline and disorderly conduct which are inimical to development"*. From the side of scholars, the theory receives aloof yet firm support. Adrian Leftwich (1993: 13) argues that, *"if the primary developmental objective is the defeat of poverty and misery, then participation (democracy) may also not be what Third World countries need or can sustain in their present conditions"*. Similar support is echoed by scholars who, notwithstanding their

appreciation for democracy, are disillusioned with what procedural democracy at the national levels offers. Thus, Pierre Landell-Mills (1992: 10) contends that *"liberal democracy* (participation*) will not necessarily lead to economic growth, or alleviation of poverty, or protection of the weak, or efficient (or more representative) government"*.

Other views in favour of rational authoritarianism are adduced by Samuel Huntington (1991) who presents post-transitional obstacles as the reason for the Third World countries' non-participatory development orientation. Huntington divides these obstacles into two categories: contextual and systemic. Contextual obstacles arise from the nature of the particular society and the developmental problems it faces. Systemic obstacles arise from the characteristic way in which liberal democracies operate: uncertainty, instability and conflict inherent in democratic politics, all of which might hamper the very goal of (meaningful) participation and promote domination by vested interests (Huntington, 1991). Contextual problems *"may smother the political system with excessive demands resulting from a tide of rising expectations and undermine the capacity to process the demands"* (Huntington, 1991: 209-210). Therefore, for Huntington, participation can forestall rather foster efficient and effective development.

In the final analysis, according to the socio-political development theory, the pragmatic ideal of participation in development is not feasible and it might be better avoided. It is not feasible because development imperatives can hardly be initiated by the intended beneficiaries if the resources to realise such imperatives lie beyond their means and capacity. It is better avoided because it can lead to *"political fluctuations, paralysis or disorder which can weaken the capacity of governments (*or other non-governmental development agencies*) to shoulder the development burden"* (White, 1995: 3).

Conclusion

From the development and communication theories reviewed in this chapter a number of assumptions emerge. These assumptions clearly delineate the reasons why development in the Third World countries is carried out based on the imperatives which are initiated from outside the beneficiary countries and communities. The assumptions also express the reasons development has had to be implemented mostly by people external to the intended beneficiary communities, with little or no input of the intended beneficiaries. The assumptions and finally the chapter as a whole can be summarised as follows:

1.   Development means increased material output,

2.   Capital intensive technology and large scale firms are indispensable for development,

3.   Debunking and abandoning indigenous non-Western values and practices is the precondition for development, as it is in this way that Western values alleged to be conducive for development is paved, and

4.   For this development to ensue and be sustained, decision-making needs to proceed from the top (benefactors, experts, policy makers) to the bottom (beneficiaries). Otherwise, participation would forestall instead of fostering development.

Perhaps, it is Peter Golding (1974: 43) who provides the best summary of the reasoning behind exogenous inducement of social change/development when he asserts that,

> *static societies are brought to life by outside influences, technical aid and knowledge, resources and financial assistance and (in a slightly different form) by the diffusion of ideas.*

Today, the externally-driven development understanding and practice and the role of the mass

media, as discussed in this chapter, continue to be popular. Development and communication scholars, practitioners and policy makers still articulate not only their belief that development consists in the outside influences but also their faith in the omnipotence of the mass media or information technologies in development. Al Gore, the US Vice President, passionately advocates this creed. He intimates that the Global Information Infrastructure is an essential antidote to underdevelopment, as he asserts that:

> *the essential prerequisite to sustainable development, for all members of the human family, is the creation of a Global Information Infrastructure (GII). The GII will circle the globe with information superhighways on which all people can travel. The GII will not only be a metaphor for a functioning democracy, it will in fact promote the functioning of democracy by greatly enhancing the participation of citizens in decision-making. I see a new Anthenian Age of democracy forged in the fora the GII will create[12] .*

What implications could these conceptions of development and communication for development have had for development in Sub-Saharan Africa over the last three decades? What has been the development performance record of some of these countries, which travelled along this development path? The next chapter aims at finding some answers to these questions.

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[12] Al Gore, US President, 21 March 1991, in a speech to the International Telecommunication Union Conference in Buenos Aires; Quoted in Phillip Lee (1995) The Democratization Of Communication, Cardiff, Gt. Britain: University of Wales Press.

Chapter 4

LITERATURE REVIEW: SOME IMPLICATIONS AND RESULTS

"there will be a hydro-electric works in five years, new universities in three years, and so on".
Eliot. J. Rose (1962) on Development Journalism emerging in the newly independent African countries. Quoted in Dennis Wilcox, 1975: 28.

Prologue

The EDD/modernisation paradigm has since the 1950's fashioned the manner of development in Third World countries. It explained the Third World's underdevelopment as a product of the *"Traditional society"* which *"undermines mobility, empathy, motivation and social and economic development"*, as it breeds ignorance, backwardness and irrationality especially among the peasantry (Lerner, 1966: 411, 412). It also attributed underdevelopment to the use of *"rudimentary technology or crude techniques of production"* (Hyden, 1980: 14), and to inappropriate political and organisational governance institutions which become *"intertwined with economic problems"* to foster primordial economies (Lerner, 1966: 411). The paradigm propagated the remedy which called for vast doses of modernisation through the mass media, aimed at breaking down traditional values and reorienting the social formations in non-Western countries, introducing technical skills, encouraging national integration and accelerating the growth of formal education. What implications could these conceptions of the role of communication and the mass media in development and the external initiation of development imperatives have had for development in Sub-Saharan Africa over the last three decades? What has been the development performance record of some Sub-Saharan African countries which travelled along this development path? This chapter searches for the answers to these questions by reviewing some development projects undertaken by some these countries.

The mass media and communication in development[1]

The media

There appears to have been no disagreement on the potency of the mass media in bringing about social change or development. As discussed in the previous chapter, the mass were seen as the mean for development in post War development drive, drawing primarily from the Lernerian explication[2]. As Wilbur Schramm (1964: 41-42, 49) asserts it was believed that the villages' *"urge to develop socially and economically comes from seeing how the well-developed countries or more fortunate people live"*. The media made people to seek *"new opportunities in a chain of related development"*. Development communication scholars saw the media as the development bridge, which could disseminate modernising information widely, widen the audiences' horizons quickly, focus their attention, raise their aspirations and boost their transition to new customs and practices and so create the climate for development (1964).

This understanding of the media and development was to have lasting influence. It influenced and modelled the perception and practice of communication for development. Particularly in Africa, it also influenced the pattern of ownership of the mass media system (institutions) as will be shown later. But more consequential, the prospects of easy and rapid development which the

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[1]The terms mass media and mass communication here and throughout the thesis are used as two separate ones intentionally to show analytically that the two terms are not synonymous. While mass communication denotes the transmission and reception of messages/information to/by large, heterogenous, anonymous and widely dispersed audiences, the term mass media refers to the technologies or techniques by which mass communication is done. See also M. Janowitz. 1968. 'The study of mass communication'. *The International encyclopaedia of the social sciences*. 3. pp 41-53. New York: Macmillan Press; Denis McQuail. 1994. *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. London: Sage.

[2]The adjective Lernerian is adapted from the name Daniel Lerner whose explication it was that is referred to here. See Daniel Lerner. 1958. *The passing of the traditional society: Modernising the Middle East*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.

above understanding of the media and development implied, influenced the growth of electronic media worldwide, especially in the Third World.

In comparison to the media genre before the 1960s, it is noticeable that the Third World experienced quite a remarkable influx of radio and television sets in the years after the 1970s. The data below, adapted from Carlos Valle (1995) where they had been reproduced from the MacBride Commission final report, suggest as much.

Case One
Information technology profile - 1960-1980s

- ♦ In Africa, there were 7 times as many radio sets and 20 times as many TV sets.
- ♦ In Asia, the ratio went up from 1 to 5.
- ♦ In Latin America, there were 4 times as many radios and almost 10 times as many TV sets.

Source: Data adapted from Carlos Valle, 1995: 199-200.

Although it was the individual (Third World) countries' responsibility to instal the mass media infrastructure and to procure the necessary information technologies, the international development agencies which subscribed to the creed of development through the mass media assisted them in this endeavour. The United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was one of such organisations. UNESCO saw the *"media as the means for closing the gap between the haves and have-nots. It accordingly recommended the minimal standard of the mass media that should be available in every Third World country"* (Melkote, 1991: 88)[3]. It strongly encouraged and facilitated Third World countries' establishment of *"outlets of mass media (radio, television, film, newspaper, etc) so that they could achieve overall*

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[3]"The *UNESCO minima* recommended that every Third World country should aim to provide every 100 of its inhabitants ten copies of dailies, five copies of radio receivers, two televisions and two cinema seats". Wilbur Schramm, quoted in Melkote, 1991: 88.

development" (Melkote, 1991: 88). Other development agencies that helped and provided the Third World with the mass media (radio, television. Film, newspapers, etc) were the food and agriculture organisation (FAO) the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other bilateral aid organisations and, occasionally, private investors (Melkote, 1991).

With this assistance, nearly all Sub-Saharan African countries (SSA) had radio and/or television stations by 1985, as Case Two below shows. Besides the distribution of the media (radio and television receivers) in Sub Saharan Africa by 1985, the case also shows the variation, from country to country, in media accessibility and, by implication, in the size of the audience reached.

It is noticeable from the case below that even in countries without television stations, there were people with (television) receivers. This was due to the existence of subscription rather than broadcast televison in such instances. Botswana is one of such cases. This vindicates the point made earlier about the growing electronic media in the countries and period in question.

Case Two
Broadcasting and TV stations and receivers per 100 by 1985 within SSA

| Country | Radio | Spread of the media | | |
		Receivers	Television	Receivers
Botswana	Yes	9	No	<0.5
Ethiopia	Yes	4	Yes	<0.5
Ghana	Yes	16	Yes	1
Cote d'Ivoire	Yes	11	Yes	5
Nigeria	Yes	17	Yes	7
Sierra Leone	Yes	20	Yes	1
Somalia	Yes	5	No	<0.5
Sudan	Yes	10	Yes	1
Tanzania	Yes	10	No	<0.5
Uganda	Yes	10	Yes	1
Zaire	Yes	10	Yes	>0.5
Zambia	Yes	8	Yes	1

Data adapted from William Coleman. 1986: 42-44.

Communication

The emerging nations were faced with the urgent need for quick delivery of development which had to benefit all the citizens equally, hence the notion of national development. This urgency led to the governments and other development agencies having to plan, design and carry out development for the people, without having to involve them. This quest for coordinated 'national development' fostered the uni-linear expert/authority-sender-to-audience communication orientation in development. It was seen that besides securing the means for development (mass media), it was important that they were used in the best and most effective way that could lead

to the achievement of the 'national development' objective. Against this background, *"the predominantly one-way flow of development information from government and non-government development agencies to the people was implied"* (Rogers, 1966: 134).[4] *"The populist spirit that accompanied the independence movements of the emerging nations"* also fostered this kind of communication in development. The leadership extended the same uni-linear way they had communicated with their constituencies during independence struggles to the post-independence development drive (Schramm and Lerner, 1978: 289).

This quest for quick development that should be fairly beneficial to the citizens had further implications for communication and media for development. Thus, besides fostering the uni-linear, top-down flow of development messages, it led to the centralised pattern of ownership of the media, as the means for disseminating development messages. It also led to centralised decision and initiation of development imperatives. Most notable, the quest for coordinated national development led to what became known as developmental journalism, which was a variation of the Development Communication (DC) approach (cf. Mativo, 1989; Melkote, 1991). While under the Development Communication approach the development process was controlled and directed by the experts, the process began to be controlled and directed by governments under developmental journalism. Thus, developmental journalism sought to:

- promote the governments' views of development,

- publicise the governments' development programmes, projects and activities,

- speak for government on development issues,

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[4] This orientation of course drew further inspiration from the established theoretical traditions like the transmission model, the ritual/expressive model and the publicity model of communication based on the theories discussed in Chapter Two. For more, see Dennis McQuail. 1994. *Mass communication theory: An introduction.* London: SAGE.

- tell the communities about the governments' development plans and performances.

It was not developmental journalism's aim to tell or remind the governments of community needs nor to critique governments about their development performances (Musa, 1997: 139).

Development journalism denoted a compromise between nation building and development. It became the means constructing articulating and meeting common development needs with order and stability, without necessarily the exuberance of grassroots particpatory democracy lest it lead to indiscipline, political disorder or paralysis and weaken the capacity to shoulder the developmental burden (cf. Huntington, 1991).

In the immediate post-colonial years, the quest for national integration and directed national development provided justified developmental journalism. National integration and national development were important objectives, given the need for consolidating the new nations and for ensuring that development benefits accrued equally to all citizens (cf. Kumar, 1989; Ndulo, 1989).

However, developmental journalism has existed with increasing popularity in the Third World, especially in Africa. This is likely to be due to other reasons than the developmental one stated above. As developmental journalism clearly implies and hinges on hierarchical authority, "*the career aspiration of many (African) scholars of going to work in development bureaucracies*" when they return from studies in modern development and communication models in the West, is one possible reason for the perpetuation of the approach (Kumar, 1988/89: 4). As Eugene Bortei-Doku (1978: 4) points out, "*such trainees hardly ever returned to the farm to apply their new knowledge. They went instead in search of government jobs as technical officers*".

As Kyalo Mativo (1989: 790) asserts, in their practice of communication, many of these scholars are often not as prepared to listen to the masses as they had been ready to listen to their Western mentors, whose instructions they still obey with unmatched readiness especially if that is what promises to "*obtain them comfort*". For Francis Nyamnjoh (1995: II), such communication practitioners become *"accomplices in state building"* rather than *"actors in nation building"*. In the end, developmental journalism does not only undergo complete transformation but it also persists with increasing institutional support and popularity.

Colonial legacy provides another explanation for developmental journalism's continuation in the Third World. Most new nations inherited media systems which were established by the erstwhile imperial regimes to serve their interests (cf. Bourgault, 1995). Dennis Wilcox (1975: 12) also observes as much, noting that *"one area of continuing policy involves the ownership of the media. Where once the colonial governments operated and owned much of the communications media, the new governments have assumed the same posture"*. Therefore, notwithstanding the important cause of national building and development, it is clear that developmental journalism could have persisted in many Third World countries because it provides the way to carefully doctor the stultification of the emergence of revolutionary media culture in the Third World countries, which could upset the vested interests, power and control (cf. Okonkwor, 1983; Bourgault, 1995; Musa, 1997). Only developmental journalism within the broader communication approaches environment appears to be better suited for ensuring firm and central control over communication and media institutions by governments.

Accordingly, by the end of the first decade since independence, nearly all print and, where available, electronic media in many Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries were in state hands as

Case Three below shows. This genre has generally continued to date. It is only now that state ownership of, usually, print media has started to ease. Even then, this is often through the emergence of private ownership of newspapers and not through the release of the fully fledged and more viable media long owned by the state (cf. Bourgault, 1995).

Case Three
Number and ownership of newspapers, broadcasting and TV stations by 1975 in SSA[5]

Country	Dailies, B/cast & TV	Category of ownership		
		Govt	Ruling party	Private
Botswana	1; 2; 0	1; 1; 0		0; 1; 0
Ethiopia	6; 6 ;1	5; 5; 1		1; 1; 0
Ghana	3; 12; 3	2; 12; 3		1; 0; 0
Cote d'Ivoire	2; 2; 1	2; 2; 1		
Nigeria	14; 6; 5	7; 6; 5		7; 0; 0
Sierra Leone	3; 2; 1	3; 2; 1		
Somalia	2; 2; 0	2; 2; 0		
Sudan	3;1 ;1	0; 1; 1	3;0 ;0	
Tanzania	3; 2; 0	2; 2; 0		1; 0; 0
Uganda	4; 2 ;1	2; 2; 1		2; 0; 0
Upper Volta	3; 2; 1	2; 2; 1		1; 0 ;0
Zaire	4; 8; 2	4; 8; 2		
Zambia	2; 1; 1	2; 1; 1		
Total	50; 48; 17	34; 46; 17	3;0 ;0	13; 2; 0

Data adapted from Dennis Wilcox. 1975: 38; 79.

Guided by the *UNESCO minima*, some countries even published vernacular newspapers along side those in official languages. This was intended partly to ensure disseminating development information widely so that broader national development could be achieved. Among such

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[5]The dailies referred to here were and largely include only those in official languages, French or English depending on the former colonial power. The only exceptions are the cases of Tanzania and Uganda where all the private newspapers (*Ngurumo*, and *Munno* and *Taifa Empaya* respectively) were in vernacular, Swahili, which was as widely spoken as the so-called official languages in these countries.

countries were Zambia, where the government through its information service wing (ZIS) published about six vernacular dailies according to the local languages widely spoken especially in the urban areas[6], and Botswana, where the government has up to today run a bilingual (English and Tsetswana) daily. Developmental journalism's concern to reach and cater for as many people as possible, as the publication of newspapers in vernacular shows, was one of its strong points.

It is clear that developmental journalism resonated in the transmission model of communication[7]. Its preoccupation was the transmission or dissemination of information on matters ranging from political, social and economic, agricultural, nutritional and health, to literacy and educational issues. For instance, regarding health programmes, developmental journalism's role was to disseminate health campaigns. It focussed particularly on primary health care, apprising the communities on healthy lifestyles and health hazards. It informed the communities about mobile clinics, their locations and schedules and about the available, which could be preventive and/or rehabilitative services, including immunisation, ante/post-natal and physiotherapy.

Typical of derivations of the Mathematical model of communication, developmental journalism assumed that the individuals would be able not only to get the information but also to appropriate it beneficially. Decision-making was a function of the centres of authority as was reception the only role of the intended audiences and beneficiaries.

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[6]I established this through my interview with the Press Liaison officer at the Ministry of Information and broadcasting during my research - August -November 1996 -in Zambia. See also Francis Kasoma and Michael Leslie. 1986.

[7]The transmission model represents the core of the dominant paradigm of communication. It presents communication as process of transmission of fixed quantities of messages determined by the sender/source. Thus, it is linear message transmission, stimulus-response model. For more, see Dennis McQuail, 1994.

The implication of developmental journalism for the performance of development projects and programmes is an important aspect of this thesis. Given the correlation between the media and development explicated by Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm and others, rapid and broad development could have been expected as the *magic and mobility multipliers*, the mass media, increased in the Third World and, in this particular case in Sub-Saharan Africa. For an insight into the implications and expectation of this media-development correlation explication, and in order draw up a fair assessment, it is necessary to examine the development performance of some Sub-Saharan African countries over the last three decades. A review of a few projects implemented in some Sub-Saharan African countries will now be undertaken. The review will be undertaken with a view to examining the initiation and communication of development imperatives viz-a-viz the performance of the projects themselves. The review will cover economic, agricultural and other social development initiatives/projects.

Development - some initiatives and projects, their implementation and results

Economic initiatives and projects

Following the popularity of the orthodox economies of scale theory, which rethought the 'small is beautiful' many Sub-Saharan African countries in the 1960s embarked on the nationalisation of private firms, amalgamation of public and private firms as well as industrialisation programmes. Most of these programmes were funded by massive directed flows of both local and external savings (Simmons, 1982; d'Almeida, 1986; Thomas, 1982). The prospects of broad-based development through the trickle-down approach following the creation of large scale firms, which the economies of scale theory explicated, was too appealing for these countries to resist. This expectation was driven by " *'the growth-first-and-let-equality-come-later' mentality which*

was justified by the trickle-down theory that leading sectors once advanced, would then spread

their advantage to the lagging sectors" (Rogers, 1976b: 125).

Economies of scale theory posited industrialisation and creation of firms of scale as cornerstones of development. The admirable prosperity of Western countries, attributed to scale and industrialisation and scale by this theory, was too inviting and convincing for the Third World countries not to adopt the route towards it. Thus, as Louise Bourgault (1995: 228) notes, development *"implied industrialisation, a process which was understood (by the Third World) as the cornerstone of the Western World's astonishing ascent to preeminence in world affairs and in its unparalleled ability to provide its citizens with material well-being"*.

The economies of scale was so influential and appealing that it left little or no doubt about the prospective material well-being among Sub-Saharan African countries and the international development agencies which were to assist them. The theory perverted many nations' understanding of development such that those countries whose lack of that industries was both obvious and conspicuous became known to others and, in disguise, to influential organisations such as the United Nations (UN) agencies by several euphemisms for the words 'backward' and 'poor' (cf. Hobsbawm, 1994). As Case Four below shows, Sub-Saharan Africa had a significant number of countries which embraced this theory's wisdom and embarked on headlong industrialisation and large scale conglomeration (parastatals) between 1960 and 1980.

Case Four
Parastatals created in some African countries: 1960-1980s

In Ghana, the number of parastatals expanded from virtually 0 prior to independence in 1959 to over 100 by the mid-1960's. In Tanzania, the number of parastatals increased from 80 in 1967 to 400 in 1981. In nominally capitalist Kenya, the parastatals grew from 20 at independence to 60 in 1979. Zambia had the number of parastatals rise from virtually zero in 1964 to over 100 by 1980, with the parastatals controlling over 80% of the whole Zambian economy. Other countries such as Mali, Senegal, Mauritania and Madagascar also experienced great growth in the number of parastatals. Still, some countries like Ivory Coast and Zambia even embarked on large scale mechanised industrialisation in the 1970's.

Source: This case draws on ideas from Jack Simmons, 1979; Ayite-Fily d'Almeida, 1986; Ben Turok, 1989[8].

It is hardly unreasonable to argue that the blossoming of large parastatal companies and large scale mechanisation and industrialisation throughout Sub Saharan Africa as soon as countries became independent in the 1960's derived partly from the alleged affinity between size of firms and development explicated by the economies of scale theory (see Simmons, 1979; Nellis, 1986)[9]. Thus, as Allan Thomas (1995: 3) puts it, *"Tanzania saw the centralisation of state businesses between the years 1967 and 1978 as the most effective option since it allowed the state to benefit from economies of scale in mobilising resources for state action and to allocate these resources in conformance with overall priorities"*. Such industrialisation and creation of

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[8]For a deeper discussion, see Jacqueline Duthei de la rochere, 1976; Goran Hyden, 1983; John Nellis, 1986.

[9]There are certainly clearer reasons which prompted parastatalisation in Africa. The quest for enlarging the sizes of the firms through nationalisation and merging of firms so as to make them have a larger scope of operation was just but one. Thus for instance, among Zambia's reasons for parastatalisation were to forestall political dependence, forestall capital flight, to foster indigenisation of capital ownership and to facilitate economic redistributive measures. Furthermore, parastatalisation was due to colonial legacy and popular practice at the time. As John Nellis (1986: 12-13), argues *"governments of the emerging nations in Africa inherited such interventionist practices and structures from their colonialists. Besides, such practice was not only the prevailing wisdom of the 1970's but also the kind of state intervention most favoured by the World Bank"*, hence the correctness of the analysis given here about the influence and rationale of the economies of scale theory.

large parastatals by these countries often entailed increased importation of technology and use of expertise from Western countries. The local masses became beneficiaries waiting to enjoy the munificence which such development promised (cf. Ugboajah, 1986).

In some countries such as Zambia, some industries, like the dry battery and bicycle manufacturing, radio and car assembly plants, were even located in the rural areas. Reasons for this may include proximity to the sources of raw materials and Adam Smith's (1776) classical economic explication of balanced growth by which countries (such as Zambia) contemplated development through the concentration of people and resources in growth points throughout the countryside. However, it would also appear that the decision to locate the radio and battery industries in rural areas was intended to make the peasantry access and use the radio, thereby ensuring the dissemination of development information widely through developmental journalism in that it would make the dissemination of development messages quicker, broader and more effective. Under modernisation, it was the view that the increasing exposure of the peasant farmers to the media could hasten their transition, say, to new farming practices. It can also be seen that developmental journalism and central development planning were therefore mutually related. They caused and served each other in the quest for national development.

In terms of decision making and the identification of the needs, as the basis of intervention, it is evident from the foregoing that the imperatives which instructed development, i.e., industrialisation and creation of big firms, were determined based on the realities external to the intended beneficiary countries and communities. Communication was only a matter of announcement on national media of what firms had thus far become nationalised and which ones were to be built in which places. It was neither here nor there whether industrialisation,

amalgamation of firms or creation and situation of new firms in certain places was ably

affordable and whether indeed it addressed locally defined basic needs and served the people

better. The focus was on the trickle-down development benefits, which were expected to follow

industrialisation and creation of firms of scale.

Many other development initiatives and projects in Sub-Saharan Africa have been couched and

implemented much in the same way as above since the 1960s. It was believed that they would

bring forth economic and social development in the new nations. Although their underlying

theoretical traditions may vary, these initiatives, as the following sections show, were initiated

and implemented with little or no consideration of the intended beneficiary communities' unique

local realities and aspirations.

In 1970 the Nigerian government was led into implementing an *aerosat* balloon project by the

readily available funding. The project was intended to solve the country's communication

problems. For this project, about US $250 million international financial aid had been

successfully secured (Ugboajah, 1986). Round about the same time, the twilights of the food

crisis were just beginning to show. As Adefimi Sonaike (quoted in Keval Kumar, 1988/89: 5)

points out, like many other Third World countries in the 1970s " *Nigeria had to turn from being*

an exporter to being an importer of food grains". Despite this, the balloon project, which had

been decided upon in the national development manner, went ahead (Ugboajah, 1986). In this

case, either there was no communication through which the priority and real needs of the

communities at the time could have been established; or communication in development was a

matter of letting the communities know what the government was doing for them. Clearly, in this

national development initiative the intended beneficiaries's role was limited to reception and

beneficiation of national development munificence.

Programmes of the World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) and United Nations convention on trade in endangered species of the wild fauna and fora (CITES) have since the late 1970s been couched and implemented in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Kenya in the 'national development' way. These organisations spearhead and fund wildlife programmes under certain stipulations, which include that the game in these countries' parks must be protected and the forests conserved as their home. The role of the governments of the concerned countries has often been limited to the matter of ensuring the enforcement of such 'development' decisions or stipulations. Communication in all this kind development has been done through national media. It has primarily been about informing the public of the (severe) penalties for violating the wildlife stipulations. Thus communication in this kind of development has been a means for enforcing decisions made from outside the intended beneficiary communities rather a means for making development decisions. As the development decisions are based on generalised assumptions of national development, they take little or no account of the communities who live in the proximity of the environments involved. Little wonder why benefits have accrued more to the nations than to the people.

It was not until the 1997 Harare CITES convention that some member countries of the convention who felt that they had been adversely affected challenged and demanded to change this kind of development decision-making[10]. Whether the changes will now lead to the

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[10] It is interesting to note that at this convention voting on whether or not to lift the ban on trade in ivory and other trophies was by secret ballot. As political commentators said, this was to safeguard the poorer nations of the South, who are in fact the ones where most of the game in question is found, from being marked and subsequently victimised by the North which did not favour the lifting of the ban. This is an expression of the dynamics of the socio-political development theory discussed in this thesis.

development being based on the views and aspirations of the communities that live near the game parks, and not the 'national development' view, remains to be seen and it is not really the point being made here. Rather, the point being made is that such challenges and changes vindicate the central point of this thesis that development imperatives in many Sub-Saharan African countries have not often been based on the intended beneficiaries' world-views and aspirations.

The structural adjustment programme (SAP) and its cognate, the stability programme (SP), currently being implemented in a number of African countries under the co-sponsorship of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) are perhaps the most contemporary case of externally driven/modernisation development. Premised on the notion that development would follow the modernisation of the social, political and economic structures, these programmes envision the reduction of short-term macroeconomic disequilibrium especially budget deficits, balance of payment deficits and inflation (through SP) by modernising the economic structures towards greater efficiency in medium term (through SAP).

By their nature and convention, structural adjustment programmes resonate in the socio-political development theory. Under structural adjustment programmes, development imperatives are often uniformly prescribed for all the intended development beneficiary countries by the benefactor bilateral/multi-lateral development organisations, often represented by the Word Bank and International Monetary Fund.

These programmes have since the early 1980's been implemented in, among other countries, Gambia, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In their transformation or modernisation bid, the programmes have targeted primarily but not solely the economic

structures (production, distribution and service) as the hub for development. Other structures targeted for change are the social, political and government structures, and the land and enterprise ownership. Of particular relevance to this thesis, is the land ownership reform and the way it was required to be done under the structural adjustment programmes in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The premise of land reform has been to put value to land. It is argued that the state would raise revenue directly from the sale or lease of state land or/and indirectly from the investors who would settle on it if there is a secure land tenure system. Such revenue can then be used to fund national development projects. By implication, therefore, underlying land reform is the assumption that the system of land ownership which exists in these countries is an insecure one, irrational and antithetical to development because it scares away investors, blocking (economic) development (Gathuru, 1997). In Zambia, the land reform requirement subsequently culminated into the Land Act 1995 (Zambian Government Gazette, April, 1995).

Civil opposition blocked land reforms in Zimbabwe. This failure translated into Zimbabwe's failure to meet the International Monetary Fund's conditions[11]. Contrary to the possible protestation, it was this failure which partly led to Zimbabwe being denied financial aid by the International Monetary Fund for two years from mid-1995 to mid-1997. The unsatisfactory land reforms in Zimbabwe was caused by civil opposition, which became too much for the

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[11] Although the IMF and WB would cite the government's failure to reduce spending as the reason for the drastic action in question, the fact is that reducing government expenditure was just one of the conditions. It may have been the most important one to these institutions, but land reform was another reason for their action. They very fact that neighbouring Zambia had met the condition of land reform, was seen to be enough reason to punish the failing Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwean government to push through such reforms[12].

The Zimbabwean government yielded and did not pass any such reform into law as Zambia had done. This dissatisfied the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. To these institutions, this was inefficient of the Zimbabwean government. Consequently, they (IMF and WB, that is) decided they would not fund inefficiency and, therefore, withheld aid. By June 1997, Zimbabwe had stayed two years without IMF loans and allied aid[13].

Agricultural initiatives and projects

The Integrated Rural Development Programme of 1973, implemented under the aegis of the World Bank (WB) then led by Robert McNamara, was also an expression of the externally-driven/modernisation paradigm. It was subtly underpinned by the socio-political development theory. The World Bank, through the Integrated Rural Development Programme of 1973, funded development projects in some parts of Africa. One such beneficiary was Zambia where one of the projects was cattle farming implemented in Luapula province (Klepper, 1979).

Cattle farming was introduced among the Ngumbo people of Ndoba, Funge and Lubwe areas, along the shores of lakes Bangweulu and Chifunabuli in Samfya district of Luapula province (see also Klepper, 1979). The anecdote of this project is worth outlining, as it says a lot about the

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[12]Most likely, going ahead with such reform could have fostered a return to the pre-independence land ownership pattern which was skewed in favour of the minority white population who could have afforded to bid the highest and therefore take the most or the best of the land. Land ownership had just been the cause of university student riots in 1993. Implementing such land reforms in the 1994-1995 would have been risky for the leadership, upsetting the constituencies which they looked to for support to stay in power.

[13]See also the interview of Mr John Robertson, Zimbabwean government economist, by the Mercury paper staffer, published as a feature article in the Mercury, 12 February 1997.

manner of development, the need for communication in development and the success chances of development projects. The Ngumbo people were/are traditionally a fishing tribe who harvested the lakes as fishermen, hence their nickname '*Tubulus*'[14]. As former Zambian Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke once said of them, perhaps in highlighting the government's concern which necessitated such intervention, the Ngumbo people *ate fish at breakfast, at lunch and at supper*. The introduction of cattle farming was therefore due to the government's concern for the Ngumbo people and their (fish) resources. The government was concerned that, given that these people fish all year round, the fish might become extinct and the communities themselves would be more adversely affected. As a way of preventing such a situation, the government decided to proscribe fishing during a certain period of the year - December to March.

Aware of the implication of the new legislation on the lives of the people who "ate fish at breakfast, lunch and supper", and perhaps met all other needs out of fishing, the government sought ways of addressing the effects of the legislation on these people. This led to the introduction of cattle farming among the Ngumbo people through the World Bank's Integrated Rural Development Programme. Well funded, the programme provided loans in the form of cattle (the number varied between 3 and 5) to the successful applicants. Services such as animal vaccination and treatment were administered freely at Lubwe, one of the beneficiary communities. The government administered these services through agricultural extension and veterinary officers (Government of Zambia, Second National Development Plan (SNDP), 1974-1979).

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[14]Besides that I myself in the 1970's lived and grew up in one of the areas mentioned here and can therefore recall such development projects, I revisited the circumstances during my research in 1996 in the area. This is my area of origin, which was partly the reason for my researching the area's retrospective and current development with particular focus on how development imperatives were arrived at and what role such manner of decision could have had on the success or failure of projects.

Some facts need to be noted here about the introduction of the cattle farming project in question. Opportunity, i.e., the coincidence of the government concern about the Ngumbo people with the World Bank's initiation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme, played a role in the initiation of this project among the Ngumbo people. The communities' rural location also contributed to their eligibility for the Bank's assistance, as the programme was about rural development. What has however remained unanswered is whether an innovation other than cattle farming could have been better introduced in the communities in question.

The project's underlying rationale included the view that cattle would provide the communities with labour, as the households could use cattle, for instance, to plough their fields. It was also the view that cattle would contribute to the communities' food production and diversify the communities' income avenues, as it would provide the farmers beef and milk for household consumption and for sale and therefore make them earn income both during the fishing and the off-fishing seasons. In this vein, the (cattle farming) initiative appeared to hold great prospects for the upliftment and food security of the intended beneficiaries.

In a similar manner, the Zambian government in the 1970's discouraged and finally outlawed chitemene system of cultivation among the Ushi people of Mansa district, the Lala of Serenje and Bisa of Mpika (Government of Zambia, SNDP - 1974-1979)[15]. Chitemene was a shifting cultivation, which entailed cutting tree branches and burning them later, with the ashes being used as fertiliser. Thus, it was organic agriculture. Crops included cassava, the staple food then,

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[15]That none is on record to have been charged for breaking the 'stop-chitemene' regulation does not mean all citizens in the concerned areas complied and adapted to the new way of life. Many continued or sooner or later resumed chitemene. Some have continued to date and there appears to be indications that many would like to do so, for reasons that will be discussed later.

millet, sorghum, pumpkins and, occasionally, maize.

The chitemene was discouraged so as to prevent deforestation and soil erosion. The other reason the government gave for discouraging chitemene was conservation of the natural habitat for wildlife and for timber.

As it did when it had introduced the off-fishing season regulation, the government introduced and facilitated maize farming in these after proscribing chitemene. Besides recruiting agricultural extension officers who would help these communities in their maize farming, the government established farming skills institutes at the headquarters of the districts where the concerned communities were found. In this case, the institutes were located in Samfya, Mansa, Serenje and Mpika.

The institutes offered short courses on how to grow the new crop (maize), with a view to ensuring good harvests. Besides these institutes, the government ran agricultural radio programmes both to enjoin the masses to turn to maize farming and to teach those who had already adopted the new innovation, especially if they could not attend the skills training[16]. This suggests a realisation by the innovators (government and its funders) that the 'new farmers' knew little or nothing on (scientific) maize farming matters like timing, application and quantification of inputs (pesticide and fertilisers). Course participants would be drawn from a broad spectrum, affording chances to as many interested individuals as possible. The maize farming innovation became affectionately and eventually officially known as 'Lima' programme, a local word which

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[16]The Zambia national radio station has continued up to today to run this programme. It is called 'For the Farmer' and is broadcast at least three times a week, half-hourly.

means farming.

So determined was the government that in the 1970's, when the 'Lima' programme commenced, it provided in some cases freely basic implements like disc harrows and inputs like fertiliser and pesticide. It also provided services like ploughing and fumigation, collection and sale of crops on behalf of farmers through the National Agricultural Marketing Board. It was only later that some of these services started to be met by the farmers themselves, but still largely through assistance in the form of loans[17].

Spurred by the perceived developmental potential of the 'Lima' programme, in 1974, the Zambian government even went further to start what were called the Rural Reconstruction Programme centres. These centre were spread across the country as points of rural agricultural development. The country imported large quantities of agricultural machinery, and conscripted out-of school of school as labour in these centres. The centres were run by military personnel (Kalapula, 1989).

It is noticeable that except for the aegis the 'Lima' innovation and the cattle farming project were similar in terms of the manner in which they were initiated. In both cases, the communities heard about the development being planned for their communities through the national media especially the radio. The information included stipulations of the penalties for failure to abide by the stop-chitemene and the off-fishing regulations, the benefits of such 'development', where to go and what to do to get the necessary assistance. Thus, communication in this development was one-

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[17]This is based on my research findings from the review of government gazettes and from interviews with the communities where I conducted my research, wich are also the communities the programmes in question were introduced.

way information transmission.

Kenya has development experiences similar to those of Zambia, which have just been discussed. The Kalenjin people of the lowlands of Baringo district were enjoined in the late 1970s to stop their kind of shifting cultivation. They subsequently abandoned and moved from their lands. This followed the Food and Agriculture Organisation experts' findings that one of the reasons why agriculture had been suffering from 'malaise' was that the soils in Baringo districts, like in many parts of Africa, had been *"typically thin, badly deficient in important crop nutrients and low in organic content"* (Mativo, 1989: 839). Fertilisers were subsequently recommended for these lowlands or they had to be abandoned.

Similar experiences are noted about Ghana. The FAO asserted that the poor performance of Ghana's agricultural sector was due to people not knowing how to farm, which led to the land being under-cultivated. Following this revelation, as Eugene Bortei-Doku (1981) notes, *"Ghana imported a large number of tractors and other machinery"* (Bortei-Doku, 1981: 41).

Health and nutrition, education and literacy projects

Faced with the need to improve the living conditions of their populations, many newly independent countries in Africa saw health and nutrition, education and literacy as some of the avenues through which to realise their aspiration and achieve overall development. Like the cases discussed earlier, this development was to come about through projects and assistance often from international development agencies. However, unlike the cases discussed earlier, many of these projects were to come through volunteer organisations. These organisations were more bilateral (i.e., between the beneficiary country and the individual developed countries which the

particular volunteer association came from) than multi-lateral.

From the "*1962 Puerto Rico International Middle-Level Manpower conference*", many developed countries established volunteer organisations as other avenues through which to help the developing countries (Kasanda, 1989: 280). Since then, many development projects in many Third World countries have been implemented by volunteer organisations. These organisations' development projects have been dominantly in the areas of health and nutrition, education and literacy, financing the building of schools and clinics/hospitals as well as supplying staff for certain periods in particular beneficiary countries.

As would be expected, volunteer service arrangements, also known as technical cooperation, came with certain stipulations. Thus, besides the finance and other material resources, personnel who worked in these projects had to come from the countries of origin of the particular volunteering organisation, the benefactor countries. Implicated in this arrangement was that the volunteers not only led the projects but also made the key decisions regarding the projects. As they worked in and for the local communities, these volunteer associations inevitably had to work with the local manpower. They trained such people but mostly as assistants and especially as interpreters. In the few cases when the projects remained and continued to run after the volunteers have gone, the assistants took over the management the projects. This arrangement implies a lot about how sustainable such development could be, for how long, how well and how differently the projects could run when they are taken over by people who had been assistants to the managers.

Among the volunteer organisations in Africa was the Volunteer Service Overseas, perhaps the

only one with a multilateral disposition. The Volunteer Service Organisation was mainly involved in science education and literacy and in agricultural research and work. Another organisation was the Peace Corps, an American organisation which worked largely in health and nutritional projects. Towards the end of the 1970s, the Norwegian Organisation for international development, the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteer, the German Volunteer Service and the Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation formed part of the volunteer associations involved in Africa's development. Many of these later organisations did not limit themselves to just one of the areas like the earlier ones (Kasanda, 1989).

In Zambia, many high schools from the 1970s to the 1980s had members of staff from the Volunteer Service Organisation. Other staff from the same organisation worked in the agricultural departments across the country, teaching and promoting the farming of certain crops believed to have high nutritional contents and were easy to grow. It was such crops could provided the households food and income. One such crop popularised in Luapula province of Zambia was soya beans. It was said that this crop had a high nutritional content, was easy to grow and had a short growing period. These factors made soya beans potentially widely affordable and useful for preventing or alleviating hunger and malnutrition.

There were also the Peace Corps nurses and doctors who, in the case of Zambia, worked in rural and urban hospitals/clinics, in the 1970s. Among other things, they conducted mobile ante-natal and under-5 clinics as well as nutritional programmes. One such nutritional programme, which is particular remembered by many in the rural areas of Mansa district especially Mibenge area, was dubbed 'Cipowe', a local word which means hunger. This programme was an operation to end malnutrition. It entailed, among other things, distributing powdered milk to school going

children, to mothers attending ante-natal clinics and to households with under-5 children. The primary schools were often the service points[18].

The Peace Corps also conducted primary health care campaigns. These campaigns, among others, educated in isolated rural communities about family planning (Kasanda, 1989). Family planning has to date remained and turned into a government's concern. It is run by a quasi-governmental organisation called the Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia, which has a network of offices throughout the country. The organisation's role has remained the same: teaching how to keep families small and, accordingly, administering contraceptives.

There are many development projects which have been implemented in Sub-Saharan African countries and communities between the 1960s and 1990s in the ways similar to those of the cases discussed so far. They cannot be exhausted. However, the cases covered in this review should suffice for an understanding of how development projects tend to be couched and implemented. The cases reviewed so far should also suffice for further discussion and verification of hypotheses later. The next sections critically examine the performance of development programmes/projects reviewed so far.

Development: Some development results

In certain fields, there is evidence of social and economic development which parts of Sub-Saharan Africa have achieved between the 1950s and today. Thus, looking at the scenarios between the 1960s and 1990s, it is evident that there has been recordable steady rise in education

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[18]In India, the distribution of powdered milk still continues up to today. Unlike in Zambia where it was the Peace Corps who did this, in Indian the European Economic Community is doing so.

and literacy levels, particularly throughout Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). On average, adult literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa had doubled from 27% in 1960 to 54% by 1990. Primary school enrolment had nearly doubled from 18% to 34%, while secondary school enrolment had tripled from 13% to 38% during the same period (UNDP, 1995). A country by country analysis, presented in Case Five below, bespeaks this development.

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Case Five

Education: Primary and secondary enrolment in 000s and literacy (as % of adult population)

status	Primary				Secondary				literacy		
Year	1970	'80	'85	'90	'70	'80	'85	'90	80	'85	'90
Country											
Botswana	83	172	224	284	5	21	36	62	61.1	70.0	73.7
Ethiopia	655	2131	2449	2466	135	437	666	867	4.8	18.6	25.7
Ghana	1420	1443	1596	1945	99	693	795	871	45.0	52.8	60.3
Cote d'Ivoire	503	1025	1215	1415	70	222	286	392	35.0	48.8	53.8
Nigeria	3516	13760	12915	13607	357	2346	3089	2908	34.8	42.7	50.7
Sierra Leone	166	315	422	382	35	68	95	102	13.0	13.3	20.7
Sudan	862	1464	1738	2043	133	384	557	732	21.9	24.4	27.1
Tanzania	856	3368	3170	3379	45	79	93	161	59.2	60.7	64.7
Uganda	720	1292	2154	2726	48	87	214	337	25.5	33.1	41.7
Zaire	3088	4196	4651	4357	248	862	960	1066	59.3	65.9	71.8
Zambia	695	1042	1348	1461	56	102	141	195	61.1	67.4	72.8

Data adapted from a publication by Donors to Africa Education with UNESCO. 1994. A statistical profile of education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Paris: IIEDP.

Likewise, there has been steady rise in life expectancy levels and steady fall in infant mortality in general. On average, Sub-Saharan Africa's life expectancy level at birth had increased by 11 years longer from 40 in 1960 to 51 years by 1990. Infant mortality, on average, has also decreased in this part of Africa from 165 to 97 per 1000 births between 1960 and 1990 (UNDP, 1995). The major contributing factors for this development have been the increase in the population with access to safe water from 25% in 1960 to 45% by 1990 (Ibid.).

Regarding the structural adjustment programmes' economic reforms, some successes have been reported particularly in the World Bank's 'best six pupils' out of the 29 countries where the programmes have been, and/or are being, implemented: the Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Zambia (World Bank, 1994). In all these countries, the gross domestic product and the per capita income has increased between the time the country started implementing the programmes and 1994. Even some of the progress reviewed earlier such as falling infant mortality and rising life expectancy levels have been partly ascribed to the diligent adjustment of some of these countries (The Economist, 1995).

For the Gambia, the per capita income had by 1994 increased by 0.6% since 1985; Ghana, the best of the 'best six pupils', had a yearly 5% gross domestic product growth between 1985 and 1994; Uganda's gross domestic product grew by 5% annually between 1988 and 1993; and Zambia's gross domestic product grew by about 6% annually between 1991 and 1996 (World Bank 1994; The Economist, 1995).

There is no doubt much of this development can be attributed largely to the technical and material assistance and development work of the international development agencies and

volunteer associations discussed earlier. By implication, this development is also attributable to the development and communication paradigms in question.

Stalled road to development - Unravelling the process in search of the causes

However, notwithstanding the social progress expressed in the areas of education and literacy, there is evidence of failing promise of development in other field of economic, agricultural and social development in many Third World countries particularly the African ones since the 1960s[19]. After more than 40 year of well articulated theories and models of development and communication for development, self-sustaining development in Africa remains a blind spot.

Several acknowledgements bespeak this fact. The 1980's has been acknowledged as *the decade of development failures*, following the dismal performance of many a development programme or project (Morna, 1990: 1). Countries labelled as Least developed have nearly doubled from 28 in the 1960's to 42 in the 1990's (Agunga, 1992). The World Bank, itself a front runner in the development of Africa and the Third World in general, minces no word to concede this failure, saying, "*Africans are just as poor as they were 30 year ago*" (WB, 1989: 1).

The ubiquitous privatisation of parastatals in many African countries today, besides other reasons such as pressure from the donors like the World Bank as shown earlier, is another admission of

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[19]Even the progress claimed to have been achieved between 19960 and 1990 such as decreased infant mortality and increased life expectancy, is highly contestable given the large variations between country figures and their deviations from the regional average. For instance, while the average infant mortality rate for Sub-Saharan Africa is at 97, having fallen from 165 in 1960, Mozambique's rate is by far out of the average's range at 137. The same is true for life expectancy, which is averaged at 51, while some countries' figures, such as Sierra Leone's 39, Zambia and Malawi's 36, significantly deviate from this average. See World Bank Atlas, 1996.

the failure of earlier models of development. Like parastatalisation in the late 1960's and early 1970's, it is expected that privatisation will serve the communities better. Whether that is going to be achieved is besides the point here. Parastatalisation's failure to achieve the economic well-being is also the failure of the economies of scale theories, which underpinned it. This failure expresses the inappropriateness of not only the ideas (i.e., the economies of scale theory) but also the development manner.

The results of numerous development programmes or projects themselves, such as the ones referred to in this review, also bespeak this failure. They either ended abruptly or dismally, with returns nowhere near their investment or expectation. Zambia's experiences with the project of turning the culturally fishing Ngumbo tribe of Luapula province into cattle farmers, discussed earlier in this review, provides one such example. Not only had the Ngumbo people continued with their 'traditional' occupation, i.e., fishing, but also by the end of the 1970s they had <u>become</u> <u>and already ceased</u> to be 'butchers'. Makeshift butcheries mushroomed such that by 1979 there were no farms in sight, except for the over-grazed potions of land. By mid-1980s there was nothing reminiscent of the Integrated Rural Development Programme's cattle project in the areas in question.

While the 'Lima' programme, discussed earlier, was widely embraced by the communities at the start. This was partly due to political mobilisation, threats to those who did not abandon chitemene and through incentives in the form of free fertilizers and pesticides, for those adopting the innovation. Even then, it was not everyone who embraced the innovation. The number of the people who had not adopted the 'Lima' innovation gradually swelled in the communities, as level of acceptance of the new 'Lima' innovation which had be initially high slowly waned. As

research has revealed, this should not be surprising because programmes introduced in the same manner as the 'Lima' programme, are often eventually followed by long term discontinuance by many people (cf Ugboajah, 1986).

Many people who unsuccessfully tried the 'Lima' programme have up to today failed to successfully return to their old ways of cultivation. Even those who have continued with the 'Lima' innovation have not been any more successful than they could have been or used to be with 'chitemene' shifting cultivation. There are several reasons for this lack of success, for giving up and, in some cases, for continuing with the 'Lima' innovation despite chronic difficulties.

The government could not continue with its free supplies of farming inputs as it did at the start of the 'Lima' programme in the 1970s. The communities who attempted to return to their old ways of farming became less successful at chitemene than they had been before diverting to the 'Lima' innovation. Among other reasons, this is because the natural balance of the soil, scientifically, has been upset by the introduction of chemicals into it. Thus, the soil's ecology is no longer the same. Consequently, it is impossible to have a good harvest using organic agriculture in these soil. Continuing with the 'Lima', despite its evident constraints and the lack of prospects for better returns, is therefore due to *Hobson's choice* - the communities have little or no choice.

Fertilizers and pesticides, which the 'Lima' innovation needs, are not affordable to many of those who, for lack of choice, have continued with the 'Lima' innovation. Even those who manage to get some of such inputs on credit, have been chronically indebted to the lending institutions such

that they have become growers of maize for the institutions which loan them inputs. Besides the people's fear of foreclosure by institutions which loan agricultural inputs if they default, their lack of implements hinders their ability to take the 'Lima' beyond subsistence. These actors have consequently compounded the poverty situation in the former 'chitemene' turned 'Lima' areas of Zambia's Luapula and Central provinces[20]. As a result, there is widespread chronic poverty and hunger and their concomitant effects such as malnutrition in Zambia today.

Although the predisposing factors may vary, this situation, let alone the way towards it, is not typical of Zambia alone. Ghana's experiences with agricultural development projects such as the one which this review has discussed earlier, are not any different. Although the agricultural performance improved following Ghana's importation of a large number of tractors and other farm machinery as a result of the recommendation of the Food and Agriculture Organisation experts, this result of the innovation not only failed to last long but also failed to diffuse significantly among the people. As Bortei-Doku (1981: 41) concludes *"most of these tractors have broken down and have disappeared from the scene, and our farmers continue undaunted to use the trusted old cutlass"*.

Following the Food and Agricultural Organisation experts' recommendations that the land was barren and badly deficient in important crop nutrients and would need a lot fertilisers or there would be poor agricultural yields, the Kalenjin people of Baringo district of Kenya were forced to abandon their lowlands and move to other lands, which were hilly. (They moved most likely because they could not afford the fertilisers). A few years later, the Kalenjin people 's animals

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[20]These were part of my findings during my research in which, as stated earlier, I sought to established the current and retrospective development situations in the areas in question.

had over-grazed the new land, rightly so because the grazing areas in the new settlement were smaller. Ironically, as Peter De Grout and David Hall (1989: 44) report, over the same period, on the allegedly deficient soil grew such "*luxuriant grasses so high that a European explorer had to stand on a table to shoot elephants*". Questions are asked whether the intention was to tactfully market the fertilisers or to genuinely safeguard the Kalenjin people against hunger. Whatever the case, one thing succeeded: hunger among both the Kelnjin people and their animals, which were nearly forced to graze soil.

It is not surprising with a such development manner that 40 years of expert advice on development, chronic poverty, infant and child mortality in most of Sub-Saharan Africa is said to be on the rise, with child mortality being 1 out of 3 children. Among the major causes of such mortality, for instance, is said to be hunger (Worldwide, 1997). The arrival at this situation is undeniably largely due to the manner development has been implemented, with the governments, donors and experts failing to ensure that it sustained. This is specifically true for Zambia, looking at the two agricultural projects reviewed above.

Even with the much publicised structural adjustment programmes, especially in the said 'best six pupils', the claimed success is not evident any more than are the signs of failure and effects of increasing poverty. Thus, in nearly half of the 29 countries where the structural adjustment programme has been implemented, the gross domestic product statistic had fallen by 1% yearly between 1988 and 1994. Even Ghana, the donors' best 'pupil', has lost some shine since 1985. While its gross domestic product between 1985 and 1994 grew by 5% annually, much of that was due to a large in flow of foreign aid. By the end of 1994, Ghana's prudent housekeeping had suddenly lapsed, with inflation which had radically been dropped to 18% rebounding to 50%.

This falling living standards in a country publicised by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as the best adjuster, culminated in mass protest in May 1994 (The Economist, 1995)[21]. There could be no better illustration of development which is failing due to the manner of development.

The Gambia, too, provides similar illustration. One of the first and best adjusting countries, Gambia was said to have the best macro economic policies following the implementation of the programmes in the early 1980s. But since 1985 up to 1994, the per capita income has risen only by 0.6% annually compared to 1.4% before. Investment has dropped, typical of all Sub-Saharan Africa, agricultural output has fallen, with the effects of reduced spending on health and education showing the well known signs - malnutrition, increased mortality and rising school drop-outs. Overall, the Gambia is as miserable as the worst 'pupil' in Sub-Saharan Africa (see also World Bank, 1994).

That Zambia went ahead and successfully enacted a Land Act of 1995 and implemented the land reforms, should not mean it was done with mutual comprehension nor that the country has been any more successful than Zimbabwe since the enactment of the Act in question. In a country where the poor form the majority of the population, the land reform and the whole structural adjustment programme of the recent past has added rather than alleviated problems facing the majority Zambians. The Act now repossesses land from those who live on it if they have no title deeds, irrespective of how long one has lived on a piece of land. The Act places land in the office of the President and requires people to pay for land. Many Zambians will not have the

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[21]Note that by then, much of the national firms had been privatised in fulfilment of the aid conditionalities, which is perhaps why Ghana had been the most diligent 'pupil'.

money to go through the process of legally owning the land (Gathuru, 1997). Other excesses of

the structural adjustment programme in Zambia in the past five years are unemployment, school

drop-outs, chronic malnutrition and infant mortality (Gathuru, 1997).

Notwithstanding the social investment fairing a little better, with fewer babies dying now and

people living a little longer on average, the number of children enrolled in primary schools has

actually dropped since 1985 when many Sub-Saharan African countries embraced the structural

adjustment programme (The Economist, 1995). Despite its grandiosity and promise of

development, externally-driven/modernisation development paradigm has solved as many

problems as it has created for Africa: there is increasing hunger, poverty and, now, the lack of

land in many parts of Africa in particular and generally in the whole of the Third World. Alan

Handol (1997) reports that there is a similar situation in Thailand[22]. Farmers, especially peasants,

who in Zambia's case form the majority, are in debt (Gathuru, 1997). The people's dependence

on the government has increased, with the governments appearing to be doing not enough. The

governments themselves cannot be said to have as much capacity for independent decision-

making as they did before the 1980s.

Even development projects which were not implemented under the structural adjustment are

replete with evidence of the cause of failure and increase in poverty and hunger as lying with the

manner development. Thus, Nigeria's aerosat balloon project of 1970, which intended to solve

the country's communication problems, left or exacerbated poverty and hunger effects. At that

time, Nigeria had just started to face the dwindling food (grain) production, and was gradually

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[22]Alan Handol has directed a documentary about Thailand. I watched this documentary as part of my research
in September, 1997. The documentary is entitled *'Thailand - Behind the smile'*.

shifting from being a grain exporter. By 1983, nearly US $ 224 million had already been spent on the project and the project was still in its implementation stage. Meanwhile, the country had completely "*shifted to become a net importer of food grain*" (Sonaike quoted in Kumar, 1988/89: 5). Today, the project, chronicled as the 'balloon burst' in Nigeria, is history (Ugboajah, 1986). Nigeria, having eluded the solution to the food crisis at the earliest signs, today faces the unhappy reality of food imports which have risen to more than tenfold what it was in the 1970s. Its per capita food production had been declining at 1.5% annually by the late 1980s (Meagher, 1992).

Although many scholars argue that hunger is largely caused by natural causes or factors such as drought, famine and population growth, in the cases reviewed above one may beg to differ. One influential explanation of hunger is in terms of population growth, which reinforces the importance of family planning programmes such as the one discussed earlier in this review. According to this explanation, which stems from the theory of one eighteenth century cleric, Thomas Malthus, overpopulation causes hunger because population grows geometrically and soon outraces agriculture which grows arithmetically. With the scientific facts about Africa such as high fertility and large families, this explanation may appear to be logical for the hunger situation facing Africa today.

However, if this explanation were true, one would expect to find the most hunger in countries having the most people for each cropped acre. But that is far from being the case. In Brazil, for instance, there is more cultivated acreage per person than in the United States of America. Yet, over the past three decades the percentage of undernourished people has risen in Brazil from 45% to 72%. Mexico, with more land cultivated land per person than in Cuba, has more undernourished people than Cuba where since 1959 no one goes hungry (Cohen, undated

research article). The same doubts can be expressed for the explanations which present hunger as a consequence of drought and famine. Literature clearly has it that drought affects the Great Plains of the United States of America every 25 years yet never had there been famine or starvation there (Ibeanu, 1992).

These porous explanations may still be widely accepted. However, especially with reference to the cases discussed in this review, it is hardly illogical to infer that the situation of hunger and other development problems facing Africa today have been largely due to the manner of development: upsetting autonomous development, fostering dependence and leaving lasting negative effects due to the unsustainable ideas such as 'agricultural modernisation' like the cases of cattle and maize farming. The economies of scale theory itself provides the illustration.

The novelty of the economies of scale theory, with its concomitant industrialisation and creation of firms of scale, lay in its averseness to small enterprises. Small scale enterprises were incidentally what characterised a majority of the Third World countries at least up to the 1970s. They came to be known as the informal sector, because these enterprises appeared to be characterised by petty trade, services and distribution, with the peasantry forming the sector's major production part. Development scholars then started to regard the peasantry and the informal sector in general as a blockage to economic growth and development, as a symptom of poverty increasing activity, as a subsistent, unproductive, static, backward and retrogressive social formation (see Bernstein, 1971; McGee, 1978)[23].

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[23]For a detailed discussion see Fei and Rannis, 1964; Stanley and Morse, 1965; Jones, 1968; Frank (Charles), 1971; Hofmeister, 1971; Oshima , 1971.

There are a couple of facts which one ought to know about the peasantry and the effects of its death, as seen orchestrated through the economies of scale theory in the foregoing sections. Firstly, despite all its perceived shortcomings, it was due to the peasantry that chronic hunger in most of today's Third World countries was virtually unheard off in the pre-modern era (before 1950s) and partly into the modern era of the 1970s. If and when, due to natural factors, there was any hunger, it was on a small scale and only as long as the adverse conditions lasted and not chronically. (cf. Cohen, undated research article; Lappe and Collins, 1979).

Secondly, since the neolithic era up until the 1970s, many people, especially in the Third World, had been part of the occupied population through peasant farming. Today, besides the chronic hunger, there is the ever increasing problem of unemployment in nearly all of the Third World countries, which reinforces, among others, the problems of hunger and poverty. Thus, there is generally less material well-being in Africa in particular after nearly three decades since the articulation and promise of firms of scale.

Just like Africa's headlong industrialisation and firms of scale, the continent's stalling road to development can also be critically traced to the economies of scale heydays. With backwardness being the description of countries lacking industries as stated earlier, the perception of development in terms of industrialisation and firms of scale influenced governments to become preoccupied with creating and facilitating big firms. They saw industrialisation as the fast path to development and as development in itself. They therefore saw no point in taking much interest in assisting, let alone in listening to, the peasantry, except only when it came to 'modernising' them and their ways of farming. In such cases, communication was evidently information transmission or "*one-way message flow*" Melkote, 1991: 166).

Such lack of interest in the peasantry in preference for industrialisation and firms of scale by governments, set in motion the trend of country folk going to seek employment in the industrialising cities. That is, industrialisation and firms of scale demanded and, through remuneration, attracted labour. Much of that labour could come only form the countryside. Thus, it can be argued that governments tacitly encouraged such influx and, by implication, encouraged the haemorrhage and gradually the collapse of the peasantry, a major source of livelihood and employment for millions of people[24]. Where it has survived up to today, the peasantry has lingered only as a limping industry as already shown, thereby confirming the negative contentions about it. The contentions have become self-fulfilling prophesies according to the Pygmalion effect[25].

Even innovations like development campaigns, whose required only spontaneous and natural response by the communities, have lamentably failed and have continued to do so. Among such innovations are the farming of particular crops perceived to have high nutrition contents (for example, Soya beans, in the case of Zambia), family planning programmes and Aids control campaigns. One wonders whether in fact such programmes have been in existence since the early 1980s, or whether they have just began or indeed whether theirs has been the intention to yield inverse results.

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[24]Further irony of such a development path as industrialisation and firms of scale lies both in the timing and location. In terms of timing, when many Third World countries were embracing the theory and the subsequent understanding of the economies of scale for their development (late 1960-1980), they were courting and quoting Chairman Mao Tse-tung's development strategy of mobilising the ruralites against poverty through farming and through checking their influx into the urban centres. In terms of location, nearly all industries were situated in urban areas. Besides the pull-and-push economics, the ambivalence with which such development got to be articulated and communicated undoubtedly militated against its success. The rapid urbanisation rate of many Third Word countries between 1960-1990 bespeaks this. See E. Hobsbawm . 1994. *Age of extremes: The short twentieth century, 1914-1991*. London: Michael Joseph.

[25]The Pygmalion effect, so named by Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson (1968), states that when we start to treat somebody/something as an X, an X that person/thing starts to become and, sadly, remain.

Despite the costly family planning programmes, there are just as many, if not more, 'unplanned' families today. The increasing number of cases of children being abandoned and being placed in foster care centres as well as the growing sizes of single-parent families testify the failure of the grandiose family planning programmes. The governments trends towards decriminalising abortion, as the case is in South Africa, is another indication that the family planning programmes are either failing or not effective. Likewise, despite the grandiose nutritional programmes including enjoining and teaching communities to grow certain nutritious crops, chronic malnutrition is on the rise in Sub-Saharan African countries like Zambia. Meanwhile, infant mortality is once again on the rise and is largely ascribed to hunger (Pearson, 1991; Gathuru, 1997; Worldwide, 1997).

Despite the ever increasing investment into the Aids prevention campaigns in the last two decades, the number of Aids patients and deaths continues to rise. The disease has since become the major factor for the falling expectancy levels in several Sub-Saharan countries. For instance, had it not been for the ravages of the Aids disease, 1996 life expectancy in Malawi would not have fallen from around 50 to 36; from 58 to 36 in Zambia; from 60 to 48 in Botswana; from 64 to 48 in Zimbabwe; from 65 to 56 in Kenya and from 53 to 40 in Uganda[26].

Some inferences

From the literature review conducted in this chapter, it is evident that development projects in many Sub-Saharan African countries have not yielded results commensurate to their investment.

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[26]Statistics obtained from the 1996 estimates of about Aids by the UNAIDS, a United Nations' agency set up in January 1996 to monitor and advocate the global action on preventing the transmission of the Aids epidemic and alleviate its impact. It has 22 member states so far. The statistics were reproduced in the Natal Witness paper, Thursday, 9 October 1997.

If it is agreed that no development project is implemented just to run into problems (in this case, poor returns) otherwise it would not be undertaken in the first place, then it should be agreed that the failure of the projects reviewed here was unintended. Development has failed despite the existence of sound fiscal policies, as expressed by the world's capacity to contain the 1972 and 1986 economic recessions in a shorter period than was the case in the 1930's and before. Development has also failed despite availability of international funding and political support for development. The birth of development auxiliaries in the form of volunteer organisations at the 1962 Puerto Rico International Middle-Level Management conference, some of which have been discussed in this review and which have since multiplied is one example of international political support for Africa's development. The initiation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme projects in 1973 by the World Bank under Robert McNamara, some of which beneficiary projects have been discussed in this review, is an example of the availability of international funding for development.

The promise of development has also failed despite the remarkable influx of communication media into the Third World, when the scenarios in the 1960s and 1990s are compared. By the assertions of Daniel Lerner (1958), Wilbur Schramm (1964) and others that mass media exposure was proportionally related to development, given the influx of the mass media into the Third World overall as profiled earlier, there should have been rapid and increasing development Sub-Saharan African countries. However, despite such increased mass media exposure and use, there is still little or no prospects of increasing development in Sub-Saharan African countries and the Third World in general. How can this failure be explained?

Two explanations are possible. First, the policies giving rise to such development projects could

have been misguided. For example, was industrialisation really preponderant over agriculture? Second, the policies could have been correct but their basis and manner of initiation and implementation were awry. For example, did the fishing communities understand and appreciate the intention of teaching them cattle farming? Could it have been done any differently? It appears that no explanation would be complete without sufficiently pointing out that this failure could in fact have been due to the manner of development.

It is evident that the dismal performance of many a development project in Sub-Saharan African countries since the 1950s owes more to the manner of development itself than to the beneficiaries' lack of readiness to adopt innovations, resistance to change, fatalism, irrationality or to policies *per se*. Many of the development policies so far discussed in this review appear to have been logical and vindicated. The problems appear to lie with the manner of initiation and implementation of such policies or development imperatives. The manner of development has been such the intended beneficiaries have been excluded from participating in their development.

The implementation of the structural adjustment programme, for example, vindicates this point at least in two ways. Firstly, it is clear that communication in development, if any, one-way, top-down flow of messages. The Zimbabwean experience is case in point. Had there been regard for the views of the masses, whom the programme purports to be intended for, their views could have been considered through communication. There could not have been the need for suspending aid to the country following the government's decision not to implement the land reforms.

Secondly, the implementation of structural adjustment programmes vindicates the fact that

development itself is externally-driven. Zambia's case, where the land reforms went ahead despite calls of resistance by the ordinary citizens, ironically the purported beneficiaries, bespeaks this point. The early 1970s experiences of South Korea and Taiwan provide further examples of how this kind of development is indeed externally-driven. Programmes such as land reforms were designed by the aid donors and obligingly implemented believing that they would unblock the development potential. Given that such reforms entailed significant (land) resource transfer among the people, with the poor losing out the most, there were violent objections which were only repressed with the support of the donors advocating such development (Herbst, 1990; Corbridge, 1993)[27].

There are several unanswered questions, unresolved details and contradictory premises of such development: what kind of development is feasible with such exclusivity or disregard of the intended beneficiaries' views? what kind of broad based development is feasible with such levels of poverty? Who participates? Who benefits? What effect will, for instance, such lack of mutual comprehension on land reforms have on the wealthy investors, the poor and the environment?

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter implies a lot about why four decades since the advent of

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[27]To explain South Korea and Taiwan's success as a result of such reform will not only be naive but also selfish justification of the externally-driven development. Such explanation will fail to appreciate the problems that such reforms brought about among the people, only to be repressed with support of the donors. It will also misrepresent the development course of these countries because, as every development scholar ought to know, these countries' development owes to numerous other factors such as consensual behaviour even at work places and small scale self-sustaining enterprises, which include what may be compared to Africa's peasantry, regarded as antithetical to development.

the field of development studies and its well articulated cognate communication models and theories, development in many Third World countries, the apparent cause for the field, remains a blind sport. It is evident that the dismal performance of many a development project in the Third World countries since the 1950's owes more to the manner of development itself than to the policies.

That development has been conceived and carried out in the Third World in a way which is defective, and hence the failure, hardly defies logic. Despite the diversity of social and cultural reality and accordingly the diversity of human needs, development has been implemented in such a manner that universal perspectives are applied to specific and localised needs. Despite the social reality itself constantly changing, the dominant development paradigm has proceeded as if it was eternal, since Daniel Lerner's (1966: xviii) wisdom that *"the Western Model is global"*. Development imperatives have often been couched in abstract, based on the assumptions of commonality of human needs and socio-economic conditions. The effects of this manner of development cannot be doubted neither can they be any more evident than in the projects reviewed here.

Under this development manner, assumptions of commonality of human needs and the theories and models' claims of universality spurred the implementation of development in a uniform manner, without taking into account the nuances of the intended beneficiary communities. Communication is has been a matter of disseminating stipulations coated with promises of munificence. Eliot Rose (1962) could not have been any more correct to call this kind of communication for development the *"sunshine stories' communication approach"* because it transmitted such messages as *"there will be a hydro-electric works in five years, new universities*

in three years, and so on" (Quoted in Dennis Wilcox, 1975: 28). Communication in development has therefore been only a theory of and for diffusion of innovations (the imperatives couched in abstract). Thus, as Bala Musa (1997: 132) points out, "*the dream of a virile press expected to deliver rapid development to Africa* has been just that - a dream! Is it therefore surprising that 40 years since the emergence of the field of development studies, development in the Third World countries remains a blind spot? Can the development communication scholarship say, with the same understanding of communication, that media exposure is proportionally related with development? As the next chapter illustrates, the answer to these questions is categorical no. The chapter will seek to illustrate why and how this manner of development has had adverse implications for development projects/innovation.

Chapter Five

TOWARDS RETHINKING DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS AND VERIFICATION OF HYPOTHESES

The people's meaning-giving context is the only framework within which they can relate to developers. It is the framework within which development initiatives obtain meaning. It will either permit or block development, depending on whether there is a 'fit' between development initiatives and context. People will not be steered, influenced or 'taken with' unless the development initiative has positive meaning within their context.
D. A. and P. M. J Kotze, 1996: 8.

Prologue

This chapter analyses the causes and sources of Africa's development failures revealed in Chapter Four. The chapter verifies two of the study's hypotheses that: It is due to the manner of development that projects tend to fail; and/or that it is due to the development beneficiaries' cultural irrationality that development projects tend to fail. This chapter shows that despite the advantages of central planning, coordination and holistic intellection, easy and quick implementation of development projects, the externally-driven/modernisation development model fraught with flaws. These include the model's general assumptions about development and the practice of communication in development as transmission of messages by development experts and policy makers to the beneficiaries. Consequently, development practitioners ignore the differences which exist both between and within countries and fail to address the development communities' real aspirations as they exclude the intended beneficiaries from making decisions and designing messages about their development (cf. Timberlake, 1985; Edwards, 1989). These are also the reasons for the little apparent impact of communication in development despite the accelerated pace, tempo and volume of information technology in the last four decades. This chapter proposes a development and communication paradigm of reversals and practical diversities as one possible remedy of these development failures. This

paradigm is realisable through the beneficiary-driven development model and the participatory communication approach[1].

Development

Effective resolutions of problems requires unravelling the situation for comprehensive understanding. Such understanding is essential as it prevents attending to the symptoms instead of the problems themselves. It is for this reason that the externally-driven/modernisation development model's flaws and their sources are delineated in this chapter. This would facilitate the search for possible remedies.

Establishing the model's sources of the causes of failure

The logic of top-down, externally-driven/modernisation development draws from the assumptions of rational omniscience and political rationalisation of order and discipline (Huntington, 1991; Mativo, 1989). On the one hand, by virtue of their specialised/scientific knowledge, experts claim better knowledge of social community needs, hence the assumption of rational omniscience. Accordingly, the experts have tended to determine, design and implement development projects often without involving the intended beneficiaries of the processes (see also Kotze and Kotze, 1996). On the other hand, policy makers have tended to exclude or limit grassroots participation in community development projects to avoid alleged excesses of participation such as developmental paralysis or disorder and weakened

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[1]The term paradigm here is used to mean a set of ideas which are mutually related and supportive, and are amenable to a wide application.

governmental capacity to deliver development. Unrestricted community participation is seen to be potentially disruptive and procrastinating. These concerns have led to the 'scientification' of the development discourse. Development practice becomes an exclusive vocation of the experts and the authorities, based on abstract, nevertheless scientific, thought. Further, as Michael Edwards (1989: 118) points out, development came to be understood as the *"transfer of skills or information from one person or society to another by the expert"*. The expert is seen to be the only *"person capable of mediating"* this transfer. It is the view that development follows the introduction of new values and practices into a given community or among a given people. This is termed in this thesis as externally-driven development.

Proponents of the externally-driven/modernisation development understanding also assume that the needy are ignorant not only about their needs but also the ways to solve them (see also Kotze and Kotze, 1996). Thus, the Rostowian and neo-Weberian scholars of social change tacitly assert that Africa's development failures, and hence underdevelopment, are consequences of internal cultural barriers, ignorance, backwardness and irrationality on the part of the peasants. Goran Hyden (1980: 3, 4) clearly ascribes to this view when he asserts that *"the roots of Africa's underdevelopment are not found in the international capitalist system but rather they are found in the resilience or persistence of the pre-modern and pre-capitalist structures of the continent's rural areas"*. According to this view, the introduction of new values not only gets rid of such societies' ignorance but also brings forth progress or development (Nyamnjoh, 1996; Kasongo, 1998).

Examples of development policies and projects initiated and implemented according to the above understanding of development, evidently include the several agricultural development policies

and projects reviewed in Chapter Four. The projects aimed at replacing certain communities' staple food with new kinds of staple food and at changing the intended beneficiaries' modes of production and 'traditional' occupations or means of livelihood. Soya beans were introduced and promoted in the communities that had never known it before. With 'scientific' backing, nutritionists exhorted the communities to grow soya beans for it contained the nutrients and calories essential for good health, thus tacitly suggesting that none of the indigenous crops had nutrients and calories necessary for good health.

With such development understanding and practice, whereby development is determined by actors external to the intended beneficiary communities and the intended beneficiaries themselves are only involved in a restricted way, it is little wonder that Africa's history is fraught with development failures. For making the intended beneficiaries to be excluded from participating in their development, the social-scientific theoretical assumptions of development can be said to be a major source of development failures.

By excluding the intended development beneficiary communities from participating in deciding and planning their development, development scholars and practitioners assume that the communities will certainly receive and perceive, interpret and understand the development messages according to its intended meaning. This assumption ignores several elements essential for effective communication. It concentrates on the communicator, the communication planner and the medium and ignores such elements as the environment, the message, the audience, and feed-forward and feed-back (Fourie, 1977; Rensburg, 1996). Development messages risk being ambiguous, ignored or misinterpreted. They might also not be received by their intended audiences. Ultimately, this might make the intended development objectives to fail.

Despite these evident flaws, the above assumptions have a wide following among development

scholars and policy makers. Up to today, unfortunately, as Bala Musa (1997: 136) laments, the

entire *"paradigm [understanding] still holds sway in some quarters"*. As a result, these

assumptions continue to encourage and justify of the determination of development imperatives

and policies, the design and implementation of development projects by people external to the

intended beneficiary communities. As Dirk Kotze et al. (1996: 6) rightly put it, development

continues to be an undertaking of *"calculated influence often described as 'inputs' based on the*

assumption that it is possible to effect or steer development by manipulating one or more

variables". The presence of 80,000 foreign development advisers in Sub-Saharan Africa alone

by 1985 expresses the assumptions and their paradigm's influence and popularity (cf. Edwards,

1989). This manner of development persists despite the flaws, which the following sections

examines.

Delineating and analysing the model's causes of failure

i. *Local problems, foreign solutions: development by effects ...*

Many modernisation development scholars have suggested that Africa's development failures

have partly been due to the lack of appropriate skills and methods of production. Goran Hyden

(1980: 14) asserts that the Africa's development failures are partly due to the use of *"rudimentary*

technology or crude techniques of production" especially by the peasantry, among whom this

leads to the *"law of subsistence"*, that farming only for household consumption rather than for

commercial purposes. However, it is clear from the discussions in the above sections that

Africa's development failures are not so much due to the continents' countries' *technical*

capacity crisis, that is, the lack of skills, systems, methods and/or technology (Nyang, 1994) as

they are due to the incompatibility of the prescribed solutions. This needs some explanation. The view that Africa's development failures are due to the technical capacity crisis has led to the tendency among development practitioners to try and solve *local* problems with *foreign* solutions. It is this tendency that is herein called development by effects. This tendency draws from the understanding that development consists in the *"transfer of skills or information from person or society* (the allegedly developed) *to another* (the needy)" (Edwards, 1989: 118). This in turn leads to a pervasive faith in the potency of *foreign* ideas and resources (human and material) to solve *local* problems. The other source of this tendency is the trickle-down perspective. It holds that development would follow the adoption of innovations from the 'developed' countries, as it was believed when extending the Marshall Plan to the Third World following its successful reconstruction of post-war Europe.

While this dogmatic faith in *foreign* solutions continues to hold sway and pave the way for further foreign prescriptions, the anticipated benefits of the trickle-down effect largely remain unrealised. This is because, although they are generally logical, most nostrums prescribed for the Third World countries' development problems have been specifically out-of-context or unsuitable for the intended beneficiary communities' realities. It is in this way that development by effects has led to Africa's development failures. Even in the rare instances where their benefits have been forthcoming, *foreign* innovations have not been sustainable.

Solving *local* problems with *foreign* solutions rarely takes cognisance of the variety and uniqueness of the beneficiary communities' realities and often fail to adapt to the new and different environments. They might address the problems but, as they fail adapt to the completely, they solve just as many problems as they cause. Adapting the innovations to the

existing circumstances, would ensure that they are maintained and sustained. From the literature review in Chapter Four, it is clear that many new innovations had not been adapted to the intended beneficiary communities' lived realities. As a result they failed to be maintained or sustained beyond their immediate implementation phases, leaving the intended beneficiaries either poorer or just as poor. Therefore, it can be argued that Africa's development failures have not been so much due to the Third World countries' *technical capacity crisis*, as they have been due to the inappropriate *foreign* solutions. These solutions have tended to forestall rather than to foster self-generating or sustainable development.

ii. Nonparticipation vis-a-vis irrelevant, dependent development

The faith in foreign solutions for local problems also leads to the intended development beneficiaries being excluded from participating in their development processes. Development 'experts' reserve decision making in development for themselves. They feel so specialised that they not only see no need for consulting the intended development beneficiaries but also, influenced by the general assumptions about development, they treat development processes like 'assembly-line' routines, that is, they treat every situation similarly. Thus, development practitioners obviate the variety of the intended development beneficiaries' lived realities. By systematically excluding the intended beneficiaries' from their development processes, the 'experts' also obviate the need for collective strategies for identifying and confronting social needs, the importance of the intended beneficiary communities' goodwill towards development projects and the legitimacy for the development projects. Consequently, the intended beneficiaries' real aspirations, based on their lived realities, remain ignored. The projects are likely to fail both/either because they genuinely target needs which are not relevant in local terms and/or the communities resent and passively sabotage them. Even in circumstances where

development projects were forcefully implemented, despite the intended beneficiaries' passive resistance, it would not be long before the projects and/or innovations were abandoned (Ugboajah, 1986). Causes of development failures such as the ones analysed here are evident in the projects reviewed in Chapter Four.

iii. Undervaluation of human consciousness

The assumption that grassroots participation can lead to developmental paralysis and/or disorder implies the developers' lack of confidence in the capacities for orderly self mobilisation and organisation and structures of the intended development beneficiary communities, most of which are particularly in Africa and generally in the Third World. This assumption is an undervaluation of the people's consciences, as it suggests that the needy communities are incapable of orderly self-organisation and formation. The needy people are in fact capable of putting things into the right perspectives (cf. Freire, 1972; Mavrocordatos, 1998). They can distinguish between being *helped* and being *taken with* (Kotze and Kotze, 1996). They accordingly understand circumvention as the developers' perception that they (needy communities) are incapable of defining their needs and collectively and orderly solving them, hence undervaluing their conscience. The needy communities resent this undervaluation, as it harms their pride/worth and especially that of their cherished local leaders'. As a result, it becomes hard to get the intended beneficiary communities' cooperation in development projects, even if that cooperation entails merely their beneficiation from the projects. This is not any less evident in the development projects reviewed in Chapter Four.

iv. Underestimation and underutilisation of human resourcefulness

The dogmatic faith in *foreign* solutions and the restricted involvement of the intended

beneficiaries in solving their community development problems has led to yet another major cause of development failures, *institutional capacity crisis* (see also Nyang, 1994). Institutional capacity crisis, as used here, refers to underutilisation and non-utilisation of existing societal structures, values and resources in development, which include the intended beneficiaries themselves. Institutional capacity crisis fosters and perpetuates the debunking and debasing of indigenous societal structures, values, practices and initiatives. Not only does development cost unnecessarily too much money as a result of this, but also it becomes unsustainable as it becomes tied to the *foreign* resources and expertise. Even in the instances of uninterrupted flow of such *foreign* resources and expertise for local projects, development has only been dependent.

Towards verification of the hypotheses - Some illustrations of failed development

It is important to illustrate the causes and sources of development failures analysed in the foregoing sections using practical examples. This will facilitate the verification of the hypotheses stated at the start of this chapter. The following sections deal with such illustrations, using the development projects reviewed in Chapter Four.

Many of the projects reviewed in Chapter Four failed because of the development manner and particularly its assumptions of irrationality. The assumptions were often inappropriate both in economic and cultural senses. Thus, contrary to modernisation model's assumptions, most non-Western societies peasant farmers were/are both logical and highly efficient in their use of available resources. The peasant farmers' traditional practices, which appeared wasteful and primordial to the Western developmental gaze, concealed a lot of underlying benefits. Though not part of the 'market', such benefits, and whatever has remained of them today, were/are highly

useful, efficient and effective. Chitemene shifting cultivation of the Ushi people of Zambia's Luapula province, which was reviewed in Chapter Four, provides the illustration.

i. *Chitemene shifting cultivation - outlawed with scientific backing for alleged irrationality*

Chitemene involved cutting off tree branches and not the stems, hence, depending on how big the trees on a particular field were, this cultivation practice often entailed climbing up the trees. The cut branches would be gathered together and spread over a potion of land of about twice the size of a football pitch and left to dry. When they have dried, the branches would be burnt up so that their ashes would be mixed into the soil and serve as the manure for the crops. The burning was done so carefully as to ensure a 'friendly fire', that is, the fire which burnt only the intended potions of land. Thus:

- chitemene was not just traditional but in fact a form of organic agriculture

- Chitemene's logic, which the 'experts' deliberately ignored or chose to misunderstand, lay partly in this cultivation practice's characteristic of shifting the fields on seasonal rhythms. This shifting was intended to allow the bushes time to grow again before the farmer would return to the potion of land s/he last cultivated. Therefore, the 'experts'' concerns of deforestation were either exaggerated or totally unfounded,

- Chitemene's practices of burning the dried leaves, crop rotation and mixed cropping provided an ecologically friendly and sustainable form of disease and pest control. Burning, especially, was a natural and effective predator of soil-borne diseases like nematodes (cf. Bortei-Doku, 1981). Scientifically, soil-borne diseases such as nematodes are better controlled by burning, crop rotation and mixed cropping (cf. Lappe and Collins, 1979). How the experts could not see or acknowledge these values and benefits but readily find faults in the chitemene practice

can only be explained by the experts themselves,

- The cutting and burning of tree branches facilitated nature and soil's self-renovation. Thus, cutting tree branches served as pruning, which cleared the way for new shoots or branches. Burning provided a sustainable source of farm 'inputs' of fertiliser in the form of ashes and, as the fires burnt the old foliage as well, burning served to clear the way for fresh grasses and bushes

Chitemene maintained the balance of nature in a sustainable way, which 'scientific' (or simply Western) farming ways introduced in its place have tried to bring about. With such balance of nature, soil erosion, which the experts quoted in their misrepresentation and agitation for the death of chitemene organic farming, was virtually unheard of. Instead, problems followed the 'scientific' recommendations. Since the proscription of chitemene in favour of the 'scientific' farming practices, there has been chronic hunger among the Ushi and Lala people of Zambia, among whom chitemene was the main mode of sustenance. In the case of the Kalenjin people of Baringo district of Kenya, soil erosion followed the experts' recommendations that they be moved and resettled elsewhere to avert soil erosion. This led to the Kalenjin people being moved in numbers to smaller areas, which their animals over-grazed resulting into soil erosion.

Chiteneme practice evidently represented a highly efficient, productive and sustainable form of agriculture based on cultural means of making sense. The fact that since the late 1980s organic agriculture has been preferred increasingly in the Western countries is instructive of such efficiency (Lappe and Collins, 1979; Ibeanu, 1991/1992). Chitemene and similar practices could only suffer such misnomer as the causes of Africa's agrarian malaise and could only subsequently meet with their death all because, as Eugene Bortei-Doku (1981: 39) rightly puts it, *"we tend to*

describe as primitive any practice that is not the result of modern research but rather years of traditional practice, irrespective of any degree of success". This thinking, however 'scientific', is therefore a reductive position rooted in parochialism of modernisation as it refuses and ignores alternative appropriations. Thus, as David Leonard (1986: 189) states, *"science-based agriculture depends on strong a set of marketing institutions; fertilizers, improved seeds and other inputs have to be bought and the produce sold to pay for these purchase"*. In most African countries, such marketing institutions are generally absent. Where they exist, they are exploitative to the peasantry. With these factors and the occasional natural disasters such as drought it is inconceivable that the peasantry can sustain science-based agriculture.

ii. Soya beans farming promotion projects

The promotion of soya beans farming because of soya beans' perceived high nutrient content provides another case for illustrating why development projects tend to fail. What the soya beans development advocates did/do not communicate, much to the disinterest of the intended beneficiaries, is whether or not the indigenous cereals and legumes eaten across the continent have no nutritional value and if they do, how much. That apart, those promoting soya beans do not explain why the crop which being recommended, and sometimes donated to Africa as a replacement, has become a health hazard in Europe and North America just for being classified as a greasy food (cf. Ibeanu, 1991/92)[2]. Soya beans have high calories content and the crop has a short growing period. Due to these factors soya beans appear to have more prospects for alleviating the food crises characterising many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, this view,

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[2]It can be argued, moreover, that perhaps this is in fact a naive way to confront issues of hunger because food security cannot be measured in calorie content or intake, just like a country's per capita food production can increase without necessarily reducing hunger. There is a real need to distinguish between what is and what ought to be grown in a given community if hunger is to be fought through sustainable agricultural development.

as the reason for promoting the farming of soya beans among the rural poor and starving people, is inadequate, contradictory and misplaced. It is inadequate as it does not explain whether there are no indigenous crops which are rich in calories and can take an equally a short period to grow and be harvested. It is contradictory in that promoting the farming of soya beans fosters the very food crises the intervention seeks to forestall. To grow soya beans requires certain inputs which are often kindly donated because they are not locally affordable to the very ordinary intended beneficiaries (cf. Leonard, 1986). Also, the promotion of soya beans implicitly seeks to replace rather than supplement the traditionally, and perhaps more easily and less costly, grown crops. Thus, with such lack of convincing arguments for their efficacy, innovations such as this would meet with widespread passive resistance from the intended beneficiary communities. Even when they are implemented by decree, they will tend to foster dependence rather than independence. Soon or later, they would fail or be abandoned. It is little wonder that despite the cooperation of indigenous farmers in Southern Africa to adopt new farming techniques, new crops and seed varieties, as Allan Low (1986: 136, 137, 142) observes, "*agricultural productivity has remained low. It was hoped that these innovations would lead to higher yields and enable families to meet their consumption needs*". He adds that this failure is "*difficult to reconcile with the widespread adoption of agricultural innovation*"

Problems of food crises require to be addressed with solutions that establish how to achieve food security more than calories content and intake. It is also important to understand that just as different cultures have different perceptions of nutrition, as food is an integral part of cultural experiences, so might certain crops be suitable for certain soils and popular and manageable among certain people. As such, any changes in the kinds of crops grown by and among certain groupings of people will have implications on how the communities receive the innovations like

growing new crops. Furthermore, different people have different perceptions of calories intake

and content and major sources of calories. Such perceptions will have great influence on what

must be grown. For some people, growing the same kinds of crops successfully year after year

is all that matters especially if it guarantees them food security. These nuances require to be

negotiated if, say, any success is to be expected of innovations like the 'grow-soya-beans'

campaigns. Otherwise, *"communities become suspicious of the innovations from outside,*

especially when they affect crops that they have grown all their lives" (Bortei-Doku, 1981: 40).

When the innovations fail to engage the intended beneficiaries' lived realities and real

aspirations, they also fail to fit into their culturally defined and popular ways of making sense.

The intended beneficiary communities do not appreciate and identify with the innovations. As

a result, the projects and/or innovations tend to end dismally. Therefore, however logical and

desirable the 'scientific' innovations may be, the projects and/or innovations are bound to fail if

their suitability is not assessed and their adaptation adoption negotiated. In such circumstances,

which are evident in the projects covered in the literature reviewed, it is not the dismal

performance of projects and/or failure of innovations that should invoke surprise but surprise

itself.

Communication in development

It is only through communicating with the intended development beneficiaries that development

benefactors can assess what is desirable and suitable for the developing communities, negotiate

the innovations' adaptation and adoption and achieve sustainable development. From the

projects reviewed in Chapter Four and from the foregoing analyses of the sources and causes of

development failures, it is clear that there was virtually no assessment of development needs of

the intended beneficiary communities. Similarly, there was no negotiation of the innovations'

adaptation and adoption. This was due to communication in development being conceived and

practised as the transmission or linear flow of messages from the development 'experts' to the

audience and development beneficiaries.

Communication and decision making in development - The implications for legitimacy of the projects

Due to the practice of communication as linear transmission of messages, the role of intended

development beneficiaries under the externally-driven/modernisation development model is

limited to the reception of messages. This exclusion leads to the intended audiences and

development beneficiaries' real needs, the basis of development, being ignored. It also leads to

the development messages being ambiguous, as they are constructed with little or no reference

to the intended audiences' contexts. As a result, development projects' objectives miss the

communities' real aspirations. The projects will subsequently be resented by the communities,

as they do not identify with the projects meant for their improvement. The projects are therefore

bound to fail as to will not yield the intended results. In the instances when the development

projects are in the form of communication campaigns, projects still fail to yield the intended

results because messages are ambiguous or they are decoded wrongly or misinterpreted due to

the messages being constructed in isolation of the intended audiences (cf. Fourie, 1977).

Development information instead of development communication

Under the externally-driven development model development communication in fact denotes

development information. Communication in development is conceived and practised as the transmission or linear flow of messages to the audience and development beneficiaries. The linear practice of communication leads to ineffective communication because it ignores such elements as message, media and environment analyses, with the assessment of the audience and development beneficiaries' reaction being spontaneous (guessed or generally assumed) rather the inferred (through feed-forward and feed back) (Fourie, 1977; Rensburg, 1996). The messages risk being contextually irrelevant and being inadequately received if the media are scantily owned in the communication environment. Although the messages might still be received and spread widely by opinion leaders according to the multi-step approach[3], linear communication always risks being ineffective. This is so because opinion leaders do not only receive the messages but also interpret them and decide what to with them and with whom to share them. Therefore, there is always a risk of the opinion leaders misinterpreting the messages and making them ambiguous or even withholding the messages altogether, rendering communication and the whole development process to be less effective. So, just as the messages do not flow directly from the mass media to the individual recipients, according to the multi-step approach, the messages are not smoothly passed on by the opinion leaders in their communities. The point however is that the whole process is a one way flow of information, hence the process being development information dissemination rather than development communication. The flaws of this practice of communication in development have already been discussed. Their sources are worthy of discussion in some detail at this point.

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[3]This approach was developed by Elihu Katz and Paul Lazersfeld (1955). It has since been a great pillar of the innovation diffusion theory. It holds that there are several steps in the flow of information and communication. According to this theory information from the source does not always flow directly to the individual recipients but indirectly through opinion leaders, i.e., people whose access to information, information content or subject is greater than others in their area either y virtue of their ownership of a medium (radio or televison sets) or by virtue of their being bale to read. The opinion leaders are therefore very important because they enhance communication as they share information with, and hence spread the messages to, others who are unable to access it.

These flaws of development communication under the externally-driven development model are embedded in the theoretical underpinnings of the notion of communication. One such theoretical underpinnings is cybernetics. Although cybernetics denotes the flow of information in a cycle, and hence a complete process of communication, it is concerned generally with how to make information to flow from the source to the receiver quickly and efficiently. Computer technology provides the best expression of the understanding of communication according to the theory of cybernetics. Cybernetics found popular expression in development, where communication for development since the 1950s has been understood primarily as transmitting messages which are expected to bear development for the recipients. This understanding of communication for development both spurred and justified the development practitioners/benefactors' control and direction of messages in the development process[4]. The transmission models and understanding of communication for development ultimately led to the search for mechanisms by which messages could be transmitted quick and widely, so as to achieve broader-based development. The increase in the communication media and their ownership and control pattern in Sub-Saharan Africa, which was discussed in Chapter Four, is an expression of this understanding. Therefore, the preoccupation of communication for development has been the sending of messages to the audiences and intended development beneficiaries. Everett Rogers' (1971: 4) idea of "*getting effects*" is another expression of this understanding of development communication. Put simply, Rogers' idea of development communication was very clear: sending cut-and-dried messages to engender particular predetermined social change.

Rogers' (1971: 4) idea of "*getting effects*" can be said to draw from the Pavlovian cause-effect

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[4]For a fuller discussion, see Norbert Weiner. 1961. *Cybernetics*. Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press

and Communicator-Medium-Response (CMR) perspectives of persuasion and communication. These perspectives of communication represent the linear, sender-receiver, monological, and/or oligarchic models of communication. In this communication the intended audiences and development beneficiaries' becomes limited to reception. The (development) communicators expect the intended audiences and beneficiaries to receive, identify with, heed them and use the messages. Thus, according to the understanding of development communication as being about *"getting effects"*, development is a function of the rate of flow of development messages and the size of the audiences receiving the messages. Broad-based development depends on the availability of the means (mass media) for quick flow and wide dissemination of messages, hence the earlier assertion that cybernetics underpins the dominant understanding and practice communication for development.

Both Daniel Lerner's (1958) and Wilbur Schramm's (1964) understanding of communication in development, as their explication that media exposure's correlation to development shows, drew from the cybernetics theoretical underpinning. Both these scholars strongly believed development would be a matter of the experts transmitting cleverly designed messages to the communities for whom development would be intended. Accordingly, the media were seen to be not only the means but also the index of development - that is, the more media would be there, the more people could receive the messages and the more development would follow.

Implicated in this source-medium-receiver orientation of communication is the perception that the only developmentally useful information is that which is proffered by experts. As Norman Miller (1972: 441) states, in this development communication understanding there are few (or no) structures to *pass up information when programs are going badly"*. The structures

"primarily exist to pass orders down and not to transmit the grass-roots information up". Keval

Kumar (1988/89: 4) articulates the point even more clearly that communication in development

is dominantly " *about how to get effects, and not how to stimulate a process of articulating ideas*

and information from the grassroots horizontally or upwards towards the centres of political and

cultural decision making". As asserted earlier, it is clear that development practitioners and

scholars speak of communication for development to mean information for development. The

influence of this understanding continues to date. Its persistence partly owes to the dominant

communication paradigms and models' toehold on the minds of development policy makers,

practitioners and scholars. There has been a tendency to treat these paradigms and models as if

they were eternal and universal, despite their being applied in ever changing and different

environments.

Contrary to the possible protestation, it can be argued that since the *locus classicus* of Claude

Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949), Daniel Lerner (1958) and Alan Hancock (1968), the

academia have taught and talked of communication as if it was wholly a study of the means of

conveying information, or as if it was but a quantitative study of transmission of information by

signals, words and pictures, thereby making the transmission communication models to appear

eternal and really universal. Such fatalistic perpetuity is what has prevented undoing the root

causes of the flaws in both fields of development and communication for development.

The academia, as a place where scientific explanations and descriptions are manufactured and

shaped, perpetuate of the linear sender-receiver understanding of communication through their

products, the university graduates, who embrace it because it satisfies their aspirations of working

in development bureaucracies. This understanding finds further flourish among policy makers

and politicians because it serves as a means for expressing of authority, expertise and power (Mativo, 1989). The Development Communication approach and the Development Support Communication approach, discussed in Chapter Three, provide the evidence of how communication for development has been understood as information for development. These approaches also bespeak the persistence of linear understanding and practice of communication, especially in the field of development.

These approaches are cognates of the transmission model of communication. Their preoccupation is essentially to transmit fixed quantities of information/messages determined by the sender, in this case the development expert. Even when claims of modification are made about one communication approach having become co-equal information sharing, in which case it is supposed that a shift has occurred from the transmission to the ritual/expressive model of communication (cf. McQuail, 1994), much has remained the same in these approaches.

If there has been shifts in or between the dominant communication models, it is the oscillation between the transmission model and the publicity model. As the experiences of the Aids awareness campaign will show later, this shift is possible because it denotes little or no difference at all. That is, the publicity model is not really about transmitting a particular message to a particular unit or public about a particular view but it is simply about gaining audience (McQuail, 1994). In this regard, little does the publicity model differ from the transmission model. It remains essentially the transmission of messages to unknown audiences hoping that the messages will find some attention. This is especially true for the Development Communication and the Development Support Communication approaches. Despite a few minor differences, the two approaches are essentially the same. They both rely on the mass media, although the

Development Support Communication approach involves the use of small media such as video, film strip, traditional media and group media. Thus, despite the difference in the size of the media the approaches use, they still continue to be permeated by the same assumptions that the intended audiences own the communication media, that they will receive and correctly decode the messages and that they will adopt the innovations those messages bear[5].

By introducing the necessity for an 'interpreter', called the technical expert whose role is to mediate between the beneficiaries and benefactors, the Development Support Communication approach assumes that development failures are due to the masses not comprehending the development messages. While this might be correct, it still fails to effectively address the real cause of communication and development failure, as it still retains reception as the only role of the intended audiences and beneficiaries in the development and communication processes. Thus apart from bridging the gap between the development benefactors beneficiaries through the interpreter of development messages, the Development Support Communication approach differs very little from its forerunner, the Development Communication approach.

The problem is not just that the messages for development tend to be misunderstood by the intended audiences and beneficiaries, hence the need for the interpreters. Rather, the problem is making development communication synonymous with development information. The development messages fail to relate to the intended audiences and beneficiaries' world views and contexts. Thus, what the Development Support Communication approach does is to reproduce subtly the linearity in communication and to uphold in a covert manner the earlier assumptions

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[5]Moreover, as Felix Moyo (1997) and David Kerr (1997) observe, even traditional media have been permeated with top-down messages by agents variously called facilitators, animateurs, or catalysts. Narrating his experiences in Zambia and Malawi, Kerr recounts how theatre for development failed to live up to its aims.

of the needy people's incompetence to determine their needs and to organise themselves in orderly formations to meet their needs. Bala Musa (1997: 136) suggests as much about the subtle perpetuation and championing of linearity in communication for development. He asserts that *"there are those who have held on to the magic bullet theory of persuasion through the mass media to foster national development"*

It is particularly for this subtlety and covertness that even in the supposedly community-based projects, top-down prescriptions and assumptions by the experts continue to influence development projects and to alienate the intended beneficiaries of such (development) projects. Development scholars and practitioners continue to direct the supposedly participatory processes with the same top-down Western ethos and practices of communication for development, which are basically persuasive, pro-innovation and manipulative. The intended beneficiaries' 'participation' only takes the form of selecting between pre-established choices, which is meant strategically to enhance the beneficiaries' acceptance of the benefits handed down to them by the benefactors. This kind of communication in development is clearly something akin to a monologue. It only reinforces , in disguise, the top-down development. The following figure illustrates this.

Figure Three
Communication in development: A disguised Top-down monologue
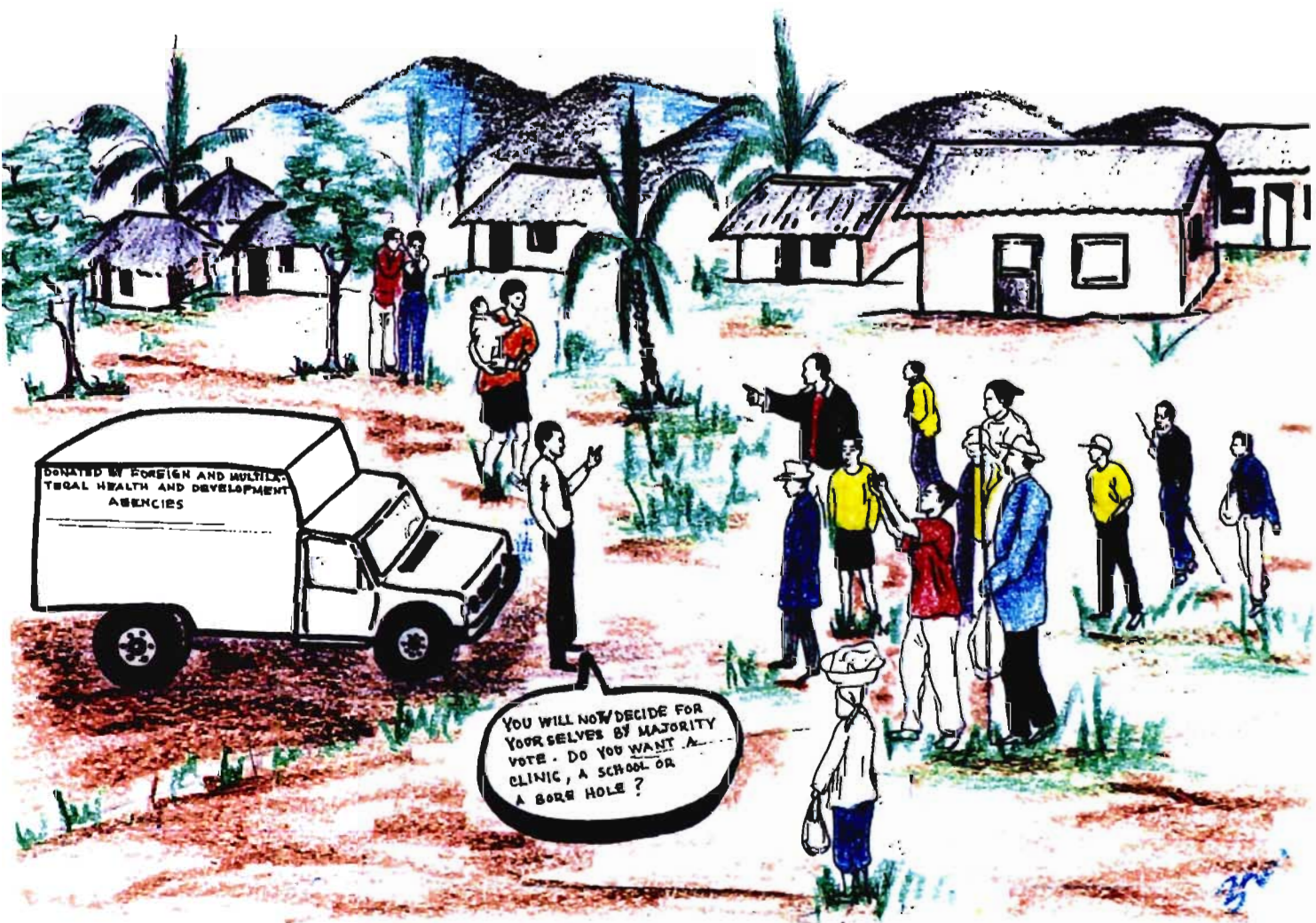
Such practice of communication in development as depicted in the foregoing illustration has a quality of welfare rather than development. Despite being intended for the satisfaction of community needs and for the maintenance of community well-being, welfarism is expensive, hence its *ad hoc,* selective, and irregular nature. It for this reason that many welfare undertakings tend to be rarely sustainable; they tend to run for short periods and are not meant to benefit many people. Therefore, conducting development as if it was welfarism prevents the projects from being sustainable.

The linear understanding and practice of communication in development also polarises the development process into beneficiaries/audiences and the benefactors. While the former's role is limited to reception of messages and development munificence, the later reserve for themselves the roles of message construction, need determination and projects design and implementation. This alienates the intended audiences and beneficiaries from their own development processes and thus reduces development to welfarism or *ad hoc*, means-tested-hand-out activities.

Sometimes, the intended beneficiaries might be 'mobilised' or 'directed' to participate in their development projects, especially if they have been widely persuaded. However, this is only a tokenism of participation in development. Decision making still excludes the intended beneficiary communities, with projects failing to engage the communities' real aspirations. For this reason, many projects and innovations still end dismally despite 'mobilised' community participation. The projects run into perversity or futility immediately, or they fade away gradually until they are discontinued completely (Ugboajah, 1986; Kasongo, 1996). William and Elizabeth Paddock's (1973) findings of their study of the United States' development projects in Latin America corroborate this point. Paddock and Paddock found that projects failed due to

wrong decisions both at project policy initiation and implementation levels. In all such instances, it is the top-down linear communication in development that mostly causes such failure.

Even in circumstances when linear communication in development has been 'excellent', it has been difficult to deconstruct the messages among the public when ambiguity and misinformation have been detected. A case in point is the HIV/AIDS communication campaign of the late 1980s, commissioned jointly by the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Popularly known as '*Before and After*', because of its pictorial format, the campaign depicted two persons, one fat and the other thin. In between these two people were inscribed the letters **AIDS**. The fat person was depicted as '*before*' and the thin one as '*after*'. Due to its pictorial format the campaign easily and effectively achieved its objectives of awareness and persuasion about the disease. The posters were put up in schools, along road sides and at road junctions, in townships, villages, shopping malls and other public gathering places. Figure Four below illustrates the campaign.

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Figure Four
The 'Before and After': A pictorial HIV/AIDS awareness campaign of the 1980s
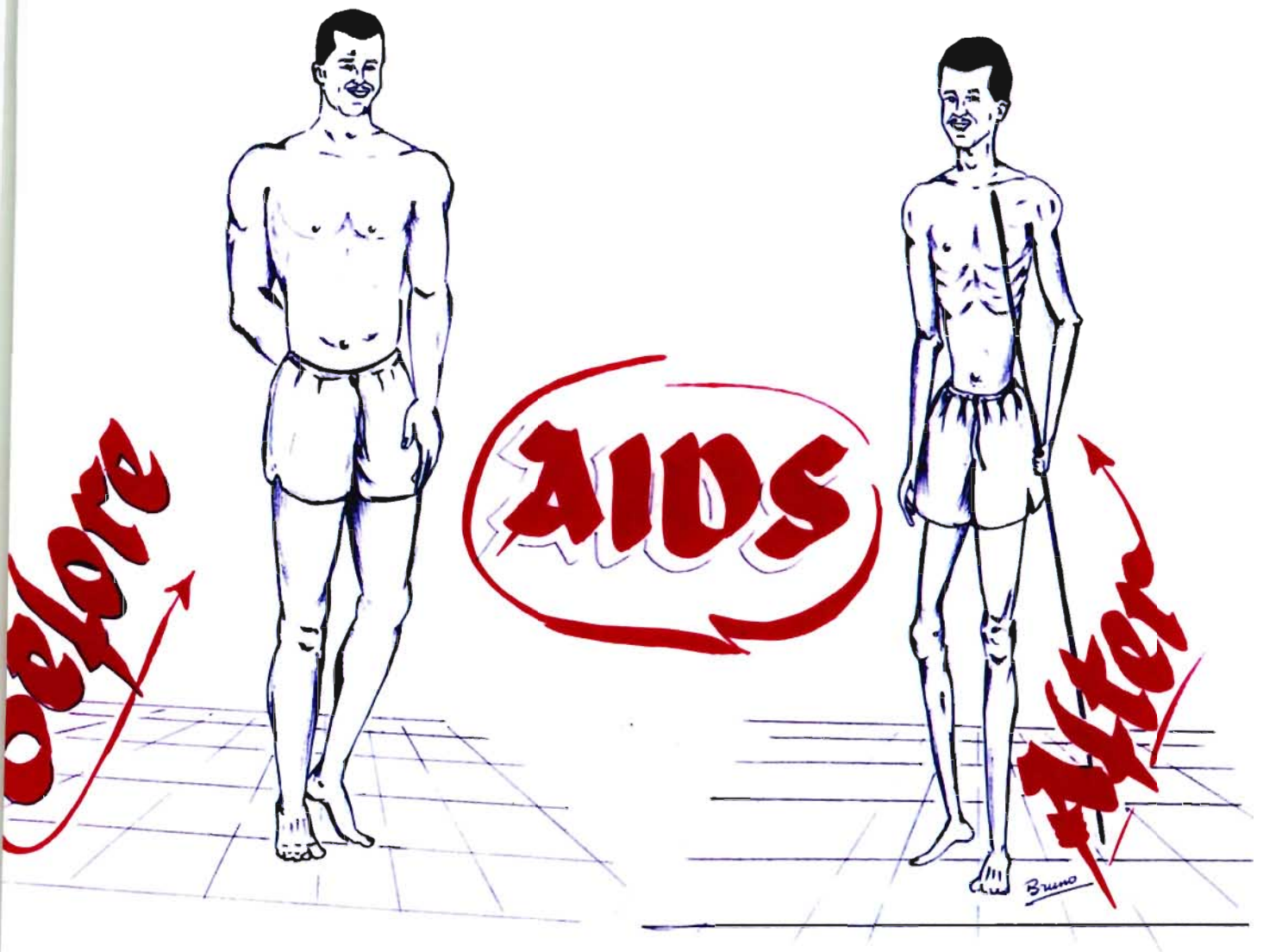
Undoubtedly, this communication yielded its intended results of stirring Aids awareness very well partly because it resembled and reinforced common sense knowledge that a big human body build is an expression of perfect health. Nearly ten years later, research on Aids knowledge in the communities reveals that people increasingly think that a fat person cannot have Aids or carry the HIV virus. Two evaluation studies of the Valley Trust Aids programme conducted in Kwa-Zulu Natal provide the evidence for this point[6]. These findings clearly show how linear communication tends to catch and entangle rather than inform and instruct the understanding. They show how dangerous it is to persuade someone before s/he understands. It is clear from the these findings that a project of which meaning the intended beneficiaries do not understanding, let alone appreciate, is likely to be futile or yield the opposite results.

Linear communication systematically excludes the audiences and intended beneficiaries from participating in making decisions about their lived realities. The importance of involving the communities in the construction of messages about their conditions of living is that it facilitates the accurate representation of their reality or real needs, opens up collective strategies for confronting their needs, secures legitimacy and increases the success chances for interventions. Limiting the audience and intended beneficiaries' participation to reception leads to the misidentification and engagement of social needs and latter to the possible resentment of the projects by the communities.

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[6]The studies were conducted by the Centre for Health Education and Social Studies of the University of Natal, firstly in 1995 and later in 1997. I was the statistical data analyst for this projects.

Further attendant flaws and sources of linear communication for development

The intended audiences and development beneficiaries get even more alienated from their development processes when communication in development is done through the information technologies (radio and TV sets, computer and satellite, telephones, etc) because these media are still inadequately distributed and accessed in the communities in many Third World countries. Despite being in the information technology age, many people in the Third World countries still have no access at all to radio, television, telephones and computers. While there are 2 radios per head in the USA, there are fewer than 30 radios per 1000 people in Angola, Burkina Faso, Nepal or Tanzania. There is only one television set for over 100 people in Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Central African Republic, Haiti, Laos, Mali or the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire). This compares with 53 sets per 100 Danes (UNDP, 1996).

While in Sweden 70 per cent of a population of 8.7 million have a mainline telephone and while there is one telephone per two people in the USA, in Botswana, Paraguay or Peru only 2.7 per cent of populations totalling 29 million have a mainline telephone. In Cambodia, Chad, Mali, Niger, Vietnam or the Democratic Republic of the Congo only 0.1 per cent of populations totalling 147 million have a mainline telephone. Numbers of computers and mobile cell phones in most of these countries are too small to register (UNDP, 1996).

Many of these countries' governments are nevertheless making significant efforts to lessen this inadequacy in information technologies. However, they are making such efforts not necessarily to address the sad disparities outlined above but because the faith in the explication that media exposure is correlated to development still holds sway among many policy makers. This faith

in the information technology entails continued great investment, despite insufficient evidence of such investment's commensurate returns in terms of improving social and economic conditions of the poor (Kasongo, 1996; Musa, 1997). Besides, this faith continues despite the evident flaws of the assumptions belying its explication. This means that the problems identified and discussed in this chapter both about development in general and the role of communication in development still haunt the African continent.

It is undoubtable that the externally-driven modernisation understanding and practice of development and communication for development has contributed to the dismal performance of development in Africa in the last four decades. The continent continued to be plagued with deterioration instead of development despite the presence of foreign development experts who, by 1985 were about 80,000. The question is what Michael Edwards (1989: 116) rightly asks, *"Why is that our increasing knowledge of the Third World does not enable solutions to be found?"* There are several explanations for this failure.

Firstly, this failure of generally development and particularly communication in development is due to the development scholars and practitioners' interchangeable regard of communication and information. Regarding communication in development as the linear flow of messages from the 'experts' to the intended audiences and development beneficiaries results in the *expert-people* gap, with result being the development messages and projects failing to relate to the lived realities of the contexts and the people they are meant for. The fact that has often been ignored is that "*knowledge (information) is only useful if the listener needs the knowledge, understands it, wants to use it, can use it, and is not prevented by any circumstances from using it. It is useful only when the knowledge is relevant to the problem in question*" (Klouda, 1986: 5). Thus,

however 'scientific' such development messages and projects will tend to fail as they might not be received by many of the intended beneficiaries. If they are received, the messages might still be culturally unpopular, wrongly decoded, misunderstood and/or rejected. It is this thesis' argument that this is in fact the reason for the small apparent impact of communication in development despite the accelerated pace, tempo and volume of information technology over the last four decades. Unless, development imperatives are grounded in the lived realities of the intended beneficiaries, the development messages and the development projects they give rise to and the investment in such undertakings will continue to yield dismal results.

Secondly, the uniqueness of the circumstances in which these 'scientific' and universal development messages and models of communication are expected to apply constrain them and limit whatever efficacy they might have to yield the intended results. For instance, the assumptions that the communities have access to, or possess, the media are often in contrast with the lived realities. Thus, when messages are communicated through the mass media in environments where the media are scantily accessed, however persuasive, the messages face mores chances of failing than succeeding in yielding the intended results.

Thirdly, linear development communication development information practitioners tend to generalise so much that they fail to account for the unique nuances of the environments where their messages are expected to apply. They do not acknowledge the variety of the contexts and the influence of such contexts on the communities' decoding of the messages.

Verifying the hypotheses

From the foregoing analyses and discussions, some conclusions can be drawn and the hypotheses stated at the start of this chapter verified. It is clear that 'scientific' development discourse does not appreciate the non-Western culturally defined practices and ways of making sense. They may be highly successful in local terms, familiar and popular among the intended development beneficiaries. Yet, as long as these practices and ways are cultural and traditional,'scientific' development discourse seems to perceive them to be irrational. This is expressed through the development scholars, practitioners and policy makers' pervasive faith in 'scientific' or simply Western ways of interpretation regardless of how little is practically known about these ways. This spurs the development practitioners to carry out development in the Third World with little or no involvement of those for whom the development is meant. Consciously or unconsciously, they ignore the differences that exist in the intended development beneficiaries' lived realities and world views. Ignoring such differences means that under this kind of development there is no assessment of the development innovations' suitability to the intended beneficiary communities. Similarly, there is no negotiation for both the adaptation of the development innovations to the existing realities and adoption by the intended beneficiaries. As shown earlier, this leads to resources being invested in development projects which fail to address the intended beneficiaries' real needs. Ultimately, the projects get shunned by the intended beneficiary communities and end dismally. Thus, it can be inferred that Africa's development failures are not due to cultural irrationality. Rather, the manner of development has contributed to the dismal development performance of Sub-Saharan Africa countries since the 1950s.

To avoid the causes and sources of development failures identified and discussed so far requires

re-thinking the linear models and practice of communication for development (cf. Musa, 1997) and the understanding of the notion of development. These issues can only be left unquestioned at the continued compromise of development, as experience has shown so far. The challenge is for African development scholars to devise ways through which the development failures that characterise Africa's development history can be avoided. As development is not an easy task, so is the task of to trying to articulate development alternatives for Africa in the form of development models that relate to the lived realities on the African. Confronting this challenge begins with a commitment to the realisation that development is for people. Therefore, there will be nothing meaningful done for the people without them.

Confronting the challenge: A development and communication paradigm of reversals and practical diversities

The challenge posed by the quest for avoiding Africa's past development failures demands more than just the identification of the flaws inherent in the externally-driven development model. This challenge also demands the identification and suggestion of ways through which Africa's community development problems can be addressed in a more effective and sustainable manner. Among the steps towards confronting the challenge of avoiding past development failures is re-examining, so as to revitalise, the understanding and practice of communication in development. Whereas information is crucial in development, it remains only part of the broader process of communication and not an end in itself. The kind of information, its basis and context, as opposed to primarily the rate and mechanisms of transmitting it, are important factors for determining the use, effectiveness and effects of information in development. Therefore, the starting of point in confronting the challenge in question is the re-examination of the current

understanding/models and practice of communication for development. This entails teasing out the idea of communication itself.

The definition of the concept of communication has many definitions. Suffice it to state, as Juan Bordenave (1977) points out, that communication involves conceiving, transmission, reception and reaction, otherwise it becomes a delivery process. This suggests that there ought to be an interface between those transmitting and those receiving messages not only by way of the medium. It also suggests that the planning and management of development communication campaigns must take into account the contexts in which the campaigns are expected to apply (i.e. relating the messages to the particular communication environments). Unless this is done, the messages would fail to arouse the intended reaction and fail to yield relevant and sustainable action.

There must be an interface in communication for development between the communicators and the audience. The interface must occur at the point of conception of the message. This ensures that the message is relevant and acceptable to all the involved parties. This will further make the intervention which is based on the collectively constructed message sustainable and effective as it derives from the accurately and popularly represented reality. For this reason, communication in development must not only be done through the information technologies (radio, television, computers, telephones, etc.), however interactive they might be. It should also be done through oral or human/interpersonal and local media forms and styles characterised by culturally defined ways of making sense. A communication paradigm of **reversals and practical diversities** provides a way towards the practical realisation of this kind of communication in development.

In content, the communication paradigm of **reversals and practical diversities** emphasises the value of the communication process, ie, the exchange of meanings and social relations which communication creates, more than the transmission rate and value of information or messages. It alters the tendency to see as socially useful only messages proffered by 'experts'. It shifts the emphasis from the audience listening to the communicator to the communicator (who may be either the audience itself as in times of horizontal communication or the communicator) listening to the audience.

As an approach, this paradigm entails relating the content (messages) and the means of communication to the context in which communication will apply. It entails taking the audiences and intended development beneficiaries as people who know what is good for themselves and making their views and aspirations the basis of development policies and projects. As pointed out earlier, this paradigm may appear to be novel or problematic because of its rigour which it requires getting to the base or to the people for whom communication is intended. This is the challenge earlier pointed out which requires to be confronted. The paradigm holds the potential to ensure that communication in development is effective. It promises to ensure that community development projects are relevant, effective and sustainable, as it prevents development practitioners and policy makers from imposing 'falsely' or abstractly perceived development messages and policies on the communities. The paradigm makes both the development benefactors and beneficiaries responsible for the projects. It therefore reduces the tendency to deny the responsibility upon development communication campaigns and projects run into futility and perversity when development practitioners are commonly heard blaming the communities for the projects' failure as if to say to the communities: *"We piped for you and you*

would not dance. We lamented, and you would not mourn"[7]. The communication paradigm of reversals and practical diversities promises to minimise this tendency, which is certainly due to the linear, untimely and unevenly mediated development communication.

The paradigm is reversal in that it puts the audiences before the communicators in the communication process with a view to ensuring that the communicators construct messages which reflect the lived realities and give rise to appropriate interventions. The intended audiences assume increased control over, and access to, communication rather than information. It is about practical diversities because it recognises and accommodates the social, cultural and need diversities as opposed to the homogenised diet which mass communication typically offers. Excellence in communication will mean effectiveness, which will depend on whether and how much the messages really speak to their intended audiences, ie, having the lived realities become the basis for policy and action by involving the intended beneficiaries-audiences from conception to reaction in the communication process. This entails a responsive rather than informative, reactive rather than proactive, and diologous rather than monologous approach. What is being proposed here is therefore a development model whose means lies with participatory communication. The model is called <u>beneficiary-driven development model</u> and the approach is called <u>oral participatory communication</u> approach. The next chapter takes up this proposition in detail.

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[7] Mt. 11: 17. *The revised English bible.* 1989. London: Oxford university Press.

Conclusion

Effective communication entails that the messages are speaking to the intended audiences, that is, arousing response and action. This requires contextualising communication, getting to the intended audiences, and involving them from conception through to reaction, hence the need for micro-zonal communication. As well as being informed, people need to be involved in the conception of messages. This encourages and persuades them even more effectively to heed the give information. Unless people are involved, appropriate media are used and the messages reflect the relevant variety of realities, the much hankered-after development through communication will still remain a pipe dream. Besides that the need to practice *communication as if people mattered,* to adapt Fritz Schumacker's words, derives from people's right to be informed and to instruct policy and action concerning them, involving people in communication fully ensures the accurate knowledge of people's needs and facilitates the design of effective interventions and policies. *The darkest thing about Africa has always been our ignorance of it.* The beneficiary-driven development model holds some prospects to illuminate Africa and make development projects and policies effective.

PART II

IMPROVING AND INVOLVING: ACKNOWLEDGING THE INTENDED

DEVELOPMENT BENEFICIARIES' ROLE AND CAPACITIES

Chapter Six

The beneficiary-driven development model and the participatory communication approach: Towards a theory for sustainable community development[1]

People cannot be developed. They can only develop themselves. For when it is possible for an outsider to build a man's home, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does; he develops himself by making his own decision by increasing his understanding of what he is doing, and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability and by his own full participation in the life of the community he live in.
Julius Nyerere, 1973: 60.

Epilogue

This chapter advances an organic **gemeinschaft** type of model herein called the beneficiary-driven development model, as one way of avoiding Africa's past development failures. This model requires basing development on the beneficiary communities' lived realities. This entails conducting development at micro levels beyond uni-linear top-down prescriptions and involving the intended beneficiaries. The model's means lies with the participatory communication approach which, due to its emphasis on 'oramedia' facilitates the communities' participation in decision-making and helps to make development contextually relevant and sustainable. 'Oramedia' refers to traditional/folk media and may be used in the combination with mass media. The chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives underpinning the model and the communication approach and 'oramedia'. It also reviews and examines some case studies for potential limitations of the model.

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[1]

The concept of sustainable development is used here to mean contextually specific and relevant, and self-generating improvement of living conditions of the communities. See also D. A. Kotze and H. J. Swanepoel. 1983.

The quest for sustainable and successful community development

It is clear from the discussions in Part One of this thesis that, among other causes, the development manner has contributed to Africa's development failures in the last four decades. In the last four decades living conditions in Africa have generally remained the same and occasionally deteriorated despite the communities' willingness to adopt new innovations to improve their conditions and despite international support for Africa's development financially, materially and politically. Lessons from the past failures have led to consensus that community development problems need long term and sustainable solutions and not just solutions to immediate crises, which are often symptoms of the actual problems. An increasing number of development scholars agree on the need to conceive and measure development in terms broader than the macro economic indices like GDP, GNP, PCI and employment generation (cf. Seers, 1977). There is also increasing consensus about the need to shift from development practices that encourage centralised decision making and planning in development (Chambers, 1983; 1994; Rahaman, 1993).

Among the inadequacies of macro conceptions, planning and measures of development is their failure to apply to the poorest people. To the few of the poorest people that these indicators apply, they do so in the form of casual labour, hawking, seasonal migration and artisan works (Cassen, 1976). Most of the poorest people do not and cannot have regular paid jobs as a repertoire of activities from which they derive their sustenance. The major activities of their livelihood include cultivation, keeping livestock, collecting and catching, and processing and selling (Cassen, 1976). Therefore, relying on macro conceptions and indices of development masks societal problems and inequalities and detract attention from pressing social needs (Seers,

1977a; Weaver and Jameson, 1978; Bourgault, 1995). The recent experiences of some Sub-Saharan countries undergoing the IMF/WB sponsored structural adjustment programmes, reviewed earlier, corroborate this point. These countries reported annual economic growths of 5% of their GDP. Yet, the upward spiral of social problems such as malnutrition, school dropouts, poverty and hunger, to mention a few, remained the same and in some cases became worse despite the much hankered after macroeconomic growth (*The Economist*, 1995).

From the above, it appears that financial resources and expertise are not all that is necessary to resolve social development problems. It is clear that besides financial resources, intellectual support and advice (Leys, 1997) active collaboration between beneficiaries and benefactors is important for effective and sustainable community development. This realisation has subsequently led to development scholars, practitioners and agencies rethinking the understanding and practice of development[2]. It is increasingly agreed that effective solutions to community development problems would require first to understand fully and clearly the needs facing the communities. This would facilitate the design of interventions that would reduce rather than perpetuate the intended development beneficiaries' problems. This suggests the need to relate solutions to specific problems or development to the specific contexts in which it would apply.

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[2]

Already, among others, the United Nations has since 1990 spearheaded a number of efforts in the quest for defining development in terms other than economic measures of GDP, GNP, PCI etc. In 1990, the UNDP began to publish the Human Development Report and re-defined development as "*the process of enabling people to have wider choices*". The organisation has even gone further in this context. It has designed more measures of development: Human Development Index, which is a combination of life expectancy, adult literacy and income in an innovative way; and Human Freedom Index which was designed in 1991. All these efforts and many others serve as a vindication for the necessity to understand development and its processes in measures which are more comprehensive than GNP, GDP, PCI etc. Whatever way this has to be done, it will require the active participation of the intended development beneficiaries. See UNDP. 1992. *Human Development Report*. N. Y.: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-11.

Beneficiary-driven development model: The envisaged process

The above articulations reveal the increasing consensus on the need for, and efficacy of, involving the intended beneficiaries in their development processes towards. What is missing in these discourses, however, is practical steps on how to translate the articulations into practice. It is in this context that the beneficiary-driven development model and its participatory communication approach arise[3].

The beneficiary-driven development model entails collaboration between the development beneficiaries and benefactors. It emphasises the need to involve the intended beneficiaries in determining the development imperatives and designing the interventions. In this way, the developers would understand fully and clearly the problems the communities are facing and accordingly design appropriate and effective interventions. The communities would not only benefit from the interventions but they would also assume some responsibility to ensure that development projects and innovation continue beyond their delivery phases or points.

The beneficiary-driven model envisions the citizens of beneficiary communities acting collectively in the following key steps of the development process:

- *Problem identification*: Collectively identifying and characterising the problems.

- *Alternatives identification*: discussing ways in which these problems can be tackled.

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[3]

By beneficiary-driven development is meant a social development/change process which, because its is based on the imperatives that emanate from the intended beneficiary community and is driven by the community itself, yields sustainable improvements in the social living conditions. As a model, this kind of development embodies steps of collective decision making, planning, implementation and beyond implementation in community development initiatives or projects. This model stands for a pluralistic, context-specific development. This is a my own creation based on the my views, curious observations and the literature reviewed in this thesis. See also Kasongo, 1998.

- *Alternative adoption*: choosing suitable approaches from among the ways thus discussed.

- *Planning*: laying out what steps are needed to carry out the tasks involved, delegating these tasks, and identifying the materials needed and the anticipated time-scale.

- *Implementation*: acting collectively towards the desired change or objective.

- *Reflection and projection*: meeting at the end of the planned intervention to evaluate and lay down further responsibilities.

Ideally, communities would elect leaders to preside at meetings, spearhead the work and encourage participants throughout the processes - and not to rule over them. These leaders would serve as the link between their communities and the appropriate resource systems. By contrast with the externally-driven development, where leaders are appointed by developers to ensure intended beneficiaries' 'directed participation', these leaders are elected by the benefiting 'citizens'[4]. They would take part in all tasks and be regularly elected, since the model is based on participation rather than representation. In rural communities, there may be no need to elect leaders because effective traditional leadership structures already exist. Not only does this ensure that the communities are led in their development by people known to be suitable and committed, but also it legitimises the leadership and instils the sense of ownership of the development intervention or project.

The role of the development professionals experts in this kind of development would be largely to facilitate and help in community mobilisation , community organisation and civic education

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[4]

Allowing community development processes to be led the communities' leaders legitimises the projects and, as it ensures that the communities are led in their development by people known to be suitable in their local terms, this ensures that the communities assume the responsibility over the projects. See also Kotze and Swanepoel, 1983.

for development. They would also help to identify , and link the communities to, appropriate resource systems; and facilitate intra-community and agency-community communication and negotiation. Community leaders would liaise with the professionals concerning the resources needed for tackling the problems being faced, as not all of these will be readily available - hence the need for facilitated negotiation. The following is the depiction of the beneficiary-driven development model's characteristics.

Table Five[5]
The beneficiary-driven development model

Assumption: • Pre-modern and post-modern, ie, acknowledges and emphasises the privileged position of narratives, recognises the plurality of ideas, uniqueness of cultures, needs and perceptions, thereby de-constructing the perception and assumptions of a secure, certain basis of development.   • Development need not denote the initiation of innovations/ideas from outside the intended beneficiary community. Its imperatives need to be contextually couched.   • Beneficiaries' knowledge, cultural thought, actions and world views are useful for effective development interventions
Level where imperatives initiate: • Grassroots, community or micro level
Basis: • Acknowledged cultural, social and need diversity.   • Contextually defined needs
Modus operandi: • Reactive rather than pro-active: developers respond to the communities' proposed initiatives through assistance/facilitation   • Participatory: communities themselves drive and control the process   • Beneficiaries: they are taken as active participants and not as passive clients, as people or subjects and not as objects. They are allowed to assert their views on their needs, use their capacities to initiate and benefit from their development.
Aims: • Improve the living people's living conditions by involving them, thereby   • Foster self-generating or sustainable development
Assessment: • Social need definition and satisfaction is based on mutual comprehension
Orientation: • Communal undertaking   • Self-sacrifice, ie, communal interest presides over personal interest   • Social learning
Communication: • Oral participatory communication, allowing for more horizontal/lateral than vertical communication   • Where possible, information technology may be used if it allows for intra- and inter-community communication through easy access to communication

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The beneficiary-driven development model and the concept of development

The implementation of the beneficiary-driven development model requires an understanding of development which is different from the past and still the dominant externally-driven development conceptions (cf. Leys, 1997). This would help to avoid the externally-driven development model's limitations and avoid the repetition of such results as Africa's past development failures.

The understanding of development *per se* is not contentious. It is generally agreed that development is about improving people's living conditions and facilitating their realisation of their full potentials. Thus, as Dudley Seers (1972: 123) asserts, development universally aims at the *"realisation of the potential human personality"*. The disagreement that surrounds the understanding of development is rather ideological than emphatic. As it was clear in Chapter One, this disagreement is on how to bring about or carry out development. Thus, for instance, according to the dominant externally-driven/modernisation development understanding, articulated by Walt Rostow (1960), Shmuel Eisenstadt (1973) and others who define development as exogenously induced change (see Golding, 1974), development consists of the introduction of new innovations/ideas into a community from outside it. This understanding presupposes two things, namely, that there is a universal development model and that certain societies' values are favourable while other societies' values are antithetical for development. Under this understanding, development is and has been carried out as externally designed interventions. Unfortunately, as Frank Ugboajah (1986: 12) lamented, this is the understanding that has pervaded the mentality of scholarly and administrative thought and the leadership styles in many of Africa's development programmes. *"Perhaps that is why we have failed in most of*

our development efforts" (Ugboajah, 1986: 12). The question for Africa is, "*Do we really want to be non-Africans to develop or do we want to develop along the ways which would benefit us without alienating ourselves from our own African-ness?*" (Kasongo, 1996:1).

Redressing the development failures associated with the above development understanding and practice, requires a new development understanding and practice. It should be the understanding that takes into account the historical and economic, cultural and social realities of the intended development beneficiary communities. This would facilitate to ensure that development is contextually relevant and suitable, and effective and successful (cf. Huesca, 1996).

Under the beneficiary-driven development model, development is understood as the process of improvement upon that which exists, and the certainty and capacity to make it better as and when need and conditions demand so. This understanding of development is implicitly corroborated by the views of many scholars voting marginally to the left of Walt Rostow, Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, Shmuel Eisenstadt and Everett Rogers. These include Andre Frank (1969), Robert Chambers (1983), Dirk Kotze and Hendrick Swanepoel (1983), Frank Ugboajah, (1986), David Himbara (1993). These scholars and many others conceive development not only as an economic or a technical issue. It is a combination of economic and technical factors (external influences) and the historical, cultural and social factors (internal influences) of the intended beneficiary communities). Thus, for these scholars, development is a relative idea (cf. Seers, 1972). Accordingly, different people would have different visions of what human betterment and national development is, and how to work towards it. It is this relativity that is key for the understanding and practice of development according to the beneficiary-driven development model. It is also in this regard of trying to contextualise development that the model holds the

187

prospects for effective and sustainable community development.

The theoretical perspectives and benefits of the model

This study employs several theoretical perspectives to explain and show the necessity of the beneficiary-driven development model. One reason for efforts like this model derives from the insufficient practical attempts to reorient the development practice to date. Thus, while there have been several theoretical shifts in the development paradigm over the last four decades, as the figure below shows, none or few of these shifts have been translated into practical efforts. The few attempts at translating these theoretical shifts into practice have lacked the enthusiasm and commitment of development scholars and practitioners. Some attempts have, consequently, failed while others have been failed by the development scholars and practitioners' impatience (cf. Chambers, 1994). The beneficiary-driven development model provides the praxis between the articulation and practice of development according to the 'small is beautiful' perspective.

Figure Five
Shift in ideological and theoretical perspectives on development
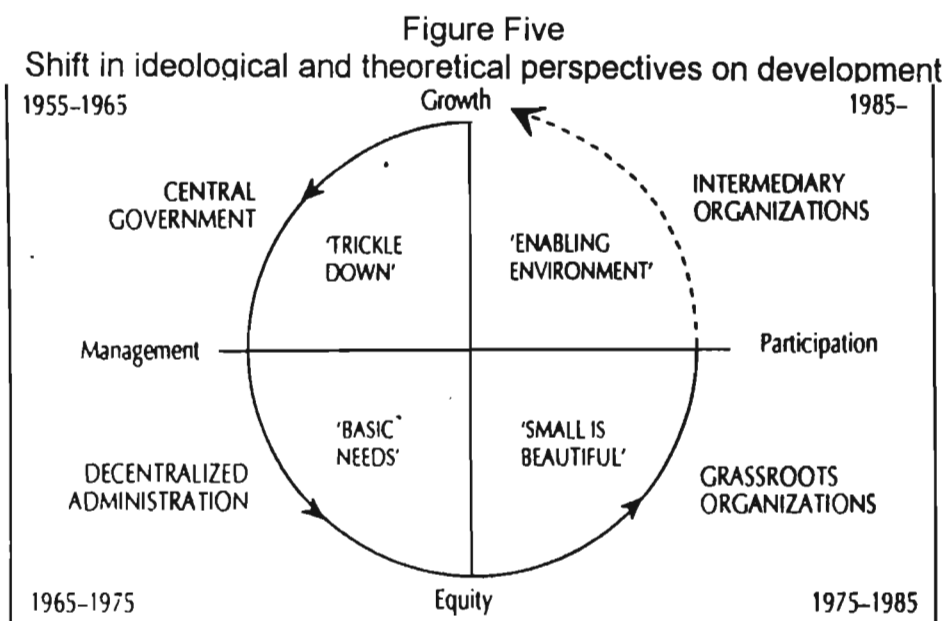
Source: Goran Hyden, 1994: 310

Empowerment

The beneficiary-driven development model is underlain by the quest for empowering the African communities and for reducing their dependence syndrome. Although it may be defined variously, empowerment, as used here, refers to *"enabling someone or the community to do something or to acquire the capacity to significantly control their lives through increased capacity for decision making"* (Harding, 1994: 13). The beneficiary-driven development model appears to provide an effective avenue for empowering the communities. It would foster the reallocation of development responsibilities to the intended beneficiaries and the facilitation by the benefactors. Through conscientisation, the model would make the communities realise that what is desirable might not always be possible. This would make the communities appreciate the limitations or constraints placed on governments and/or donors in development. With this realisation, the communities would then begin to take action on their own or to take part in solving their community development problems. The process of conscientisation has been a cornerstone in the socioeconomic upliftment of many poor communities in several Latin America countries and in the political emancipation in South Africa over the last twenty years has been achieved (Harding, 1994). Conscientisation has been the vehicle for self-sustaining community development in Namibia's Gibeon town since the early 1990s (Mavrocordatos, 1998). Thus, conscientisation leads to poor communities empowering themselves through getting involved in their community development, becoming aware and developing a deeper understanding of the problems facing them, and taking action accordingly[6].

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[6]

For a fuller discussion see Paulo Freire. 1972. *The pedagogy of the oppressed.* London: Penguin Books. MHSRIP.

Comparative advantage - "Small is beautiful"

Small scale and local modelling has often be thought of as implying deficiency, inadequacy or ineffectiveness. However, the opposite is true in development work. As it has been established in the previous chapters of this thesis, it is large scale or macro modelling that leads to ineffective interventions. Due to sweeping generalisations, macro modelling often leads to the ill identification and characterisation of community problems. Everett Rogers' 1969 work entitled Modernisation Among Peasants in which he charges the peasants with the lack of empathy for modern life, and hence their underdevelopment, is instructive. There is little understanding and no appreciation of the intended development beneficiaries' world views. The peasant are perceived as an enigma to development by the *experts* who do not live their life. Based on this perception the *experts* accordingly design the development interventions for the peasants and other beneficiaries. It is because of such lack of empathy for the peasants by the *experts* that development projects and innovations have tended to fail in many instances. Thus, it can be inferred that in development work many key causal determinants of development project failures are *invariably found in the forces operating at macro level - national and international levels - and impinging on the local from without* (Harding, 1994: 24). To avoid this cause and source of development failures requires the awareness of the factors which affect the course of community development none is more important than the perception and world views of intended beneficiaries themselves (Goodenough, 1963; Paddock and Paddock, 1973 Ryan, 1985). It is in this context that Fritz Schumacher's "small is beautiful" perspective arose.

The "small is beautiful" perspective represents the view that small scale efforts can do what large scale development and government bureaucracies have failed to do. The implicated comparative advantage of micro modelling was particularly the inspiration for the ideological and theoretical

shifts on development of the late 1970s and the mid-1980s as Figure Five earlier showed. However, as earlier noted, this appreciation for grassroots participation has not found much expression in practice. The beneficiary-driven development model offers a possible way towards facilitating and encouraging grassroots participation. The model would help to make the communities recognise the significance and necessity of their own contribution to their development. By its *gemeinschaft* scope, the model would facilitate the communities' actual participation in their development. Through the model, development planners and practitioners would begin to take cognisance of the variation in the aspirations, and in the social, cultural and environmental make-up of the intended beneficiary communities. This would ensure context-specific, relevant and high impact community development. Thus, the model holds the promise to turn into reality the fact that *"development is not by a blue print but by a flexible and adaptive process"* (Chambers, 1994: 1). Developers would begin to deliver what they should and not what they can, and to plan and initiate development because of the people and not despite them.

Convergence and synergy - The '2 +2 = 5 Effect'

Many governments in Africa would like to meet their people's aspirations. However, they are constrained by the lack of resources. Even where resources are available they are often outstripped by the ever rising social needs. With this realisation, that with the citizens countries

Through the convergence and synergy perspective, the beneficiary-driven development model holds some promise to alleviate the problem of lack of resources for development. Involving the communities in their development would lead to the communities augmenting the development resources through their combined efforts, which would in turn lead to the achievement of development returns that are higher than their investment, hence the '2 + 2 = 5 Effect'. By participating in their development, the beneficiaries would identify the real priorities according

to their local contexts. The satisfaction of such priorities would lead to contextually meaningful and effective amelioration of communities' living conditions and therefore to the achievement of socially effective and sustainable, low cost and yet high impact community development. Furthermore, the communities would assume the *post-project-implementation* responsibilities, such as maintenance. It is in this sense that the beneficiary-driven development model is seen to hold some prospects for cost-effective, contextually relevant and sustainable development.

Social learning perspective

Participation is a learning process through which the participants can become self-reliant (cf. Curtis, 1991). The social learning theory underpins the beneficiary-driven development model. By its participatory disposition, the beneficiary-driven development model promises a viable avenue for the communities' training or capacity building in meeting their own social development needs. People solve their problems as they encounter them, thus acquiring problem solving skills. They repeat their successful efforts whenever similar problems recur. Through participating in their development, would sustains their skills and abilities, learn to act on their own and become independent. They would initiate, innovate and collectively take part in constructing the inputs for their desired outputs. A Mexican proverb sums up the social learning theory very well: *Hacemos el camino caminando* (We make the path by walking it). Interpreted, this adage says that people find solutions to the problems they encounter through direct participation in a long process of trial and error. In the process, they acquire, maintain and improve upon skills and capacities to solve social problems which face them. Theodore Thomas (1985: 15, 19) ascribes to this wisdom in his notion of "*engaged planning*" or "*trans-active planning*", which he asserts leads to the people "*knowing how to fish on their own*". It is in n this sense that the beneficiary-driven development model holds the potential to facilitate sustainable

community development.

Humanist perspective

The notion of *practising development as if people mattered* or that of *giving development a human face* has been conspicuously absent in the dominant development discourse and practice.

Notwithstanding that development has been about the betterment of people's living conditions, the beneficiaries have no role to play in the *"development from above"* discourse and practice apart from reception. Reasons for this tacit but deliberate exclusion of the intended beneficiaries from the development processes range from the fear for disorder (cf. Huntington, 1981) to the impossibility of community participation due to the economic explication of opportunity cost. However, as the following anecdote shows, these reasons are prosaic. They are exaggerated and merely express the devaluation of human conscience.

> *A person is walking down a path. Overhanging the path are branches of trees on which there is a fruit. The fruit however is out of reach and the trunk of the tree up which our hungry hero might climb, is hidden by a wall. He looks around for a suitable stick or stone but finds nothing. It looks as though hunger will have to be satisfied elsewhere. He is about to move on when another fellow comes down the path. There is a brief exchange of observations, some gesticulation and face-to-face discussion and then the newcomer, who happens to be the lighter, climbs on to the shoulders of the first to arrive, who happens to be the larger, and plucks the fruit. They cut it in half, congratulate each other and go on their way.*
> Curtis, 1991: 5

This anecdote summarises the humanist perspective, which is one of the theoretical perspectives underpinning the beneficiary-driven development model. It shows how purpose, mutual agreement and trust, commitment and legitimacy can foster and motivate self-organisation and participation. It also shows how social organisation provides the opportunity for achievement, betterment and survival through sharing/participation. If individual gain were only to be pursued individually, the fruit-seeking fellow would look away when the other fellow came by. If opportunity cost was a credible reason for the impossibility of people collectively getting

involved in their development, the newcomer would have excused himself and proceeded. If disorder is inevitable in social organisation and participation in development, two men would have differed on the *purpose* (plucking the fruit) and *outcome* (sharing it). Given that they had each played a different part, the disagreement on who had the most (the one who served as the ladder or the one who plucked the fruit) could have been a legitimate one. Nothing of this sort, as the anecdote shows, happened. Through this anecdote, the humanist perspective shows how participation in self-organisation is possible and important. It also shows how human beings, particularly those in need, are capable of identifying their needs, organising themselves and designing suitable ways to meet those needs.

The late Paulo Freire's (1972: 12) concept of '*naming the world*' corroborates the humanist perspective . In this concept, Freire (1972), a committed revolutionary humanist himself (1972) asserted that people were capable of unveiling complex and hidden roots of oppression and other social problems using their everyday language. Robert Huesca (1996: 26), corroborating the Freirean concept, articulates the perspective further through his notion of '*moving form naming to theorising*'. Huesca (1996) asserts that people are in fact capable of not just naming their problems but also theorising about them - stating the nature and causal relationships of the problems they face and their possible solutions. The needy people can do more than merely benefiting from social *development from above*; they are potential architects and agents of their own development (Dervin and Clark, 1989). So, *giving development a human face* is long overdue not only because development is about human beings but also it would foster context-specific, relevant, effective and sustainable community development. This requires what Robert Chambers (1983: i) terms "*putting the first last*" in development. The beneficiary-driven development model holds some promise for accomplishing this understanding.

Communication as contextual meaning and as generation of meaning in symbolic content and form

Regarding communication, it is the quest for making the development messages speak to the intended development audiences and beneficiaries that the participatory communication approach, presented below, is seen to be the most suitable means for the beneficiary-driven development model. The participatory communication emphasises the use of 'oramedia' because they possess the potential to mediate participatory and contextually relevant community development, for which the model is intended. This is because, as shall be shown later, 'oramedia' "*allow for the interpersonal and local media forms and styles characterised by culturally defined ways of making sense*" (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 62). They allow everyone in the communities to have access to communication and thus allow everyone to participate in making and implementing decisions about their development. It is in this way that 'oramedia' would make the development messages and development itself they to be context specific. The importance of these media and the communication they foster is lies in the fact that "*knowledge is only useful if the listener needs it, understands it, wants to use it, can use it, and is not prevented by any circumstances from* (constructing and*) using it. Knowledge (*information*) is also useful only when it is relevant to problem (*context*) in question*" (Klouda, 1986: 5).

Stuart Price's (1996) theoretical perspectives on communication corroborate this understanding of communication for effective development. Stuart Price(1996) defines communication in several ways. He takes into consideration such variables as context, exchange and language and how they might influence the understanding and effectiveness of messages. He sums up his perspectives on communication, relevant here, as communication as generation of meaning in

symbolic form and content, communication as contextual meaning and communication as exchange in one definition: *Communication is an activity in which symbolic contents (units of meaning) are not only transmitted in symbolic forms (language, signs, etc.) from one source to another but exchanged between human agents who interact within a shared situational and/or discursive context* (Price, 1996: 5).

It is not the idea which is really new...

Ideas similar to the beneficiary-drive development model are not new. They have been increasingly articulated since the 1970s under several labels - participatory development, participatory action research, bottom-up or field-to-the-centre development and people-centred development approaches. The proponents of these ideas, among them Ward Goodenough (1993), William and Elizabeth Paddock (1973), Julius Nyerere (1973; 1974) Fritz Schumacher (1974), Robert Chambers (1983; 1994), Jean-Claude Carcia-Zarmo (1985), Anisur Rahman (1993), For Bade Onimode (1992) and Gordon White (1995), articulate in their various ways the importance of involving the intended beneficiaries in their development and basing development on their lived realities. For Jean-Claude Garcia-Zarmo, 1985, the field-to-the-centre development approach increases the chances of development projects to succeed. Grassroots participation also offers an effective way of community empowerment. This understanding has been shared Robert Chambers (1983; 1994) who, for over a decade, has argued that the assaults on rural poverty have tended to fail because rural poverty has usually been unseen. He adds that even when it has been seen, rural poverty has often not been correctly perceived, leading to ineffective interventions. Chambers asserts that this has been due to the interventions being designed by outsiders who are neither rural nor poor. Anisur Rahman (1993) subscribes to these views, arguing that the external

interventions are only a form of dependence which is partly why *"development from above"* has often failed. He argues for the reorientation of this development manner in his idea of *"mobilisation without tears"*, by which he means self-reliant development (Rahman, 1993: 17).

For Bade Onimode (1992) the failures which have characterised Africa's development in the last three decades bespeak more than the inadequacy of the development manner. Onimode asserts that these failures also point to an abiding lesson: only Africans, as development beneficiaries, can develop themselves. Outsiders can only assist and support the development process. They must not be allowed to supplant or replace Africa's initiatives. Gordon White (1995) also articulates similar views, albeit in a detached way. He asserts that democratic or participatory regimes demonstrate a clearer capacity to cope effectively with developmental problems.

It is clear from the above discussion that the idea of, and the quest for, involving the intended beneficiaries in their development is indeed not a new one. As the following sections show, the implementation of this idea has been attempted by some African governments and communities and even outside Africa for over two decades now. Former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere's (1962) Ujamaa and former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's (1969) philosophy of Humanism, later Humanism-Villagisation, provide examples of articulations of, and practical attempts to implement, participatory approaches to self-reliant community development.

Ujamaa

Ujamaa was not only an ideology, a socialist one, but also a participatory approach or framework for community-driven or self-reliant development. It served as a development approach especially for rural and agricultural development. The government used Ujamaa to mobilise the

communities around certain development goals or innovations, providing the necessary assistance and support for the communities to realise such goals.

Built on the values of familyhood and community, as a development approach, Ujamaa sought to "*ensure that the people care for each other's welfare*" (Nyerere, 1962: 239). It was underlain by the understanding that every member of a community had a moral obligation "*to contribute a fair share of his effort to the production of the community's well-being*" (Nyerere, 1962: 241). Rooted in the traditional African society's values, Ujamaa aimed at meeting not just the communities' immediate needs but also those needs which might arise in future. Therefore, it was both a development approach and a natural social security approach which sought to address and cater for human deprivation. This approach entailed collaboration between the government and the communities, especially the peasantry. For instance, the collaboration between the government and the peasantry under Ujamaa was that the peasantry would be mobilised to till the land and produce marketable surplus with the government providing their communities with free social services (education, health care, clean tap water, etc) (cf. Chambua, 1994).

Humanism-Villagisation

Kenneth Kaunda's ideas of Humanism and Villagisation were similar to Nyerere's Ujamaa both in content and implementation. Humanism was both a political and development ideology. Kaunda (1969: 59) himself makes this clear as he asserts that Humanism is also "*a description of a society we (Zambians) are striving to achieve*" and the way to achieve it. As a community development approach, Humanism espoused a cooperative spirit for development, which enjoined everybody to contribute to the betterment of man or his community through the State. Underlying this approach was the humanist perspective discussed earlier. It was the view that

community participation and cooperation would provide an effective way for community development. Like Nyerere, Kaunda believed that the communities would collectively mobilise themselves to solve social problems facing them. The communities would only need external assistance in the form of resources for solving their collectively identified problems. The government accordingly assisted with financial and material resources as well as expertise, hence the collaboration between the government and the communities as it was under Ujamaa.

To ensure that there was strong community participation and cooperation for this kind of development, Kaunda encouraged the people in the rural areas to live in closely knit villages. The villages would serve as delivery and engine points for this kind of development, hence Humanism-Villagisation. For the urban areas this took the form of compounds, townships and suburbs. Using the state machinery, Kaunda had this community development approach implemented across the country through the first and second decades since independence.

Under Humanism-Villagisation community development approach, Zambia saw nearly every village having a school built, maintained and expanded by the communities themselves but staffed by the government. It was for this reason that many rural schools throughout the 1970s, 1980s and generally up to today had/have classrooms which were/are thatched with grass rather than roofed iron or asbestos sheets. The teachers' houses were also built and roofed/thatched by the communities themselves. Likewise, rural clinics and staff houses were built and maintained by the local communities and leadership. Government provided some funding and staff, equipment and medicines. There was one hospital in nearly every district one clinic for every three villages. This was due to the government's readiness to work *with* and not *for* the communities, as the state provision of free farming inputs reviewed in Chapter Four showed.

These experiences and the following case studies, from within and outside Africa, point to

potential lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model.

Case Study One: Mandela Village and water supply

Mandela village is located 45 kilometres north of Pretoria, South Africa. It originated as an informal settlement in 1991 and was until 1993 known as Leeuwkraal. Until 1995 the community's 6,000 residents lived without electricity, sewerage, water and other services. Private entrepreneurs sold water to the community. In 1993, the residents organised themselves to press for the services they lacked. With the help of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) the community's ANC-led committee approached the Gauteng (then Transvaal) Provincial Administration with its problems. The Administration asked the village committee for an Action Plan, which the committee submitted in 1994. Meanwhile the committee had been raising money through collections from the residents towards installing water supply in the village. By 1995 the committee had collected and banked R 50, 000 and had built a semi-complete primary school. For about a year, the community had no reply from the Administration about the Action Plan, much to the impatience of the residents who, having contributed R 50,000 (a great effort for an informal settlement), expected quick delivery of at least water supply to their area. The Administration's interim board, the Eastern Services Council, finally replied and told the community in April 1995 that there would be no official solutions to its problems until November 1995. The residents realised that nothing would be done for them unless they did it by themselves. The committee then started to deal directly with the institutions it thought would help the community. These included the Departments of Educations and Land Affairs, Eskom and Telkom. By November 1995, the community had achieved the following:

- the building of a SANCO office in the community, which helped to spearhead the community's development;
- Eskom's delivery of electricity to ALL households in Mandela village, and even to the neighbouring Marokolong community; Telkom's delivery of public pay telephone services; Education Department's allocation of funds for the completion of the half-built primary school and funds for the appointment of four teachers. By 1996, 900 pupils were attending this school; and most important
- Land Department's delivery of water through a private firm at the cost of R 1.2 million. There was a tap in the community at every 200 metres. The community reserved their contribution for the water supply in their houses, which was estimated to cost more than R 1 million. The government could not provide for water supply water in the residents' houses because this was beyond what the government policy of basic services allowed.

Source: Hagg, Gerald. "Real people-driven development is possible". *In Focus Forum*. (4). 1. 1996. pp 9-12.

Case Study Two: Orangi Township - Sanitation

Orangi is a squatter township in Karachi and has a population of one million. Although it had piped water supply, Orangi township had until 1996 no sewers. The residents used the bucket latrines which they emptied in the narrow alleys every four to five days. Children played in the filth. Diarrhoea, dysentery, scabies and typhoid were rampant. The neighbourhood associations, formed according to the township's lane, lobbied the municipal authorities for help. For many years the municipalities could not solve the township's sanitation problem due to the lack of resources. Even when the municipal authorities succumbed to the community's pressure and attended to the problem, the problem would recur because of quick fixes, poor workmanship and inadequate maintenance. Eventually, the municipal authorities discontinued their inadequate and irregular maintenance. It became clear to the residents that the municipal authorities would not build nor maintain their sanitation. It was became clear that foreign aid was unlikely following the observation by a UN development consultant who visited Orangi that "*Everything was wrong*", adding that there was nothing that could be done because the township had "*had no targets, no surveys, no master plan*". There was only one way left - the community itself finding the solutions for its problem.

It took the concern, care and philanthropy of a retired professor, Akhter Hameed Akhan, now a in development advocacy, for Orangi to solve its problem. The community was already organised and needed only direction, inspiration and assistance. Akhan met and discussed the Orangi community's problems with the community leaders (called neighbourhood or lane managers) and formed an organisation called Orangi Pilot Project (OPP). The OPP sought to investigate ways to solve Orangi's problems. With the help of volunteer university students, OPP under the leadership of Akhan researched the ways an costs for solving Orangi's problem. Among the solutions considered were: Soakaway drains - this was ruled out because of Karachi city's high water table which meant that soon the waste water would be overflowing into the lanes instead of soaking into the earth; Open sewers - this was ruled out too. Despite that they could remove the sewerage, open sewers could hardly solve Orangi's public health problem. The only adopted option was the installation of underground sewers, which the engineers said was too impossibly costly. OPP nevertheless settled for this option for its prospects of long term solutions. OPP decided they would forget about many technical standards and change the technology to suit the community and the resources available. They accordingly designed a manhole which was smaller and simpler than the conventional design and made its cover from concrete instead of metal. The weight of the concrete covers would prevent people from opening the manholes and throwing rubbish into the sewers, ending up in blockages. The cost of one manhole was significantly reduced to one sixth of the price the outside contractors had quoted. Meanwhile OPP called community meetings according to the neighbourhood organisations and urged the residents to work together to instal the sewers at their expenses. The costs were discussed and the local masons were asked to helped to help in the construction of the manhole covers. The lane mangers collected money from the community and arranged the material and labour. This had been going on since 1994. By 1996, Orangi township had installed 94,000 latrines, connected to 5,000 underground lane sewers and 400 secondary drains that carry waste water to local rivers. The residents spent $1,2 million, and $70,000 which OPP sourced, on the project. A typical family with an average monthly income of $30 bought an indoor latrine and had it connected to the a functioning lane and secondary sewer for $20, Towards maintenance (clearing the blockages and replacing the broken manhole covers), which is done by an organisation from within the community, the households pay 10 cents per month. Today in Orangi, "*the scent of flowers is overpowering*".

Source: Pearce, Fred . "Squatters take control". *New Scientist*. 1 June 1996. pp 38-42.

Case Study Three: Gibeon - From 'Clean Up Gibeon' campaign to 'Buckets and Pit'

Gibeon is a town in Namibia with about 4,000 people. It has a densely populated shanty-town area which is served by communal water stand pipes. The water comes from a dam which is 30 kilometres away. The toilets, until recently, had been the old, unpopular 'bucket-in-a-tin-shed" type: the buckets were collected at dawn by the council workers in an old truck that often dripped its unsavoury contents along the dusty streets. An NGO, Rural-people's Institute for Social Empowerment (RISE) operates in the area with the aim of helping the community to implement its initiatives. In 1993, with the facilitation of RISE, the Gibeon community resolved to dig pit latrines in reference to the "bucket" system of sanitation. However, the civic authorities would not allow them, arguing that pit latrines would pollute the ground. This was despite the fact that the source of the water 30 kilometres away and that Gibeon was situated on a hill. It was also despite a scientific study which found that pit latrines were a safer and better sanitation system for Gibeon community. For fear of offending the authorities, the community gave up and continued to endured the unsavoury stuff on the streets every morning until 1995. The community had just wound up cleaning their 'Clean Up Gibeon' campaign under the auspices of RISE when it resolved it was time it went ahead with the aborted 1993 campaign - replacing buckets with pits. More organised and courageous than before, the residents embarked on digging the pit latrines starting with the homes of the elderly and the incapacitated members of the community and then moving on to the rest of the community. They decided to dig for everyone because their aim was to change completely the community's sanitation system. It was later known that the community had been given some funding for this project by the European Community but it was blocked by the unhappy local authorities.

Work came to a stand still when the pickaxes hit the rocky ground. The community needed a jackhammer to continue and make the holes deeper. As this could not be secured, the work was discontinued. A government minister later visited and held a meeting with the community and inquired about the community's progress with the pit latrines, for which the European money had been so kindly sent. The community quickly responded through a female leader explaining their digging difficulties. There and then the minister commanded that a jackhammer be brought from the government works department in order to complete the project. This raised the campaign's profiles and encouraged the residents to do even more for themselves. The sanitation system in Gibeon has since 1995 changed. There is no more unsavoury stuff on the streets in the morning.

Source: Mavrocordatos, Alex. "Development theatre and the process of re-empowerment: The Gibeon story". *Development in Practice*. (8). 1. 1998. pp 8-20.

Case Study Four: Bromley-Heath - Self-organised social service delivery

Bromley-Heath is a low-income housing community in Jamaica Plain in Massachusetts. Built in 1964, Bromley-Heath consisted of 1, 216 units and 3,000 residents. The Boston Housing Authority managed and maintained this community. By 1973, this community had degenerated. Crime had increased so much that it was nicknamed "Concrete Jungle". There were over 4000 broken windows, tons of garbage and debris, scores of leaky roof, inoperative boilers and piling volumes of unheeded orders for repair and maintenance. The delivery of basic services like bread, milk, and furniture had been stopped. The residents negotiated with the Boston Housing Authority if they could take over the running of their community. Their wish was granted and they formed the Resident/Tenant Management Corporation, run by a 12-member board of directors. The board organised residents meetings, collected residents' monthly contributions, and planned and coordinated development work towards the restoration of services and order in the community. By the end of 1973, the Resident Management Corporation had successfully regained the community's reputation, having reduced the crime rate. It had repaired the broken windows and screen doors and had removed the tons of filth and debris that had characterised the community and had even started the beautification campaign of vegetable and flower gardening. The community achieved all this through self-mobilisation, organisation, education, communication negotiation. This has since remained one of the most successful cases of residents addressing their needs.

Source: Caprara, D and Alexander, B. 1989. *Empowering Residents of public Housing*. Washington, DC: NCNE. pp 49-51.

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> **Case Study Five: Matebeleland - Economic independence after political independence**
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> Before 1980, Matebeleland was one of the most underdeveloped and depressed areas with acute poverty and the highest rate of illiteracy in Zimbabwe. Today, it is one of the most productive regions in Zimbabwe. Prior to 1980, Matebeleland mainly provided farm labourers. Determined to regain their dignity and acquire economic independence, following their 1980 political independence, the Mandebele people began to take collective initiative for self-development. They invoked the traditional culture of *Amallma*, which means people getting together to work and help themselves, and *Ilima*, which means mutual help groups. They subsequently formed village associations and met regularly to discuss their problems and possible solutions. This gradually led to the initiation of development actions in various fields: carpentry, netwire making, sewing, building, basketry, wood carving and ox-yoke making. The villages also solved such problems as water and sanitation in the same collective ways - like sinking boreholes for water. The Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP), formed in 1981, facilitated the villages' development endeavours. It facilitated the village association's acquisition and improvement of skills and securing of financial and material resources. ORAP served as an umbrella body for the various village associations and was chaired by an elected member who came from a village association and was run by a few full-time profession and semi-professional staff. By June 1987, there were 500 villages associations affiliated ORAP and about three of these village association had even moved into more lucrative food processing storage work. These experiences are indeed some of the successful cases of dynamic self-organisng and self-generating economic development and empowerment based on the mobilisation of domestic energy and resources.

Source: Rahman, Anisur. "Glimpses of the 'Other Africa'" in A. Rahaman. 1993. *People's Self-Development: Perspectives on participatory action research - A journey through experience*. London: Zed Books. pp 118-140.

> **Case Study Six: Phola Park Residents Association: The quest for upgrading the community**
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> Phola Park is an informal settlement near Alberton on the East Rand. The residents comprise migrant labourers from Kwa-Zulu Natal and Mozambique as well as various other informal settlers. Accordingly, there are Inkhata Freedom Party and African National Congress (ANC) members residing in this community. In 1990, the residents organised themselves and formed the Residents Association which was tasked with seeking the formal recognition and upgrading of the community. Self-organisation by communities similar to this was common in the country at the time. The civic authorities provided the necessary facilitation as long as the residents were organised and complied with the requirements. Alberton Authorities accordingly responded favourably to Phola community's request and started the process of upgrading it towards the end of 1990, using the services of a technical service consulting organisation and the funding from the Independent Development Trust. A considerable amount of money had been spent and the project was about to be implemented when trouble started in Phola community, bringing all work to a stand still. The Residents Association leaders were attacked at night at their homes by groups calling themselves Self Defence Units. The Association leaders were ultimately ousted and told not to operate again by the Self-Defence Units, which represented the residents alleged to be against the planned development. The attacks eventually assumed political lines, with those against the planned development allegedly Inkhata members and those for the Residents Association and development being primarily African National Congress (ANC) members. As time went by, several Self-Defence Units surfaced each with a high level of solidarity: Inkhata, ANC and 'illegal aliens'. With sections of the community resisting the development saying they wanted to preserve their integrity and defend the land on which they had settled, no further development was done in Phola.

Source: Narsoo, Monty. "Doing what comes naturally: A development role for the civic movement". *Policy: Issues and Actors*. (6). 2. 1993. pp 1-19.

Assessing the cases beyond success: Towards an analytical framework for the beneficiary-driven development

The above case studies dismiss the overly pessimistic arguments that there is little or no evidence of sustainable community development and community empowerment through participatory community development approaches. They also dismiss the argument that despite their theoretical appeal and clarity, participatory development approaches have only had limited success (cf. White, 1995). With such diversity of places in which the case studies took place, participatory approaches' success cannot be dismissed " *as random success which cannot be generalised to other situations*" (Woodson in Caprara and Alexander, 1989: ix). The case studies also falsify the assertions that participatory community development approaches are parochial as they lack a broader conception of development (see Woodson in Caprara and Alexander, 1989). From these case studies, it does not seem to be true that participatory approaches can always be labourious, time consuming and too costly in comparison to their results. There seems to be no evidence from the case studies to suggest that participatory approaches can inundate the system (government) with excessive uncoordinated demands for assistance and facilitation for development, undermine its capacity to process the demands and ultimately hinder development (cf. White, 1995). Given the context in which the case studies' projects arose, it can be argued that in fact participatory approaches are a function of rationalistic rather than utopia and/or charismatic thinking (cf. Woodson, 1989). Perhaps this was in fact the reason for the cases' high rate of success.

Causes, not failure

There is no denying that some self-generating participatory community development attempts

have failed or nipped in their budding stages. In some instances, even when they have been implemented, some attempts have gradually been discontinued, making the claims of sustainable development through participation to appear unlikely. This is evident in the above Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa experiences and in the six case studies above. Thus, for instance, the complete abandonment and/or oblivion of Kaunda's Humanism-Villagisation and Nyerere's Ujamaa might be testimonies to the alleged failure or inability of participatory community development approaches. Similarly, the fact that proponents of participatory approaches are still lone voices in an increasingly professionalised market-oriented development despite the claims of increasing intellectual support for participatory community development since the 1970s might also indicate the participatory approaches's loss of favour perhaps due to their failure and difficulties. For instance, self-organising participatory community development work in one of the six case studies reviewed earlier, Phola community, completely failed. As usual, development scholars and policy makers have been quick and ready to point notice failures of self-organising participatory community development like this case at the earliest sign of their going into jeopardy. Likewise, those directly responsible for the projects (in this particular case, the Independent Development Trust) have changed their course quickly. Such hurried change of course might not only indicate the acknowledgement of failure but also vindicate the sceptical views about participatory approaches. South Africa's experience with the Reconstruction and Development Programme provides the example.

No sooner had the Reconstruction and Development Programme begun to be implemented than it got criticised. Even people with really nothing of consequence to say, as far as development studies is concerned, became authorities on participatory community-driven development approaches with one message: the Reconstruction and Development Programme was not working

and would never work. Steadily the critique began to take its toll. The programme instantly lost

the allure it had gained less than a year earlier. Its tempo slowed to jerks, sometimes forcing one

to think it was no more. Reports abounded about the impending closure of the ministry

responsible for the programme. It did not end there. As if to confirm the concerns about the

programme crumbling and as if to reaffirm the prophesied failure of participatory community

development approaches in general and the Reconstruction and Development Programme in

particular, the first ever Minister in charge of the programme got transferred to another ministry

in a Cabinet reshuffle of March 1996. Today, the Reconstruction and Development Programme

looks like a fading letter (Callinicos, 1996).

It can be argued therefore that if the failure of participatory approaches is indeed evident, so is

the lack of lasting commitment among development scholars and practitioners to engendering

participatory development approaches. Development scholars are as ready to criticise

participatory approaches and theories as are practitioners quick to abandon participatory

community development initiatives at the slightest sign of futility. Robert Chambers (1994: 1)

rightly points out this as he observes that "*some of the participatory paradigm's ideas passed so*

fast that prescriptions and policies were abandoned before they had time to adapt and improve

in the light of mistakes and experiences. We seem not to get there or get there in time". As the

literature review showed, the most favoured conventional professionalised top-down

development approaches themselves are not with flaws - they are costly, they are time consuming

due to the development bureaucracies and the hackneyed responses like the lack of funding, and

the results often leave intended beneficiaries' aspirations unsatisfied, etc.

The arguments of time consuming, slowness, labouriousness, potential excesses, parochialism

and charisma instead of rationality aside, it would appear that participatory development approaches or models in Africa have failed because they have generally lacked intellectual support. As Kyalo Mativo (1989: 342-343) rightly maintains, "*the Western perceptions and perspectives about communication and development were carefully planted and nurtured into the minds of the unsuspecting African intellectuals, creating biases against indigenous or any models other than the Western ones*", which were heralded as "*models of 'human development and communication' par excellence*". To think that many such an intellectual would see much sense in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Humanism-Villagisation or Ujamaa, would be like expecting Western democracy proponents to vote to the right of Chairman Mao Zedong, which is to expect too much. The request by the World Bank in 1995 to run and direct the Reconstruction and Development Programme on the behalf of South Africa, with the programme receiving extra funding from the Bank, bespeaks the point being made about how hard convention development thinking finds it to accommodate new participatory context-specific development approaches. The South African government refused and lost the promised funding. The government however did not regret losing that funding because it had not asked for it.

Not that failure should be denied or that development policy makers and practitioners should let projects continue despite their signs of perversity and/or futility. Rather, the point is that it is not enough to simply prophesy the failure of participatory development projects or to state that they would fail or they have failed. The most important aspects are what have often been ignored by the critics of participatory approaches. These include unravelling and understanding the nature and dynamics of participation in the community development projects purported to be participatory, whether they succeeded or failed. This analysis would help to avoid the causes of

failure and/or to enhance the success of participatory approaches. Question for such analysis might include the following: Why did the self-organising community project fail or succeed? How participatory was the process, how much or what kind of participation was allowed? Can the process be said to been agency-or community-driven? How were the development imperatives initiated? How representative was the decision-making process? Apart from declaring failure or success, what lessons for future action has the process left? Questions such as these beg answers not only to justify the allegations of failure but also to find ways of making the approaches work. In successful cases, answers to these questions would help to reinforce and replicate the efforts and to assess how the communities are achieving the objectives of participatory development such as empowerment and human growth, independence and the ability to *fish on one's own*.

Unless critical inquiries are conducted along the lines of the above questions, participatory approaches will appear to fail and continue to do so, and make their critique to become self-fulfilling prophecies according to the Pygmalion effect[7]. Thus, it would be more helpful to investigate the causes of failure/success of the well-intended Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa, and the six case studies along these lines than to simply say they experiences were failures or successes. In the case of Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa participatory community approaches, their failures were partly due to the way the processes were conducted. Abutting more on political than development ideologies, Ujamaa and Humanism-Villagisation increasingly shifted from being participatory approaches for self-reliant community development. In both cases the development and political leadership enjoined the people to participate but only

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[7] The Pygmalion effect states that when you start to treat somebody or something as X, an X is what that person or thing shall become and remain. Rosenthal, Robert and Lenore Jacobson. 1968. *Pygmalion in the classroom: Teacher expectation and pupils' intellectual development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

as they were told. For Tanzania, as Goran Hyden (1982: 118) observes, *"the unwillingness which policy-makers found in Bukoba among the peasants to heed and support official government policies stemmed from the government's failure to appreciate the peasants' world views while requiring them to adopt the government's own version of Ujamaa"*. Regarding Humanism-Villagisation, Kaunda's notion of decentralisation with centralism pointed to the approach's disposition of allowing only 'directed participation'. Through this notion, the authorities led, controlled and directed community development initiatives. Accordingly, this was intended to ensure controlled, disciplined and responsible implementation of development initiatives (Kaunda, 1969). Thus, there was effectively no participation by the communities in both Ujamaa and Humanism-Villagisation. As Norman Miller (1972: 441) observes in these approaches the hierarchies or structures throughout the communities were *"designed primarily to pass orders down and to transmit grass-roots information up"*. The structures were rarely designed to *"pass up information when development programs are going badly"*.

As it was shown in the previous chapters' discussions on why and how communities would soon or later abandon imposed innovations, Ujamaa and Humanism-Villagisation approaches' failed, hence their seeming oblivion, because of their centralised control of the supposedly community-based processes. This kind of 'participation' fosters debilitating patronage, which prevents most of the intended beneficiaries from participating in their development processes. Therefore, it would appear that community development under Tanzania's Ujamaa and Zambia's Humanism-Villagisation failed to be sustainable primarily because these approaches did not encourage spontaneous participation and organic initiation of development ideas by the intended beneficiary communities (cf. Hyden, 1982).

Similarly, centralised control and restricted participation could have cased the problems that emerged in Phola community. Central control of the processes by the seemingly partisan Phola community Residents Association leadership could have prevented some members of the community from participating fully in the processes. In such cases, as indeed it was in Phola community, the projects would face the risk of sabotage, crippling and distortion by all or some of the very intended beneficiaries.

Other possible causes of participatory development approaches' failure and sources of concern, which are particularly evident in the experiences reviewed earlier, include leadership conflicts, and the attendant lack of consensus, cooperation and participation in the community. Communication, external agency-facilitation viz-a-viz community participation in decision-making, the communities' relations with external agencies, galvanisation of the communities into action with little or slow results, the length of time the processes might take and accountability for, and maintenance of, resources acquired for community projects pose as further concerns for self-organising community development.

It is clear that, among other factors, Phola community failed to proceed with their planned development because of leadership conflicts, which were largely politically motivated. The same problem nearly completely derailed Gibeon community's project. Norman Miller (1972) also notes the similar problem as one of the causes of failure of self-organising community development under Ujamaa. Unlike in Phola community where there were at least two political parties, in Tanzanian communities there was only one party, Tanganyika African Union Party (TANU). Yet, there were leadership conflicts in collective projects. Thus, most residents, especially farmers, were reluctant to cooperate in community work unless it was led by traditional

leaders and not political leaders. Reasons for this included the political leaders' abuse of power and *"excessive decrees and/or demands on the communities"*, with little or no involvement of most of residents in decision-making (Miller, 1972: 433). So, the leadership problem can occur regardless of the number of political parties present in the community, although the more parties there are the more likely the leadership problem is to be partisan. Further, the problem can present itself as an intra-community leadership conflict, as it did in Phola community. It could also present itself as a community-external authority conflict, as it did in Gibeon community and generally under the Ujamaa approach. In all such instances, as the experiences reviewed earlier showed, it would be difficult to achieve consensus and cooperation. There would be diminishing community participation and the attempts at self-organising community development would often be unsuccessful.

Even in the cases and instances where participatory community development approaches have been successful, critical examination still shows causes for concern. One of the concerns is about sustaining the community's initial zeal in all community projects, often caused by the community's leaders' tendencies to underestimate the tasks involved for the communities to achieve their desired output. The leaders would rightly tell their communities that all depended on how quickly they acted for the service to be delivered. The communities would then contribute and/or eagerly work hard but without the results. Galvanising the communities into action without the results in this way would prevent some residents from participating in future collective endeavours. This was part of the problems in Mandela village, where the community raised R 50,000, expecting quick delivery of water into their houses but without results. It also happened in Gibeon community, where the residents had given up their initiative for two years. It would appear that poor intra-communication partly caused this problem.

In other successful cases such as the Matebeleland, the concern about whether the initiatives in such development are originated by the village associations or by the facilitating agency, in this case ORAP. This concern also applies to Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa cases. The important point in participation is who sets the agenda and controls the process. In facilitation, there is always a risk of the facilitating agencies (government, NGOs, donors, etc) taking total control of the processes, allowing little or no input from the beneficiary villages and/or communities in decision-making. In such cases, facilitation has not served the purpose of easing the communities' own development. Rather, it has been used as "*a mechanism to serve the purposes of outsiders who have their own agenda*" (Edwards, 1989: 129). The problem is that this results in the communities' real aspirations being misperceived and/or missed, as the outsiders do not and would not have the real picture of the problems of the communities whose agenda they set. This perpetuates the kind of development practice of telling people to "*eat nutritious foods when they are not locally affordable, to bring children to Under-Five Clinics which are inaccessible due to physical or social distance (i.e. women being embarrassed to attend as they do not wish to be compared with the better-off) or to tell people to grow certain crops without factors of production which would make this possible*" (Edwards, 1989: 126-127).

Furthermore, communities would achieve little in terms of empowerment and the ability to *fish on their own*. They would remain or become dependent. When the facilitating agencies finally pull out of the communities, the projects/innovation also go down. This has been the cause of unsustainable development and the continuing or worsening poverty of most communities. The absence of a continuing project/innovation which was initiated under Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa and the continued social deprivation of most of the communities where these approaches applied serves to prove this point.

From the above discussion, it would appear that attempts participatory development approaches have tended to fail firstly because the processes have been conducted in pseudo-participatory ways. Development scholars, policy makers and practitioners have consciously or unconsciously permeated what has been meant to be participatory/community-driven approaches with top-down ethos and practices of development and communication, which are largely about pro-innovation, manipulative attitudinal change. Secondly, such development has often been unsustainable because development imperatives have been based on the outsiders' (mis)perceptions.

What is required in all attempts of participatory community development is the real participation of the intended beneficiaries in their development processes. This entails encouraging organic and spontaneous community participation and ensuring that the development imperatives originate from the beneficiary communities' lived realities. Real participation would ensure that development efforts are directed at solving what the communities perceive as real problems. This would require only solicited facilitation. Such facilitation would not only lead to sustainable solutions of community problems but also meaningful community participation. As Norman Miller (1972: 425) asserts, "*meaningful participation should be that which brings about grass-roots improvement*". This participation requires to begin at the "*grass-roots level*". Unfortunately, this has often not been the case because, as Anisur Rahman (1993: 32), "*participation has been defined and carried out by the educated elites within the limits of their perceptions*". Under such situations, it is doubtful whether the people really participate. It would appear, as Theodore Thomas (1985: 17) points out, that "*there is either a serious deficiency in, or a complete lack of, the implementation strategy*" for real participatory development approaches. This realisation calls for concerted and practical efforts, ideas and policies which would ensure that the communities really participate and take the lead in their own development.

It is the execution that is new.

If participatory approaches to self-reliant and sustainable community development must work, there is need to relocate real decision-making in community development, and not just a tokenism of it, in the hands of the intended beneficiaries themselves. This avoids the tokenism of community participation and provides good grounds active participation by the beneficiaries and for sustaining the projects. This requires approaching the needy as people who know their problems. It may be problematic but its holds the prospects for meaningful, effective, successful and sustainable community development, as it avoids imposing 'falsely' perceived problems on the intended beneficiary communities for which only the same *experts* often have solutions. Thus, this requires the *experts'* to know the several types of degrees of citizen participation with a view to avoiding tokenism and the attendant causes of community resentment and non-participation. Table Six below illustrates the several categories of citizen participation degrees.

Table Six
Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation

8. Citizen control	
7. Delegated power	Degrees of citizen power
6. Partnership	
5. Placation	
4. Consultation	Degrees of tokenism
3. Informing	
2. Therapy	Nonparticipation
1. Manipulation	

Source: Unreferenced Town Planning Journal, 1969:1.

Communication: The Participatory Communication Approach[8]

Communication is not only a component but the basis of development. It is through communication that development decisions are made and disseminated. Therefore for development to be context-specific and to be relevant to the intended beneficiary community, the intended beneficiaries must be actively involved in the decision and implementation processes. This would create a favourable atmosphere for the communities' mutual comprehension, positive attitude, goodwill, legitimacy, sense of ownership and responsibility towards the development projects or interventions. Involving the communities in making decisions about their development would facilitate the identification of priorities according to the communities' own perception, which would in turn lead effective, successful and sustainable development interventions. Furthermore, consensual identification of community development problems would open up collective strategies for confronting the problems. Through such convergence and synergy, the communities would be able to achieve, within relatively shorter periods, more with less, hence the '2 + 2 = 5 Effect'.

The means for ensuring that the intended development beneficiaries get collectively involved in making decisions about their development, hence beneficiary-driven development, lies with communication. This entails the development beneficiary communities having access to *communication* rather than *information*. For its prospects to allow horizontal/lateral and vertical communication in the community, the Oral Participatory Communication approach appears to

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[8]

Participatory communication refers to the social process through which communities with common problems and interests jointly make decisions oriented to the improvement of their existential situation. See Bella Mody. 1991. *Designing messages for development communication: An audience-based approach.* New Delhi: Sage.

be the most suitable approach for this kind of development. Retaining either the Development Communication approach or the Development Support Communication approach in the beneficiary-driven development model would be like *"tearing a patch from a new garment and sewing it on an old one or like pouring new wine into old wine skins"*[9]. If that were done, the approaches would be misplaced and the model flawed. The old development paradigm would continue and the vision for the beneficiary-driven development model would remain a dream.

The Oral Participatory Communication approach is message receiver-centred. It resembles the reception model of communication in that like the reception model of communication the Oral Participatory Communication approach radically shifts from the popular transmission models of communication. It emphasises including the views of the intended audiences in the communication processes as a way of ensuring that the messages, once transmitted, yield the intended reaction and change. Like the reception model of communication, the Oral Participation Communication approach recognises that the audiences play a key role in making communication effective. This approach also recognises the potential weaknesses of the communicator in giving meaning to messages (cf. McQuail, 1994). Table Seven below presents the Participatory Communication approach with its characteristics.

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[9]The Gospel according to St Luke. Luke 5: 36-39.

Table Seven
The Participatory Communication approach[10]

Source: Grassroots/communities of intended beneficiaries;
Structure: Bottom-up; mutual comprehension
Paradigm/model: Popular Participation paradigm; Reception model
Level: Community; locality
Media: 'Oramedia'; local means of making sense; information technology;
Effects: Empowerment, self-worth, sustainable, effective, relevant yet less costly improvements in people's lives; enhanced acceptance of change
Pattern: Message receiver-centred; dialogical, lateral and vertical
Disposition: Context-specific

Participatory Communication approach is premised on the understanding that any theory of communication is a theory of community (van Schoor, 1979). Both the content and the means of communication must relate to the context in which communication is taking place and applying. It is for this reason that the Oral Participatory Communication approach emphasises the process of communication, ie, the exchange and collective construction of meaning more than information. The approach values the social relationships created by communication and the social effects resulting from such relationships because of these aspects' potential to facilitate consistent organic and spontaneous community participation (cf. Dervin, 1980). The approach's

[10]Participatory communication approach is entirely the author's own creation based on the referenced citations in this thesis. It may not be found in any text in the form it is presented here.

greatest benefits therefore lie in its implications for engendering collective message design and community participation, which is the core of this study. Thus, while the beneficiary-driven development model calls for context-specific development based the intended development beneficiaries' lived realities and the meanings they attach to them, the Oral Participatory Communication approach provides the praxis between this explication and practice.

Media: 'Oramedia'

In order to play the role outlined above, communication requires the media which are accessed widely and easily by the majority of the particular development beneficiary communities. For many parts of Africa, such access would be unlikely if the information technologies such as radio, television, newspapers, computers, and telephones take the central position. Information technologies in many parts of Africa are inadequately distributed and accessed. The information technical infrastructures themselves are insufficiently available. Even where the technical infrastructures are sufficient to warrant a broader transmission of messages, access to such media as radio and television sets still remains an acute hindrance. Many people lack the money to purchase these media. Zambia's current situation is a case in point. . Thus, for Zambia, out of a population of -/+8 million[11], only 1 million or only 8 in every 100 people have access to radio sets; and only 3 million or 24 in every 100 people have access to television sets (*Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation survey*, 1993; Mukela, 1994). Of these people, some own both radio and television sets. This is generally the typical situation of Sub-Saharan African countries.

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[11] Central Statistics Office, Zambia. *Census of population and housing 1990 final report on Zambia.* Since 1990, census in Zambia will every ten years instead of five years. The next census is expected in 2000. Thus this figure may be an under enumeration of the current population in Zambia. The annual growth rate estimated in 1990 was 2.7%.

Telephone figures per head are too insignificant to register in many of these countries. As Cees

Hamelink (1995) notes, many of these countries have less than one telephone line per 100

inhabitants.

Like in many Sub-Saharan African countries, the information technical infrastructures also are

insufficiently distributed in Zambia. The kind of available technical infrastructure itself adds to

the limitation. Thus, owing to the use of only terrestrial transmitters, Zambia's nationally owned

television station is only able to cover adequately about four (Southern, Lusaka, Central,

Copperbelt) out of the nine provinces. For the rest of the country, reception is only possible to

those living within 50 kilometres' radius of the provincial headquarters.

Illiteracy is yet another impediment in the effective use of certain information technologies if the

beneficiary-driven development has to work. Thus, although Zambia's illiteracy rate is quite low

at 25% (Mukela, 1994), the illiteracy rate is quite high in Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. It is

estimated that between 1995 and 2000, the illiteracy rate will rise from 57% to 62% in Sub-

Saharan Africa in general (UNESCO, 1994). Such illiteracy rate places limitations on the

development communication efficacy of, say, print media, especially in cases where vernacular

newspapers are no longer published as the case is in Zambia (see Kasoma and Leslie, 1990).

Worse still, the few English or French dailies tend to be concentrated in the urban areas in many

of these Sub-Saharan countries. In Zambia, it takes about a week for a newspaper to reach many

rural parts of Luapula and Northern provinces. Even then, this is done through by bus travellers

and not through planned distribution by the media firms[12].

Although in many Sub-Saharan countries there is non-encrypted or free-to-air television and radio transmission, there are further premiums on television and radio set owners, and hence on the efficacy of the media in terms of the beneficiary-driven development model. These include the high costs of maintenance vis-a-vis the lack of expert repairmen. In many of these countries these media often do not come with any warranties.

Such unequal distribution of the communication infrastructure and the lack of access to the communication media by many due to the various factors outlined above, can certainly hinder wide and broad participation in development. Limited access to the communication media will tend to decrease not only people's power but also their control over decisions concerning their development (cf. Hamelink, 1995). In this case, very little can be expected in terms of the beneficiary-driven development model and its values and principles such as ensuring the communities' access to communication rather than to information.

Given the limitations of the information technologies, as shown in the foregoing sections, 'oramedia' are seen to be the better modes for particpatory communication. In the situations where there is broader ownership of mass media (televisions and radio sets, etc.) in the communities, 'oramedia' may be used in combination with the mass media. This innovation would facilitate broader community input and participation in development, as long as the

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Except where appropriately acknowledged, the information presented in these sections, especially pertaining to Zambia, was obtained during my doctoral research in 1996 by way of interviews with various people such as the Press Liaison Officer, Min. of Broadcasting & Information, Zambia.

communities have unhindered access to communication and decision-making in their development. In such instances, however, the mass media must have the feedback capabilities to allow the communities' input in decision-making. This is essential for ensuring the identification of the communities' popular aspirations (cf. McQuail, 1983). Thus, whatever media are used, they should facilitate rather than inhibit broader community participation in decision-making and they should facilitate horizontal/vertical and lateral communication within the community and between the community its outside external facilitators (Kasongo, 1998). It is for this reason that 'oramedia' are said to be the better mode for particpatory communication in beneficiary-driven community development[13].

Basically, 'oramedia', as conceived in this thesis, refer to traditional/folk media, which are primarily oral.[14] Traditional or fork media have been defined as *"communication systems embedded in the culture that existed before the arrival of mass media, and still exists as a vital mode of communication in many parts of the world, presenting a certain degree of continuity, despite change"* (Wang and Dissanayake, 1984: 22). They have also been defined as *"living expressions of the lifestyle and culture of a people, evolved through the years"* (Rangathan, 1975: 12). These definitions testify the potent role folk media can play in community development. They encourage dialogue, which can foster *"a vitally important view of the cosmos which has implanted basic beliefs and behavioural pattern in the audiences"* (Van Hoosen, 1984: 127).

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[13]

For further discussion on 'oramedia', see Frank Ugboajah, 1982. 'Oramedia or traditional media as effective options for rural development in Africa'. *Communication Socialis Yearbook*. II. (1982-83). pp 24-35; _____. 1986. 'Communication as technology in African rural development'. *African Media Review*. 1. (1). pp 1-19.

[14]

These media may take the form of folk theatre, folklore and face-to-face small/big group oral communication.

Since the late 1970s, as Randall Casey (1975: 1) points out, development scholars and practitioners have been realising, though very slowly, that traditional media *"possess communication channels that can serve as means to stimulate development. These channels use local idioms and are people-based"*. What makes traditional media even more useful is that, as Randall Casey (1975: 1) notes, *"they are compatible with mass media and extension (local development) workers"*, hence the point in the assertion made earlier that 'oramedia' can be used in combination with the mass media. The Oral Particpatory Communication approach proposed in this chapter provides the opportunity to facilitate smooth and quick practice of what has been long realised but not practised, as this discussion has shown.

Anticipated limitations

The quest for minimising or even avoiding the potential limitations of the beneficiary-driven development model's potential limitations, especially the ones identified and discussed in the case studies reviewed earlier, necessitated two empirical research studies. The research studies were conducted in 1996 in three rural communities in Zambia's Mansa, Serenje and Mbala districts and another in 1997 in a South African urban township of Clermont, near Durban. The studies sought to investigate the ways and possibilities for organic self-organising community development based on local initiatives and imperatives and in which the beneficiaries would participate spontaneous and consistently without:

- the communities' initial enthusiasm waning,

- leadership friction between community leaders, i.e., project leaders, traditional leaders and civic/political leadership,

- community factions or differences about the course of action in the community,

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- few individuals dominating the processes,

- excessive dependence on external facilitating resource systems or agencies,

- the external facilitating agencies setting the agenda,

- problems relating to administration and care for the resources secured for the communities' self-organising development projects and without

- the processes being too long, labourious and time consuming.

The findings, and hence the possible solutions to these limitations, are presented and discussed in the next two Chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to theorise and suggest some way towards sustainable community development in Africa. The chapter has proposed the beneficiary-driven development model, whose means lies with the Oral Participatory Communication approach. Both the model and the communication approach are located under what is termed here as the communication and development paradigm of reversals and practical diversities. This paradigm calls for conducting development beyond unilinear assumptions of macro modelling to ensure the end-user initiated, context-specific development. 'Oramedia' are proposed as the most suitable communication media for this kind of development. The model's potential benefits include achieving sustainable community development and preventing Africa's past errors in development. Many of these errors have been caused by the (Western) logic and rationality, employed by development practitioners in developing the allegedly 'culturally backward' African communities. This has caused the development impasse, which has led to the intended beneficiaries' real aspirations being ignored. Thus, despite years of logical innovations from the Western World, the intended

beneficiaries's conditions have remained generally unchanged and occasionally worse off, while they have continued with their centuries old ways of making sense. The question which this situation begs is not whether or not the same manner of development should continue. Rather, the question is: What is the possible alternative? This is the understanding with which the beneficiary-driven development model or theory has been advanced in this chapter.

Chapter Seven
Exploring the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work for participatory lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model: The Zambian case studies.[1]

There is nothing new about our present interest in social life and its problems. All times there have been thinkers who have concerned themselves with questions of society and the individuals composing it. Yet, it is only in comparatively recent times that the scientist has attempted to answer the questions: How do people behave towards each other? How were societies built up and their institutions developed? Knowledge may be gained from the study of man's man.
James Brown, 1947: 1-2.

Prologue

This chapter and the next one discuss the findings of the field research studies conducted as part

of this doctoral thesis. The studies were conducted for the purposes of exploring conjectural and

empirical lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model. Conjectural lessons were

intended for addressing the potential limitations of the beneficiary-driven development model

which were expressed at the end of the previous chapter. They were explored through conducting

inquiries into the pre-modern indigenous African forms or modes of communal work. Empirical

lessons were intended for testing or assessing the possibility of the beneficiary-driven

development model in today's communities. These lessons were explored through the

participating in communal projects undertaken in the communities of studies. The findings and

lessons are discussed in this chapter and the next one.

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[1]

In development studies terms, modernisation period refers to the 1950s. Although essentially the same as modernisation , diffusionist period refers to the 1960s. The 1970s and 1980s are depicted as the dependency and autonomous development periods respectively. So by pre-modern is meant the period before the 1950s. However, in this thesis the term is more flexibly and broadly used to refer to the period before and between the 1950s and 1970s because, as modernisation did not dawn like light does when a bulb is switched on, many African communities retained much of their pre-modern dispositions even through the 1970s. There are certainly several other forms of periodisation, some of which are even more encompassing, like Golden Age which refers to the period between 1945 and the 1960s. For more discussion, see Goran Hyden. 1994: 310.

The aims, objectives, period and districts of the studies

The aims of the studies

The overall aims of the studies were:

- to contribute to the quest for sustainable development through the search for ideas that would help to foster a context-specific participatory community-driven development model for Africa,

- to explore the role of communication and decision-making in ensuring the achievement of effective, relevant and sustainable community development, and

- to fulfil the academic requirement for my doctoral studies.

Objectives of the studies

The following constituted the specific objectives of the studies:

- to inquire into the African indigenous/traditional modes or practices of communal work with a view to drawing lessons that can be appropriated for the beneficiary-driven development model,

- to inquire about the communication and decision-making processes and the media used in communal work practices and draw some lessons which can facilitate the achievement of effective, relevant and sustainable community development,

- to assess the possibility of, and draw empirical lessons for, the beneficiary-driven development model through observing and participating in community projects being undertaken in communities of study.

Study districts

The first set of studies were conducted in three districts in the northern part of Zambia. These were Mansa district in Luapula province, Serenje district in Central province and Mbala district in Northern province. All these districts are in the rural area. The inquiries were conducted in the rural areas and not in the urban areas due to quest for indigenous conjectural lessons for the model. The following are the three villages where the studies were conducted. Each village was in different district:

- Musaila village in Chief Mibenge's area in Mansa district was the first study village. Like the rest of Mansa district, Musaila is inhabited by the Ushi people. The studies were conducted in this village in September 1996.

- Kapini village in Chief Kabamba's area in Serenje district was the second study village. It is inhabited by the Lala people. The studies were conducted in this village from the end of September to mid-October.

- Motomoto village in Chief Tafuna's area in Mbala district was the last study village. The studies in this village were conducted from mid-October to the beginning of November 1996. This village's inhabitants are the Mambwe people[2].

Although the time spent on the whole study was about three months, August to November 1996, the studies lasted about three weeks in each village, with an average of one week being spent on travelling between the study villages, and on negotiating natural and human hardships. The following map of Zambia shows the geographical location of the study districts.

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[2]Despite the variation in their tribal grouping names and indeed in their speech, the people among whom the studies were conducted are one tribe culturally and linguistically: the Bemba.

Figure Six
Map of Zambia: The study districts
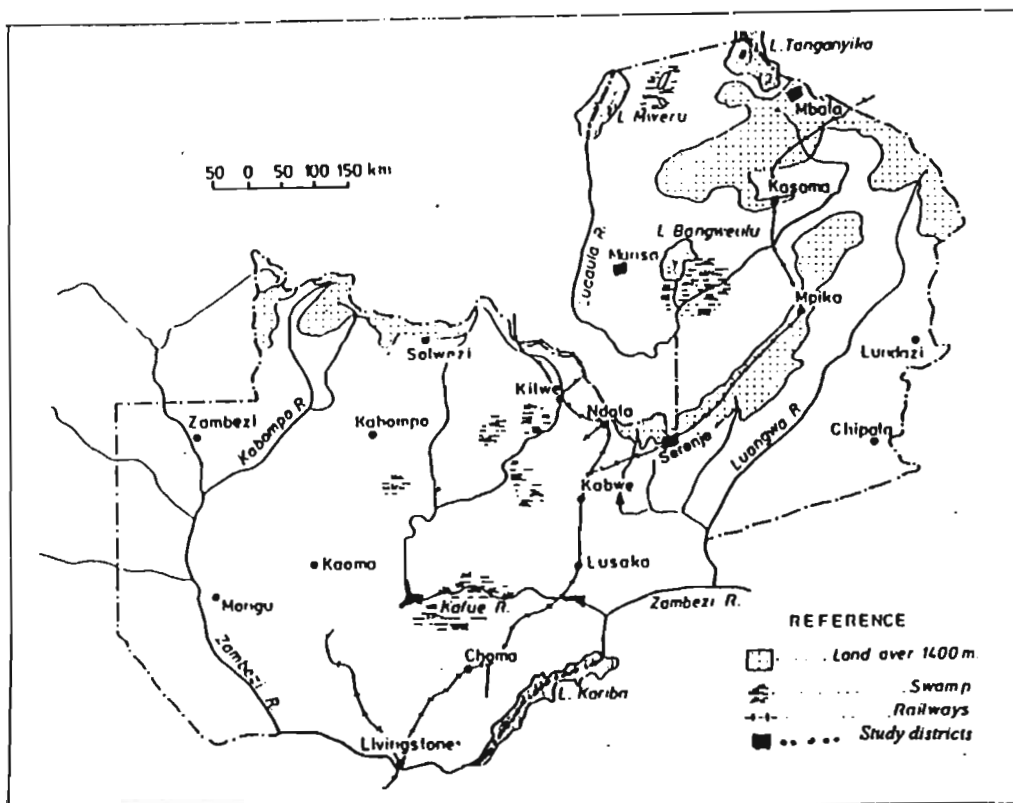
Methodology

The methodology used in these studies was qualitative research. The reasons for using this methodology included the studies' reliance on unwritten records, oral narratives. The methodology was also seen to be the most suitable because it enabled this researcher to get the views of the interviewees/participants as perceived by (the participants) themselves. Qualitative research allows the use of such techniques as interviews, participant observation and analysis of unwritten accounts, which were the techniques that were most applicable in these studies. Thus, qualitative research such as this one "*is not defined at the level of method but at the level of paradigm*" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 250). As Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor (1984: 9) point out, a qualitative paradigm is guided by a broad and flexible design which should relate to the particular "*contingencies and it aims at producing the participants' own spoken words and observable behaviour and directs itself at settings and individuals in the settings holistically*". These aspects made the qualitative research methodology the most suitable for these studies.

Choice of study sites

The study districts, villages and the participants were drawn through the *preference/purposive* sampling procedure of the non-probability sampling methods[3]. The choice of my study districts and villages was based on the following conditions: the districts had one Zambian language, iciBemba, which is this researcher's mother tongue. This made it easy for the researcher to

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[3]

In this method, sampling is based on the judgement of the researcher regarding the characteristics of the sample. A sample is drawn based on what the researcher thinks to be an average person. The strategy and strength of this method is to select units which are judged to be typical of the population under investigation. See Bless, Claire and Paul Achola. 1988. *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective*. Lusaka: Multimedia Pub.

communicate with his respondents; and the districts are linked by one major road. This facilitated travelling between the villages of study. The sampling procedure was the most appropriate since probability sampling would have been practically impossible due to costs and time and the lack of sampling frames in studies like these.

Choice of participants and related procedures

The main criterion for the choice of participants was that they were elderly men and women of above 50 years of age. The headmen of the villages of study, and in the case of Musaila village[4], the Chief, were always approached before the commencement of data collection. Besides getting permission and goodwill for the interviews in the villages of study, approaching the headmen had one major advantage. After briefing them about the purpose of the studies and the kind of participants needed, the authorities (i.e. the headmen) recommended and helped to summon the people they knew fitted the criteria for selecting the participants.

Sample size

The sample size and composition varied from one study village to another. The largest sample was in Musaila where there were 28 participants comprising 15 women and 13 men. Although the attendance at research meetings was not so irregular, it was only in Musaila village where the

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[4]

Musaila is my village of origin. At the time of these studies, the reigning senior Headman Musaila was my father, having been enthroned three years earlier following the death of his uncle. Together with my mother, the Senior Headman served as my research assistants in this village, recommending and inviting suitable participants according to my definitions. I had three Sub-headmen or my father's Junior headmen participating in the studies. But the climax of it all while in this village was when my father invited the Chief himself to come and participate in our last meeting. There could not have been better 'assistants' than my parents during my research.

participants attended all the meetings. There were 10 female and 11 male participants in Kapini village; 12 females and 12 males in Motomoto village. Thus, a total of 73 men and women of fifty years and above participated in these studies.

Collection of data

The data were collected through the focus group meeting procedure. This procedure entailed conducting interviews in groups in the form of meetings, using a non-scheduled semi-structured question schedule which contained open-ended questions [5]. The focus group procedure of data collection was particularly adopted for these studies due to several reasons:

- It would have been impossible to draw one member of the family or community aside and interview him or her, without being interrupted by curious on-lookers. Often, people want to listen to what one of them is being asked despite the researcher's insistence that the interview is for one person[6]. This situation could have certainly been more prevalent in the rural areas. Group interview method, therefore, helped to forestall a situation whereby a single interviewee would be influenced by the uninvited crowd who might even tend to correct him or her if his or her responses did not sound proper to them.

- Secondly, it was easier than could have been a one-on-one interview.

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[5]

This data collection technique consists of asking the interviewees to comment widely on the defined or asked issues. It is non-scheduled in the that it allows the researcher to formulate other questions as judged appropriate at any point during the interview, thus allowing for the probing of certain answers. It is semi-structured in that the researcher must have, as I did, a list of precise questions and sub-questions about the issues to be investigated prior to the interviews. See Claire Bless and Paul Achola. 1990. *Op cit*; See also Burgess, 1984.

[6]

My experience during my field work for my Masters' degree in an urban setting in Durban revealed this to me. Attempts to keep away the people nearby the sampled respondent not only drew further attention from more people around but also tended to make the sampled respondent to shy away.

- Thirdly, the nature of the studies also allowed for this kind of method. The topic was not controversial like family planning where group interviews may culminate in a hot debate with the researcher becoming an umpire. It was also not a gender topic *per se*; hence it was not sensitive or delicate to require the privacy of opinions.

Accordingly, there were five focus group meetings in each village: firstly, two 2-hour meetings with women alone on a Monday and Thursday; secondly, two 2-hour meetings with men alone on the following Monday and Thursday; and thirdly, and lastly for each village, one meeting with both men and women also lasting about two hours. The third meeting was meant to be for recapping the discussions, thanking the participants and, most important, for feeding the findings back to the participants before leaving the village. Feeding the findings back to the participants is venerable, but often ignored, device for checking for validity and confirmability of one's findings. This practice dates back to the days of Bronislaw Malinowski. Other researches call this practices as "*member (or participant) checks*" (Miles and Huberman, 1984: 242). As the third meeting was primarily recap meeting, no new issues were introduced[7]. The third meeting also provided the opportunity to observe any effects of the assumption that the presence of males in the group would inhibit the females' participation. The observation was seen to be potentially useful at drawing conclusions for practical lessons towards the beneficiary-driven development model.

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[7]

The categorisation of meetings according to gender was aimed at ensuring uninhibited expression of views by women in the presence of men. This concern drew from the general assumption that there tends to be cultural barriers to women's participation if they are put in the same groups with men. Given the dynamics and conservative nature of culture and traditions in the rural settings, I was concerned that mixing women and men in all meetings might prevent the women from expressing themselves fully.

The interviews were recorded. A total of nine TDK audio tapes were used. It was designed that only one tape should be used for each interview, even if the discussions continued. This was intended for avoiding recording repetitions, especially that some participants generally became more active towards the end of the interviews and most of their comments were repetitions of what had already been said. Thus, besides conserving the recorder's batteries and tapes, this arrangement helped to minimise the monotony caused by repetitions[8].

The interviews were guided by a set of pre-formed questions (see the question schedule in the appendix) and were conducted in iciBemba. The questions were open-ended because they could facilitate to get the insight of the subject of study. As Robert Burgess (1984: 102) states, this kind of questions allow research participants to comment widely and *"develop their answers beyond a structured format"*. The format also facilitated the groups' participation in the discussions, as, through commenting widely, the participants provoked one another to comment or add. Perhaps the greatest advantage of using open-ended questions and allowing the respondents to comment as widely as they could is that the format facilitated this researcher's analysis of the findings. The respondents had their interpretation and analysis built-in their responses, especially when they came to comment on their past communal work practices in relation to today's situations and communities and whether whatever had been left of such practices could serve as a spur for participatory community development today. During the discussions, the researcher only asked questions and listened, chaired, led and directed the discussion, and intervened to ask for clarification or further questions. Thus, it was like putting

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[8]

Monotony caused by repetitions was a factor with which occasionally made even the interviewees themselves unhappy. They always expected something new, and not similar questions, in follow-up meetings. I tried to show how different the questions were but, as they probing questions which stemmed from the answers to the questions in the previous meetings, they rightly sounded the same to the untrained ears.

into practice one principle of the beneficiary-driven development model, stated in the previous chapter: "*approaching the needy as people who know their problems*".

The question schedule included questions about the forms of indigenous/traditional modes of communal work, the organisation processes from the start to the post-implementation stage of the communal projects or activities, decision and communication of intentions for communal projects both in the pre-implementation and post-implementation stages. Other questions were asked about the factors and reasons for participation in communal projects, whether there were community members who did not participate and why, and what the communities did to discourage non-participation.

The respondents were deliberately asked to comment on the position of indigenous modes and of communal work in today's communities, especially their respective ones. Given that little or nothing had been recorded on this topic and given that many respondents were going to refer to communal practices of about two decades ago, it was important to solicit their views on such practices' position in the contemporary communities. This part of the inquiries was aimed at getting the participants' own views on the applicability of such practices today, and whether there have been changes/constraints in the use of these practices and what the communities perceived to be the reasons for the changes/constraints. The respondents were also asked about what could be done or what they actually did to address the changes and alleviate whatever constrains were faced in such practices today. The responses to these questions were useful for this researcher's conclusions about the respondents' views viz-a-viz their observable behaviour during communal projects, which took place in the course of the studies and in which this researcher participated, and for comparative analysis.

The emphasis in these inquiries was on the process more than on the particular tasks and outcome accomplished and achieved for lessons for the organic beneficiary-driven development model. After all, the tasks that gave rise to such processes differed, as they still would today, from one community to another and from time to time.

The interview schedule (which is in the appendix) was the same for every study village. If there were variations, they were those which arose from the answers which needed further probing. This flexibility was one of the major strengths of using non-scheduled semi-structured interviews. The accounts of the interviews did not significantly vary between the study villages. The difficulty of compiling up accounts solicited in this way is that it is impossible to include a full transcript of each respondent. For this reason and to avoid monotony, only typical and significantly varied responses were chosen, transcribed and written down. Thus, the proceedings of the focus group meeting interviews held in all study villages have been edited and summarised, and presented as one interview. It was also realised later, and specifically during the transcription of the tapes, that having the general introductions at the start of the interview/discussion sessions negated the need for the respondents to introduce themselves during the discussion. This made the identification of the individual respondents at transcription difficult. Therefore, the participants are represented only as 'Respondent'. The collage of questions and responses was put together based on this understanding. It is in the appendix. The following pictures illustrate part of the inquiries' process and some of the research participants[9].

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[9] These photographs were taken by a local photographer whom I chanced when Chief Mibenge was in attendance at my last focus group meeting in Musaila village in Mansa district. The photographer wonderfully unexpectedly appeared at the headman's home where the meetings used to be held. Although by then some participants had already dispersed, I could not help asking him to take as many photographs as I could afford of my meeting and participants.

It was not possible to have all the interview procedures and research participants photographed since this researcher did not have a camera. It was not possible to find (or, more rightly, to chance) a photographer in every study village.

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Figure Seven
Illustrations: The research process and participants at Musaila, Mansa, Zambia
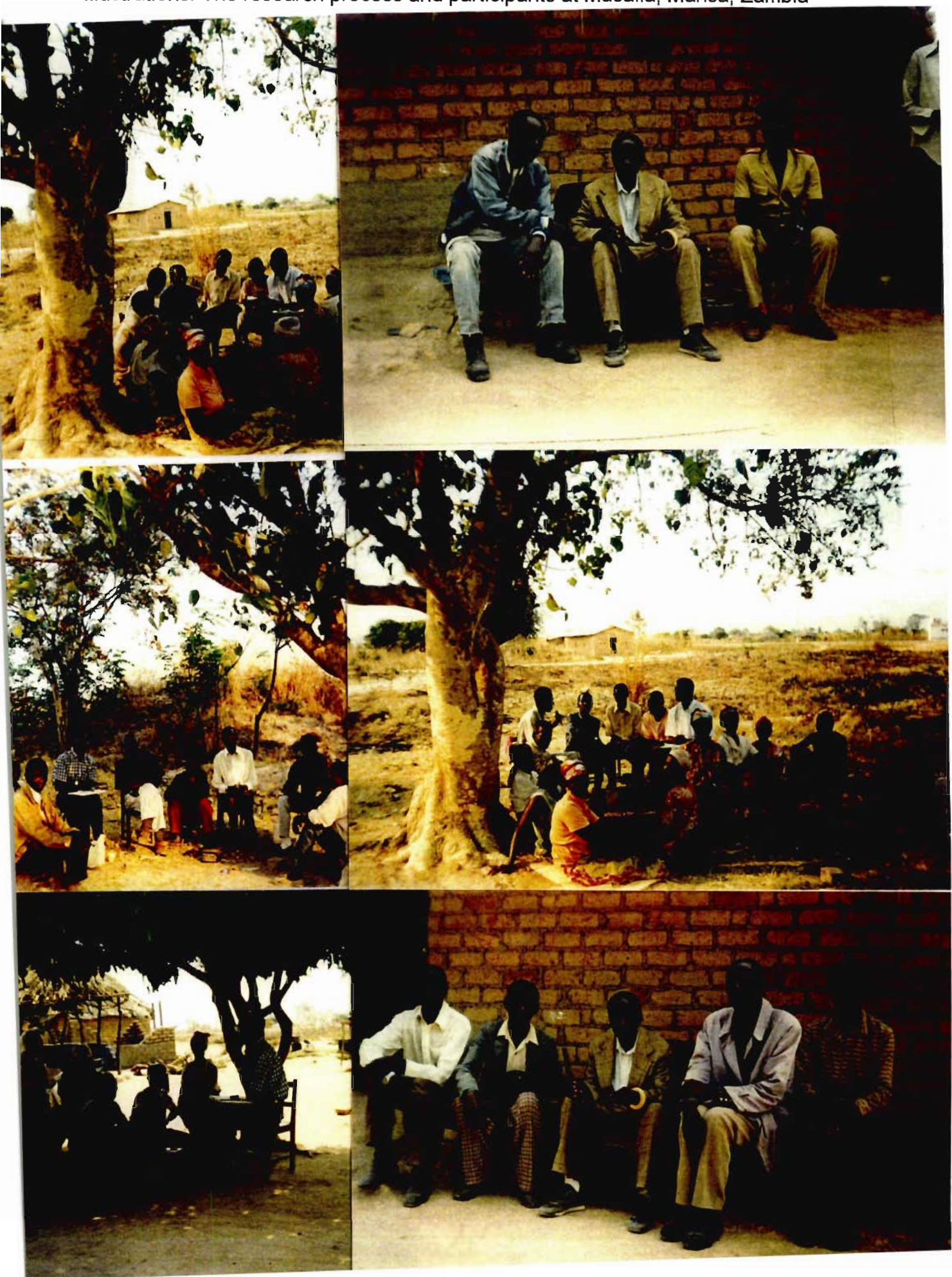
Data analysis techniques

Judith Goetz and Margaret LeCompte (1981: 4-5) have delineated analysis dimensions and techniques for qualitative research, which were found to be useful and most suitable for this research. This research accordingly employed the inductive, generative and constructive techniques of analysis and Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss's (1967) comparative analysis technique.

Inductive analysis entails deriving rationalistic propositions from the collected data. Generative analysis attempts to discover constructs using the data themselves as the point of departure. Constructive analysis is a process of abstraction whereby units of analysis and conclusions are derived from the observed behaviour. This technique was particularly employed at analysing and drawing conclusions from the study communities' participation in the communal projects.

Comparative analysis aims at developing empirical generations and serves as the creation and verification process of theory. In this case, it was aimed at verifying and developing empirical generalisation of the organic beneficiary-driven development model. The theory is created and verified by comparing data from the various study areas, and at this time the theory is called grounded theory. Grounded theory leads to the creation of substantive theory, which is a theory that is specific to a particular organisation/formation or geographical area of study. From substantive theory, a formal theory, generalisable to the broader environment, is derived. This analysis technique was particularly employed for the discussions in Chapter Eight.

Summary of the findings

Based on the objectives of the inquiries and the issues around which the questions were formed, which have already been delineated, the presentation of the studies' findings can be divided into the following thematic categories: modes of communal work, processes (organisation, decision making and communication, implementation and post implementation), levels of participation and factors/ reasons for participation, problems/difficulties faced and solutions, and the participants' introspection about the modes today.

Modes of communal work

There were modes of communal work identified and discussed by the participants in all three study villages. It was interesting to note that the modes were known by the same names and described in a similar way. These were *Imbile*, *Salongo*, *Umulasa* and *Icima*. As the following discussions show, these modes of communal work were distinguished by the nature of the need (particular or general), status, sex and state of the beneficiary (widowed, elderly or incapacitated).

Imbile

This was a mode of communal work based on mutual aid. Depending on the type of need, *Imbile* sometimes entailed collective action according to gender, i.e. there could be *Imbile* for men, women or even for both. This mode of communal work was used for accomplishing a particular good for the intended beneficiary individuals or households, who were the ones who initiated the processes. The onus was on the particular beneficiary individual or household to request and organise the community to render their collective efforts in whatever the particular beneficiary

individual or household wanted to undertake. As the initiator of the activity, the intended

beneficiary decided when and how the work should be done, and communicated the details to the

rest of the community. No meeting was called for this mode of communal work. The

community members' response and attendance depended on how consistently the intended

beneficiary attended other community members' similar undertakings. Attendance was restricted

to adults. The kind of work done through this mode included tilling or field cultivation, building

and remodelling houses. *Chitemene* cultivation, which has been discussed earlier in this thesis,

was one kind of work that required this mode of collective work. At the end of work, the

beneficiary provided the community with refreshments in the form of home brewed beer.

Salongo

Salongo was a mode of communal action aimed at accomplishing a general good (i.e. something

that affected and concerned most or all members of the community). This kind of work was not

done along gender lines. Attendance was compulsory as long as one lived in the particular

village. Youths were expected to participate in this kind of work with their parents.

Accordingly, it was every community member's responsibility to identify and propose to the

headman any matter that needed collective intervention. The headman then called for

Akabungwe (community or para-meeting) at which such proposals would be discussed and plans

made and adopted for implementation. The criteria used by the communities to accept or reject

the proposals were not characterized or clear-cut. However, a proposal for collective efforts

would only be accepted if the majority of the community members present at the meeting agreed

that the matter concerned everyone and that attending to it would be for the good of the

community in general. It would also be accepted if it was presented during the season when the

community members were not busy with household matters. Acceptance of the proposal to

undertake a collective project during the busy season depended on its urgency. It was generally understood that participation of the community would be low during the busy season, as many would seek to be excused. However, this was the time when the consistent participants were noticed and the benefits of attending communal work against all odds or when it mattered most included having one's *Imbile* well attended by the community and being honoured by the Chief, as shall be shown later. The type of work which was done through this mode included the periodical clearance of the springs where the communities drew their water, which were often some way out of the villages; clearing the paths that led to the springs and fields; building schools and literacy class shelters, constructing and refurbishing ephemeral bridges used by the communities to cross rivers when going to the fields especially during the rain seasons; and fire-breaking, which the villages undertook between May and July. Fire-breaking was meant to secure the villages from wild fires, which could destroy homes and fields if they were not shielded.

Proposals were rejected if they were perceived to be beneficial only to one or few individuals, in which case the concerned individuals were advised to attend to the problems by themselves or arrange a joint-Imbile. This ruling made attendance of that work optional. Community members who had other matters to attend to could excuse themselves without any feeling of guilty or stigma. Such a ruling also prevented people from abusing the mode of Salongo, as that could have defeated the whole purpose of *Ukwampana* (working together for the general good) and self reliance. As the community members knew the kind of matters that required collective efforts, it was reported that the community members rarely brought up proposals that were often turned down.

Icima

This was similar to Salongo except that it was a mode of work used to collectively accomplish a particular good. Like Salongo, the needs would be identified by any member of the community and proposed to the headman who arranged for *Akabungwe*. It was reported that proposals for this kind of work were rarely rejected. This was largely because they addressed the welfare of the incapacitated and bereaved members of the community. Thus, the community meetings were often held just to plan the execution of collective action. The kind of projects undertaken under this mode included ploughing, building and remodelling houses for the widowed, the elderly and the incapacitated members of the community.

Umulasa

This was another mode of communal work which was similar to the last two. It entailed the communities working collectively for their the Chief. Unlike under the other two, under this mode work was done only once in a year during a particular season. Work done under this mode included cultivating, planting and harvesting for the Chief. Another difference is that the imperatives for the work done under this mode came from the Chief's palace and was communicated through the village headmen to the members of the communities. Under Umulasa, different communities, led by their respective headmen, did their work at different slots. Accordingly, the communities were reminded of the dates of their particular slots well in advance to enable them prepare and be able to participate in the work.

Processes

It was the headman/woman's duty to arrange and fix the dates and times for community meetings

and to communicate these to the community. It was his/her duty to chair the meetings. To decide on the dates and times of the meetings, the headman was guided by the regularity and the number of proposals submitted to him. The communities met at least once a month but a meeting could be called even earlier if there were proposals that appeared to require immediate attention. It was reported that having community meetings regularly was intended to avoid discontinuity or irregularity of the community members' participation in communal work. It was feared that the participation in communal work would be irregular if the meetings were held after long intervals. The occasional calling of the meetings earlier than usual was intended to prevent the community members who had presented the proposals from feeling they were not important, as that could harm the spirit of participation. The meetings could be held on any day and were usually held late in the afternoon when everyone had returned from their fields and was able to attend the meetings. Further meetings, hereafter called post-implementation meetings, were held after completing a project. This was intended for the headman to congratulate the community and for the community to discuss and lay down further responsibilities pertaining to the accomplished task. For example, as the ephemeral bridges would occasionally be carried away if it rained heavily just after the community had constructed it, the community planned for such eventualities at post-implementation meeting. Post-implementation meetings were held on the day the task was completed or shortly later.

Communication and decision-making

Communication was done orally and through drumming. The communities were informed about the meetings in two ways. *Imbila* was a form of oral communication which entailed standing at vantage points of the sections of the villages late in the evening and/or at dawn to make

announcements. There would be more than one person making the announcements depending on the size of the village. When there were more than one person to do the announcement, they coordinated such that one spoke immediately after the other. Further, it was reported that it was usually the same people whom the headman asked to make the announcements - they were called *Ba Kabila wa Mbila*. Besides that these people had a particular way of announcing messages[10], the consistency was intended to make the audience associate the announcers with the message of communal work, thereby adding to the effectiveness of the announcements.

Drumming was the other way through which the communities were informed. There were several types of drums - *Umondo, Itumba, Icinkumbi*, etc. Each of these drums had a particular purpose and disseminated a particular message. The drum announced both the message and the date of meeting instantly. Thus, *Umondo* announced the Chief's death on the day of drumming. Depending on when it was used, *Itumba* conveyed the messages of celebration or meeting. Thus, if it was used during the day, it meant that there was a beer party or initiation ceremony somewhere that had just begun. If it was used at dusk or dawn, it meant that a community meeting was being called the day following that evening or the day of that dawn. The community knew the usual times of meetings. Like *Imbila*, the drums were used late in the evening or early at dawn so that their messages could reach a broader audience.

During meetings, the communities used group communication. This is a level of communication which entails face-to-face communication. There is one speaker at a time. This allowed for

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[10]

I was told at Musaila that *Ba Kabila wa Mbila* did their announcements in a way that might be compared to today's "rap" by disc jokeys. They combined humour with philosophy and wisdom not just to inform the community members but also to persuade them to participate in communal work.

immediate feed-back among the group and facilitated the audience's participation and input into

the discussion. The discussions were conducted in vernacular.

As earlier suggested, in these modes of communication, decisions were arrived at through

caucusing. Not even the headman decided for the community what needed to be done. The

proposals for communal work, which emanated from the lived realities, were discussed openly

before being adopted or rejected. The communities always agreed and planned for the action

before the meetings were over. The criteria for accepting the proposal was that the views of the

majority should prevail.

Participation

It was reported that participation was often very high. However, there were some people who

stayed away from communal work. It was said that although it was not the intention to punish

them, those who stayed away from communal work were made to do some work to make up for

their behaviour either by the community through the headman or by the Chief. This was intended

to deter people from weakening the spirit of cooperation. To encourage participation, the

communities emphasised the benefits of participation more than the consequences of non-

participation. Thus, it was said at Kapini village, "*We often never talked about the punishment

but the benefits of participating in communal work. We always said to one another, "Mu calo

tabalila weka" (You never mourn alone)*".

Regarding the difficulties encountered in these modes of communal work, it was reported that

it was often non-participation that occasionally posed the problems. Rejection of some proposals

was potentially a problem as it nearly led to the lack of consensus. However, this was minimised

by emphasising that those suggestions were only proposals and could be tuned down. The basing

of the decision to adopt or reject the proposal on the view of the majority also helped to

addressed this problem.

Introspection

It was reported that the indigenous modes of communal work were still used by the communities

today but with some difficulties. The communities mentioned that it was not as easy to work

communally today as it used to be two decades ago. Among the problems faced today were the

difficulty to mobilise one another as a result of people now living relatively more apart than

before due to the atomising effect of the notion of farms, which is making people to live isolated

in search of land. This was also ascribed to the diminished reverence people had for the

traditional leadership, with leaders like headmen not being obeyed as much as before. Other

causes cited for difficult mobilisation and poor participation were the fact that some community

members were employed and this genuinely made it hard for them to participate in communal

projects. Another problem was that the communities failed to secure resources from outside

facilitators (e.g. government departments) on time.

However, the communities insisted that their indigenous modes of communal work were still

very applicable and that they were perhaps more useful and needed today than ever before. They

cited self-help projects undertaken in their communities as testimony of the continued existence

and application of the indigenous modes of communal work discussed so far. Thus, it was said

at Musaila, where the community had built the school and were in the process of building a

teacher's house, "*Yes, we are still called upon to work for ourselves with the government only helping us with some required material. We have done a number of selufu helepu (self-help) projects*". It was reported that despite all the changes cited above, traditional leadership was still respected and obeyed and the communities still practised *Umulasa*. The leaders rarely punish people who stay away from communal work nowadays. It is uncommon now to hear of anyone 'sentenced' to community service at the Chief's palace. This is so because there are community members who are in formal employment, who genuinely cannot attend communal work. However, as a way of punishing and discouraging truancy, the communities require that the work be done over the weekends when everyone should be able to participate. Those who still can not make it are expected to send in apologies and make a spontaneous payment to atone for missing their communities' work. It was reported that there was no fixed amount for this payment. It was up to the individual to make that payment to the headman. The payments are announced at community meetings. This money is often spent on the items such as nails and planks.

Analysis and explanation of the findings

Spontaneous and high community participation

The findings of the studies on the pre-modern indigenous African modes/forms of communal work reveal that the communities spontaneously worked together in matters of communal concern and common good. Participation was generally very good. The following appear to be the factors and reasons for such broader participation:

Communal identification of problems: This encouraged empathy and participation as the communities reacted to the identified and proposed problems not individually but communally.

This was facilitated by the fact that the problems were abstracted from the immediate, operational or situational contexts. Discussing the proposals before adopting and executing them served as a participatory decision-making for communal intervention. This facilitated broader community participation and input from the communities. Participatory decision-making secured the projects' goodwill and legitimacy and, as it made the community to feel responsible for the project, it ensured that the communities cared for their projects' into the post-implementation stage.

Affirmation: The communities' emphasis of the benefits of participating in, and of, communal intervention more than the punishment for not participating in communal interventions also contributed to making the community participate in their communal activities. This made the communities to be aware of their fate if they stayed away in the long run. Thus, the realisation that a community member's regularity in participating in communal work determined whether or not and how well he would be assisted by the community in times of need spurred the members of the communities to participate in communal undertakings. Participation in communal work was therefore a kind of providence or social security system whose returns were expected most when one was in need.

Moral persuasion: The fear of moral sanctions, that is, the stigma, the feeling of guilt and other consequences of truancy, also encouraged the community members to participate in communal undertakings. Through such moral sanctions the communities consciously or unconsciously censored truancy, as they made the people not only to avoid staying away from communal work but also to regard truancy as guilty or delinquency. As it was reported, the communities regarded as humiliation the atonement of truancy through doing menial tasks at the

palace especially when others only went to the palace to be honoured.

Respect for, and incentive system by, the traditional leadership: Veneration and obedience for their (traditional) leadership also encouraged the communities' high participation in communal assignments. The communities believed that their traditional leaders were representatives of, and closer to, their ancestry. Ancestry was believed to be an infallible and omnipotent world. The closer one was to the ancestors, the more infallible he was and the more he deserved unquestioned obedience. Therefore, serving and satisfying persons like Chiefs, who were considered to be closer to the ancestors was not only perfunctory but also rewarding by those doing so. Participating in communal undertaking provided one way of avoiding both the Chief's punishment and satisfying the ancestors. So, the belief system could have also contributed to high participation of the communities in communal undertakings.

Calendar: The timing of community meetings and collective execution of planned projects also contributed to the communities' participation in communal interventions. Thus, the meetings were often held late in the afternoons, when everyone would have returned from the fields. Also, there were relatively fewer communal projects during the rain season, when community members were busy with their own cultivation. This consideration facilitated the communities' participation.

Clarity of purpose: The clear definition of the purposes of communal interventions, as the fine distinctions among the modes of communal work discussed earlier shows, also made the communities to the communities' high participation. Thus, it was reported that proposals for communal work for the incapacitated members of the community were rarely rejected at

community meetings. The clarity of the purpose ensured the communities realisation and appreciation that the benefits of the projects were not only for the whole community but also that the benefits would be better achieved through collective action. Thus, the communities saw communal intervention as the a sharing formula through which the costs (time and energy) could be minimised and the benefits maximised.

Communication and language: The media used in these modes of communal work could have also contributed to the communities' high participation. The media provided everyone the access to the process of communication - construction, dissemination and reception of messages. Thus, the drums were used at the time when everyone was certainly expected to receive the messages and *Imbila* was made at equally suitable times. The communities participated in the 'programming' of the messages which were announced in this way because the messages were based on the proposals submitted by the community members themselves. Thus, from the submission of proposals to the adoption and implementation of proposals there was dialogue in the community. The communities initiated the communication process and were the messages' audiences. The face-to-face oral communication during community meetings provided the community with a feedback mechanism. By facilitating mutual comprehension, the feedback mechanism encouraged participation in decision-making and in the actual collective execution of the decisions.

Mutual concern: The villages were quite homogeneous culturally and socially, economically and politically. This enhanced and encouraged the communities' sense of social responsibility and communal concern. The households were close together such that the communities/villages were compact or closely knit. This resulted in intense organic relationships in the communities.

It was a situation similar to the one Francis Nyamnjoh (1995:71) describes as he writes about a certain village's people in Cameroon: *"their houses are so close together that no one would build a fence around his house without equally building it around those of others; if one suffers, the whole village knows about it and suffers together"*. Thus, besides being seen as necessary for personal fulfilment, such closeness fostered a strong sense of community bond and identification. This expressed itself in the community members' high participation in communal projects.

Language: Linguistic similarity among the community members also facilitated high community participation. That is, speaking the same languages not only enhanced communication during the planning meeting for communal work but also it enhanced collective and willing involvement of the community members in communal work. Everyone was able to articulate their views unhindered by the language used during community meetings and during implementation of planned interventions. As John Hostetler (1963: 138) asserts, *"language provides familiarity in which individuals find common grounds for understanding"*. Thus, using the language everyone understood enabled the contributors to have their views reflected in the planned interventions and to understand fully the essence and basis, timing and plan of execution of the interventions. Therefore, it can be inferred that the use of a common language contributed to the communities' high levels of participation in communal projects.

Generalisation of the findings

Although the findings derive from the studies conducted among the Zambian people, there might be many communities in Africa were the practices explored applied and still apply in the way similar to the Zambian people among whom the studies were conducted. Thus, for instance,

Francis Nyamnjoh (1995:71) writes of a certain village's people in Cameroon who had *"their houses so close together that no one would build a fence around his house without equally building it around those of others"*, and among whom *"if one suffers, the whole village knows about it and suffers together"*. In this representation, there is explicit suggestion of communal characteristics among the people of Cameroon similar to the aspects depicted in the findings of the studies on the Zambian people.

Julius Nyerere's 1962 thesis of Ujamaa hinged on the communal and moral obligations of community members. In this regard, the thesis explicitly intimates either the existence or the possibility of a communal disposition and value system among the Tanzanian people similar to that of the Bemba people of Zambia. Nyerere (1962: 239) clearly asserts that Ujamaa, which seeks to *"ensure that people cared for each other's welfare by contributing a fair share of their efforts to the production of the communities' well-being, is rooted in the traditional African society's values"*. This suggests the existence of a cultural value system among the people of Tanzania similar to that of the Zambian people among whom the studies was conducted.

The late Walter Rodney (1983: 47) also stated how and why communal labour practices, similar to those of the Bemba people of Zambia, were prevalent in West and North African countries like Akhan (today's Ghana) and Dahomey, Morocco and Tunisia. He noted that

communal labour was entered into by cross-sections of the communities to make work more efficient. [Particularly], the dopkwe[11] work-group of Dahomey had a wider application in

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[11]

A *dopkwe* was a system work-team which enabled one to undertake herculean tasks with the help and involvement of the members of one's community. This was particularly useful for sons-in-law who, by the father-in-law's traditional right and obligation based on kinship, had to undertake some work, like cultivating large portions of land, for the fathers of their wives. This practice still exists among the Bemba people of Zambia. Cf. W. Rodney. 1983. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications. p. 42.

serving the whole community to perform the heavy tasks of clearing land, housebuilding, etc. With the offer of some food and beer or palm wine, a work-team or 'work-bee' could be mobilised in a short time in most African communities, including those of the light-skinned Berbers of North Africa.

A televison cultural discussion on a programme called *Ifasitela* on *KZN-2-Nite*, a South African regional televison, on 25 November 1997, also implied the possible similarity in the Zulu and Bemba people's cultural belief system, which was part of the factors identified and discussed as having contributed to the communities' high participation in communal work. In this programme the discussant asserted that the Zulu people slaughtered their animals in thanksgiving to their ancestors at every great achievement in the family. Accordingly, the Zulu people believe that success in their lives is mediated by their ancestors, whom they consider to be ever-living.

In his recent study findings about the Samburu people of Kenya, Ute Reckers (1997) equally suggests the existence of value systems and organic community disposition similar to that of the Zambian people among whom the studies were conducted. Reckers (1997: 299) observes that the Samburu *"pastoralists are organised on settlement and neighbourhood levels"*, hence suggesting some form of organic disposition of the Samburu people's villages or communities. Given these views, it would appear that the findings of the studies on cultural and communal practices of the Zambian people might indeed be similar to many other African people's practices irrespective of their different geographical settings on the continent.

Even if some African communities had little or none of the communal practices and characteristics depicted in the studies' findings, it is possible that, for their valuable lessons and prospects for the organic beneficiary-driven community development model, such practices can be inculcated, learnt and passed on in the communities. This is because such communal

practices, as is exemplified by the diversity of places where they are performed - Cameroon, Dahomey, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia and Zambia itself - , cannot be biological attributes. Rather, as Max Weber (1915: 305) noted, *"people are not born with homogenous mental states, but they acquire such as they come into contact with corresponding representations"*. Given this realisation, it is quite possible that the beneficiary-driven community development model has the potential to have a wider application in African communities if it continues to be researched.

Problems encountered and their solutions

The communities encountered some minor problems in their communal projects. These basically included the rejection of certain proposal and occasional truancy of some community members. This can be explained as having been due to the fact that there was no way the communities could have been entirely homogeneous entities. The communities were in fact complex systems of clans, lineages, age-sets, age-groupings, interests, etc. However, despite all this, there was always some commonality which bound the community together. This commonality provided the communities with the ground by which they arrived at some mutual comprehension. This attested by the fact that communities were able to reject some proposals and accept others and went ahead to execute collectively those proposals that were accepted. The same should be true about every human community. There will always be competing interests in the communities but there must also be a way of settling for one of these interests. There could not be a standard way to arrive at this settlement. It will vary from one community to another. However, the most effective way would be based on the general consensus, which would not necessarily mean that every member of the community must agree with the community's proposed course of action.

Pragmatically, this would mean settling for a decision based on the views of the majority of the community.

Some specific conclusions and lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model

The findings of the studies show that as much as possible the indigenous modes of communal work encouraged the values of self reliance and participation. Through these modes of collective intervention, the communities successfully identified, decided and solved their problems collectively. The problems the communities solved through these modes might have been simple. However, it is clear that these modes provided an effective way for self-generating, self-driven and sustainable community betterment. These are some of the aspects of the indigenous modes of communal work from which might be drawn some lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model. As the beneficiary-driven model is about facilitating organic or self-organising context-specific community development, the following are seen to be some of the possible lessons the indigenous modes of communal work possess for the model:

Basing development on the beneficiaries' world views: For the model to work as envisaged, community development projects must be based on the contextually identified needs and priorities. This was perhaps one reason the indigenous modes of communal work provided the communities with the most sustainable way of solving their problems, which is a feature often lacking in today's community development efforts. Involving the communities in their development in this way would lead to having development that targets the intended beneficiaries' perceived priorities. This would not make development to be context-specific but,

as it would elicit the communities' goodwill and responsibility, it would also lead to having development solutions that are sustainable.

This lesson is well corroborated by the views of several social change/development scholars. Through his notion of *"naming the world"*, the late Paulo Freire (1972: 12) pointed out the importance of basing social change on the views of the intended beneficiaries, maintaining that the ordinary people were capable of unveiling the complex and hidden roots of social problems through using their everyday language. Robert Huesca (1996: 26) corroborates this lesson by his notion of *"moving from naming to theorising"*, in which he articulates the potential benefits of encouraging ordinary people to speak their world views and to theorise about their social problems. More recent corroboration of this lesson comes from Ute Reckers (1997: 298) who sums up this necessity in a quote from the Samburu community of Kenya. These are a pastoralist tribe for whom an NGO planned to build a dam near their dry-season pasture. However, the Samburu people refused by responding, *"We do not need a dam there because it will attract some of our people to settle there. Soon, one of our few pastures will be gone forever"*.

Considering cultural idiosyncrasies: Related to the above lesson is the need for taking cognisance of cultural idiosyncrasies of the developing communities. Thus, the communities among whom the studies were conducted had their own way of perceiving what was more important and needed to be regarded as priority and what was less important and could be deferred or rejected. Likewise, the communities would have their own ways of assessing success or failure. Thus, for instance, for these communities it appeared that success of a project connoted not only the completion of projects but it also meant that many community members had participated in the project. It would therefore be important in the pursuit of beneficiary-

driven community development to realise that people's perceptions depend on the cluster of categories organised in their semantic and cultural senses. This realisation is also very important if a project like a communication campaign, is to be effective, as it would require using the terminology that is contextually popular and relevant in a particular culture where the project is taking place. Culture provides favourable grounds for effective change and development because, as David Kerr (1997:66) asserts, it *"can sugar the didactic pill of development messages and the characteristics by which communities are able to negotiate change with institutions attempting to bring about change"*.

Collective communication and decision-making: For the communities to participate in a way that would lead to context-specific development, they would have to be part of the process of making decisions about their existential conditions. This entails involving the intended development beneficiaries in the construction and reception of their development messages. Whatever media might be used, they should be the ones that are locally useful and widely accessed. Only then can the communities be able to participate in their development unhindered and feel that they are part of the processes.

Using appropriate leadership: The community members' participation would partly depend on the kind of leadership they have n their communities. This is because the leaders' influence and respect in the community would bear upon who and how many participates. Thus, in the rural areas, as the studies showed, the traditional leadership would effectively persuade many people to participate in their community development projects partly because the communities would feel that obedience to their leaders was obedience to the ancestors.

Ensuring solicited facilitation: As this kind of development entails a bottom-up approach, it will require only what might be termed as solicited facilitation, that is, the assistance which the intended beneficiary communities ask for. The facilitating development agencies and experts would have to be open, interactive and reflective. This is so as to avoid basing development on the outsiders' world views. The development agencies and experts would have to acknowledge their uncertainties about the development needs of the communities whose conditions they seek to improve. The technical expertise would always be required depending on the situational needs and to ensure meaningful involvement and action by the communities.

Specifying the needs and the beneficiaries: One of the characteristics of all the indigenous modes of communal work was their specificity of which mode was applicable to a situation. That is, they had specific purposes and beneficiaries. Perhaps, this helped also to encourage participation as the communities knew the purpose and the beneficiary of the collective action being undertaken. The lesson that can be drawn from this for the beneficiary-driven development model is that the projects must specify clearly their purposes and benefits. It would be more effective if, for example, the project is intended for the women's upliftment to specify so that it is clear as to who would be expected to participate mostly in such projects. This would lessen the hurried declaration of failure of participatory projects, which have often been due to the blurred nature of the purposes and targets groups of the projects.

Being aware of the communities' calendars: As the practices of communal work under the indigenous modes showed, another factor that facilitated high community participation was the communities' popular timing for both meetings and collective action. Thus, the communities called the meetings late in the afternoon, when everyone would have returned from their fields.

They deferred or undertook only fewer communal projects during the rain season which was their labour intensive time of their calendar. This timing avoided low participation in communal projects, as most members would be too busy and perhaps too tired for engagements other than their household ones. Failure to take cognisance of the communities' calendar would lead to low participation and wrong conclusions that the communities are uncooperative and that participatory approaches are indeed unworkable.

Problems encountered during the study and possible limitations of the studies

The research studies were not without problems, and might not be without possible limitations. Thus, with regard to problems encountered, there was hostility from officials at the Ministry of Communication and Transport, Zambia, when asking for an interview on the current situation of the information technical infrastructure and the communication media in the country. This interview sought to gauge the feasibility of the beneficiary-driven development model if the information technologies were used as the communication media of the model. The Ministry of Broadcasting and Information and the National Broadcasting Corporation officials made up for the hostility. They gave me audience and provided me with the statistics about the media situation, ownership and spread in the country. The data collected were used in Chapter Six.

The problems encountered during the inquiries into the indigenous modes of communal work and communication included repetitions by some interviewees, which meant recording so much for so little significant data. Attempts were made to minimise this problem by ensuring that the interview did not go on and on, and sometimes, the recorder would be turned off. Some interviewees would not return for the last meeting. However, as the last meeting was often a

matter of recapping and 'member checking' what had already been discussed, the failure by some participants to attend the last meetings did not complicate anything. The number of interviewees could not be allowed to be much larger than ten due to the small size of the recorder. However, whatever adverse implications this limitation could have had, it was made up for by picking on the participants seen to have met the criteria for selection to participate in the data collection meetings.

The possible sources of limitations of the studies include the assumption that the members of the villages of study chosen to participate in the interviews were similar in terms of ethnicity, knowledge, experience and length of stay in the areas where the studies were conducted. One or two of these variables could have been different for some participants. However, the extent to which this could have negatively impacted on the information given and subsequently on the studies' findings is undoubtedly minimal. This is so because if anyone in the focus group meetings said an unconvincing or inappropriate statement, others would easily object. Interjections were in fact quite common during the interviews.

The respondents' views could have been affected partially by the fact that they were dealing with the phenomena of a long time frame, making them quite dependent on their memories. However, whatever limitations this concern could have had on the studies, they were minimised and compensated by the fact that the interviews were conducted in groups. Group interviews served as a mechanism that helped the participants to recall, as during the discussions the participants reminded and corrected one another about the issues under discussion. The concern was also catered for through asking probing questions, which were deliberately repeated in different ways, despite the respondents sometimes finding the questions to be repetitive. This concern is itself

a good reason for the studies like these, as they will serve as the only or one of the few written records on the topic for future researchers.

Conclusion

This chapter has been a discussion of the findings of the studies conducted among three Bemba communities of Zambia. The studies were inquiries into the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work and communication, with a view to gleaning some lessons for beneficiary-driven development model. As the beneficiary-driven development model is about engendering organic or self-organising context-specific community development, model's possible lessons from the indigenous modes of communal include the use of media that are widely accessed to ensure broader participation, taking cognisance of cultural idiosyncrasies of the beneficiary communities and being aware of the communities working calendars. These lessons would facilitate high community participation. However, it might be asked: Is community participation similar to that of the pre-modern, communally characterised communities still feasible today? The answers are discussed in the next chapter. Part of the search for the answers started during the course of the studies just discussed in this chapter. Further research was accordingly conducted, as ongoing research towards the beneficiary-driven development model, in Pinetown's Clermont township in South Africa. The findings of these studies frame the conclusions and recommendations towards the participatory beneficiary-driven community development model.

Chapter Eight
The quest for a beneficiary-driven development and cultural values - Can the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work and communication get us there?

Human reason is based on understanding the essences and contradictions. When we think of a thesis, we immediately think of its antithesis and we start thinking about them both at once, putting our ideas and their opposites together in our minds, or synthesising them.
Frank Vorhies, 1991: 28.

Prologue

In Chapter Seven, it was shown that the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work were successful and effective at solving community needs largely because they were collective strategies for confronting community needs. The possible lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model from these modes include how to foster self-organising, context-specific, meaningful and sustainable community development and how to ensure that development is based on the intended beneficiary-communities' lived realities. According to these lessons, the intended beneficiary communities would have to spontaneously participate in their development as the pre-modern communities did. However, this condition might make the beneficiary-driven development model appear to be unrealistic. Is such participation possible? Have communitarian and other cultural values which would encourage high levels of community participation not petered out? It they have not, are they likely to be found only in the rural areas, making the model to be applicable only in the rural areas? Would exuberant community participation not lead to disorder, smoother and paralyse the development agencies with excessive demands for facilitation? This chapter unravels these questions theoretically and empirically, and addresses the concerns raised at the end of Chapter Six. The chapter accordingly verifies two hypotheses: (a) Participation is untenable because communitarian values do not exist

any more in African communities and (b) Participation can lead to disorder and paralyse the developmental delivery capacity due to uncoordinated demands from the communities. These hypotheses are verified through the findings of two field studies carried out on community participation in community development projects today. The studies were conducted in two communities of different settings using participant observation method.

Cultural values: The implied oblivion of communitarian values favourable for high participation

The findings of the studies on the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work showed how and why communities worked together to solve their community problems. This entailed collective identification of community problems and collective design of strategies for confronting those problems. This was achieved through participatory communication, which ensured that every member of the community had unhindered access to communication media so that they could participate in the design of inputs for the desired outputs. Through this participation, the communities ensured that the projects related to the lived realities and were aimed at improving their existential conditions. Thus, the communities knew clearly the specific purposes of the projects they were expected to participate in. The high levels of community participation can be ascribed to the fact that the projects were spearheaded and guided by locally legitimate and popular leaders and timed according to the communities' popular working calendars and schedules.

To expect this kind of participation supposes the existence of the organic disposition and communitarian values similar to those of the pre-modern African communities. That is, besides

living in settlements or areas with juxtaposed houses, this expectation supposes the community members/residents would still have the urge for mutual concern and for common good as the members of the pre-modern African communities did. However, given that the values upon which this expectation hinges belong to a long and past time frame, it would appear doubtful if these values still exist in the communities and therefore if the participatory beneficiary-driven community development model is realistic. Have such values not petered out over time? If anything has been left of these values, is it not only to be found in the rural areas, in which case the beneficiary-driven development model would only be likely to apply in the rural areas?

The above concerns may be legitimate given that it is likely that the pre-modern African communitarian values, which spurred high participation by members of the communities in communal assignments, might not have survived the era and onslaught of modernisation and post-modernisation since the 1950s. The exposure to, and sometimes the imposition of, Western values led to many changes especially in the rural communities of Africa. Industrialisation, and subsequently urbanisation, triggered off rural-urban influx largely due to the pull of wage labour (Hostetler, 1963; World Bank, 1972; Cliffe, 1979). This set in motion the gradual disintegration of the organic disposition of many African communities. Modernisation brought about such processes like rural-urban migration, which forced people to learn or acquire new ways of survival. The disintegration of the organic disposition of African communities in turn led to the disruption of the communities' communitarian traditional value systems which held, among other things, that man' greatest good was in terms of his relationship with his fellow human beings and

that the community's interests came first to the individuals' interests[1]. Thus, life in the new urban settings for many African people made their communal obligation to give in to personal satisfaction, and self-sacrifice to self-interest. Therefore, it might be correct to argue that there are no communitarian values left in today's African communities, especially the urban ones, as they might have not survived the changes since the 1950s. Daniel Lerner's (1966: 399-400) assertion that Traditional institutions became "*defenceless against the inroads of Western civilisation through the mass media*" is instructive. Given this, the argument that it is unlikely that there would be any participation by the communities, especially the urban ones, in their development similar to the pre-modern modes of communal work, might appear to be legitimate. This might also vindicate the view that if the beneficiary-driven development has any possibility of being applied, it would be in the rural areas only.

However, as the findings of the studies revealed, even in the rural areas the situation might be the same. Many changes have occurred in the disposition and value systems of the communities. These changes might affect the participation of the community members in collective strategies for confronting community needs in ways and levels similar to those of several decades ago. Thus, veneration of ancestors and traditional leadership have tapered off between the 1950s and today. Colonialism started the systematic disruption of the institutions of communal and traditional governance. It gradually weakened the powers and respects traditional leadership commanded in many parts of Africa. For their imperial governance, the colonialists created a complex overlay of government bureaucracies and centralised state apparatuses in Africa. This

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[1]

This the foundation of the African philosophy of Ubuntu, which has been articulated under various tags - Humanism, Ujamaa, Negritude and simply Ubuntu.

system subordinated everyone to the colonial leaders, who even gave themselves the powers to strip a king or chief of her/his powers if s/he did not tow their line. Chief Makgoba of the Pedi people, Queen Madjaji of the Balobedu people and other Southern African chiefs' dethronement at the hands of the Boer/Dutch colonialists in the 1800s are cases in point (Makgoba, 1997). Later the newly independent African States' governance systems hastened this backslide of traditional leaderships' authority through their alien centralised national governance systems. As Ben Turok (1989: 17) asserts, during colonialism and since then "*chiefs became subordinated to imperial rule and reduced to little more than policemen*". With such reduced veneration and, by implication, reduced authority of the traditional leaders, it is logical to argue that this could have adverse implications on community members' participation in communal projects. This is especially so in that participation in communal interventions partly owed to such cultural values as obedience and homage to the communities' traditional leaderships. The communities believed that their traditional leaders interceded between them and their infallible and everlasting ancestry worlds.

Given the above, the concerns that community participation based on the assumptions of communal concern and moral sanctions may not be as easy as before, and perhaps not possible at all, might not be misplaced. By implication, social and cultural changes caused largely by modernisation have made the values and associations based on mutual reciprocity, social responsibility, duty and organic relationships oblivious. It would appear that these values have been replaced by amorally based, mechanical or atomic relationships "*premised on the accumulation of rights rather than duties*" (Theobald, 1990). In this regard, it is unlikely that there would be participation by community members, in both rural and urban settings, sufficient for the beneficiary-driven development model in practice. However, these concerns might be

groundless both theoretically and empirically.

Theoretical considerations

Underlying the above concerns is the assumption that African communitarian and other cultural values might have not only failed to survive the influence of modernisation, but they might have also been supplanted by new values. It this assumption that makes community participation similar to that which obtained in the pre-modern communities to seem unlikely. This assumption is mistaken and so are the concerns based on it quite groundless. Cultural values do not pass by in a linear progression under which a return to the preceding ones is impossible. Rather, cultural values are ductile, flexible, interactive and, above all, resilient. This suggests that cultural values could undergo hibernation, rearticulation and hybridisation, but not necessarily supplantation. Raymond Williams' (1980) methodological framework for analysing cultural value forms suggests as much. This framework allows one to see how the assumption of cultural supplantation is groundless, without suggesting that *as it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be, culture without change*. The framework presents a typology of cultural value forms in three strata: the archaic, the residual and the emerging (Williams, 1980; Martin-Barbero, 1993).

The archaic stratum refers to that which survives or continues from past but just as something past or as an object of study or of memory (memory with emphasis added). The residual stratum, on the other hand, refers to that which has been *"formed in the past but is nevertheless still found active today within the cultural process"* (Williams, 1980: 144). The third stratum is made up of *"elements which are new and emerging"*, representing a *"process of innovation in practice and meaning"* (Martin-Babero, 1993: 79). The residual stratum is essential for the examination,

understanding and assessment of the concerns that the beneficiary-driven development model is unlikely because the communities would not participate as the pre-modern communities did since communitarian values do not exist any more.

The residual stratum is a mix of (a) that which is pushed from the past and still holds back from the future, (b) that which fosters cultural value suppression or hibernation and (c) that which forestalls such suppression or hibernation by settling for alliance and harmonisation with what is emerging. Therefore, in this context, the emerging is not necessarily the alternative to the existing or dominant culture. Rather, it is a creation which is dependent upon the earlier, existing or dominant culture. Failure to negotiate this alliance would inevitably result in false perceptions of a new, as if alternative, cultural value system or dispensation. Therefore, since this 'alternative or new culture' is not real and does not exist, the innovations or ideas found in, and based on, it would tend to fail or not to last for long.

From the above analysis, it can be inferred that cultural values and their practices do not indeed proceed and pass by in a linear progression. The analysis also disproves the assumptions of supplantation of cultural values. Instead, the analysis points to the understanding that cultural values might not be active during a given time or generation but might still be remembered. This suggests that although cultural values might have been formed in the past, they could still be remembered and returned to as values pushed up from the past, when real need arises. It also suggests that such values can be used, as they might still be extant, albeit not very active and might even facilitate the negotiation for new ways or values of life by serving as the basis and starting point for the new dispensation.

The above analysis of cultural values also indicates that changes in the cultural values is possible. Thus, for instance, there is no doubt that many changes have occurred in the organic disposition of African rural communities and in the communitarian and other cultural values in the past four decades, as the research studies on the Bemba people of Zambia reveal. Regarding their villages' organic disposition, the studies found that today's communities are not as closely-knit as they used to be. Houses have become sparsely spread. This has made the villages larger and some houses to feel as if they were villages on their own (Kasongo, 1996). In terms of cultural values, the studies also revealed that there have been changes in these people's cultural values which fostered loyalty and obedience to traditional leadership in the past have. By implication, these changes denote the likely waning of participation by community members in communal projects. Sarah White (1996: 11) reminisces how Zambian communities "*thirty or twenty years ago used to be highly active*" in their community projects. Today, so observes Sarah White (1996: 11), the members of the communities seem to have grown "*tired of being active citizens*". This concern might not be expressed only about Zambian communities but perhaps about many communities in Africa, although their reasons might vary. However, despite these changes, as the next sections show, communitarian values still exist in African communities. The beneficiary-driven development model is therefore very feasible and likely to have a wide application on the African continent.

Practical considerations: Communalism, the spur for participation in community projects, still exists in African communities.

In the 1970s and before, as already indicated in the previous chapter in the discussion of communal modes of work, Zambian communities' and other African communities' participation

in their community development ideas used to be very high. The high community participation

under the Humanism-Villagisation and Ujamaa community development approaches, discussed

in Chapter Six, was primary due to the cooperative spirit of the indigenous modes of communal

work. Other scholars like Sarah White (1996) have also noted such high levels of cooperation

and participation by Zambian and other African communities in their community development

projects about three decades ago. Today, many development scholars argue that such

participation has declined and that tendency continues (cf. White, 1996). Among other reasons,

this alleged decline and difficulty of community participation might be due to disappearance of

communitarian values in the African communities. This concern makes the beneficiary-driven

development model to appear unlikely. The question is how valid concerns like this one are.

This necessitated further consideration of the concerns. After examining them theoretically, it

became necessary to empirically examine and evaluate the concerns that the beneficiary-driven

development model would not be possible. Two field studies were conducted through participant

observation in the rural and urban settings.

The rural study was an observation of the participation of the residents of Musaila community

in the construction of a 2 x 2 classroom block, which had been an ongoing project at the time of

this study. This project became known to this researcher during his inquiries into indigenous

modes of communal work in this community. It was greatly opportune that a project like this

was going on as it provided this researcher the opportunity to observe practically some of the

views the communities gave during the inquiries.

The second field study was conducted in an urban setting. This was in Clermont township, near

Pinetown, in South Africa. The project was a sanitation campaign and entailed the communities

working collectively on Saturdays for three months, as shall be elaborated later.

Objective of the studies

The studies' aims were

- to verify the assertions that significant levels of community participation in community development projects is not possible today, as the values which spurred such participation have since long passed,

- to assess the validity of the concern that communities' participation in their development could lead to disorder and excessive demands for facilitation, which could inundate the delivery systems,

- to verify, by comparing with practical observations, the communities' views, obtained during the inquiries discussed in Chapter Seven, that they still conducted projects along the lines of the cooperative spirit of the indigenous modes of communal work, albeit not with the same intensity of three decades ago,

- to observe whether the communities can initiate and attempt to implement their own development ideas without conflicts and/or disagreements,

- to observe how and whether the communities can relate to external resource systems for assistance,

- to assess the potential constraints and, therefore, the feasibility of the beneficiary-driven development model both in the rural and urban settings, and

- to draw practical lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model.

Methodology

The data in both studies were collected through participant observation. Under this data collection method, the researcher closely and regularly interacts with or within the communities of study to gain the insight into the phenomenon being studied (Bless and Achola, 1989). Thus, the studies entailed taking part in the study communities' projects. In Musaila the data were specifically collected through the *observer-as-participant* technique (Burgess, 1984). This technique requires the researcher to reveal his/her objectives and role to, and to make brief and formal contact during the study with, the researched. This technique was therefore suitable for Musaila community study because this researcher observed the communities' ongoing project for only one whole day (a long one since, as it shall be shown latter, the day started very early in the morning). Only field notes were taken during the study. There was no tape recording of any data. This was because the aim of the study was primarily to observe the spirit, or whatever has remained, of communal concern and cooperation of the pre-modern modes of communal work. The other aim was to compare what the community had said during the inquiries with what actually happened.

In Clermont, the *participant-as-observer* technique was used to collect the data because this researcher spent a relatively longer time there than he had done in Musaila community observing the community's participation. He participated from the start, including in the planning of the project, up to the end of the project. He was in contact with the community during the project frequently. In the participant-as-observer technique, the researcher participates in the life of the researched, develops relationships with the participants and, besides observing, he collects the data by asking the researched questions as and when need arises (Burgess, 1984). Unlike in the

earlier technique, the researcher did not have to reveal his objectives and role to everyone in the

study community formally and at once. Rather, he did so gradually during interaction with the

participants, especially those purposively selected to be asked a few questions (see appendix).

So, this technique allows the researcher to *"run around as research interest beckons; he may*

move as the spirit listeth" (Roy, 1970: 217).

Analysis

The data were analysed through the comparative analysis, as stated in Chapter Seven. Using this

technique this researcher sought to create empirical generalisations based on the observations

from the two field studies. It was the ultimate aim to verify the concerns about, and the

feasibility of, the beneficiary-driven development model using this analysis technique.

The rural experience: The case of Musaila Village, Mansa, Zambia

As the studies on the Bemba people revealed, one still finds a sense of communalism among the

people which, despite few changes in their organic disposition as already discussed, is quite

strong. This finds expression in various mutual aid and neighbourly practices. Thus, when one

household in the community is faced with the unexpected such as illness and bereavement, the

whole community spontaneously comes to that household's help. The communities do the same

sharing in times of birth and marriage rites and other traditional ceremonies.

The studies also revealed that traditional leaders are still respected in their communities and that

they still have significant powers over their subjects. Thus, chiefs, headmen and sub-headmen

still arbitrate and dispense justice at village disputes, with their rulings being binding. They also allocate land, which they can take away from any member of the community if they think s/he does not deserve it. Some of the occurrences in the communities of study during research bespoke this continuation of such value as respect for the traditional leadership.

During the inquiries into the indigenous modes of communal work in Chiefs Mibenge and Kabamba's areas in Mansa and Serenje districts respectively, there was *Umulondo*, an annual village inspection. This is commissioned by the Chief and, unless otherwise, it is conducted by the Chief himself and his retainers. The inspection is intended to check for cleanliness of the surrounds of the houses in the villages and to ensure that the houses are of <u>habitable standard</u>[2]. *Umulondo* also serves as a way for the Chiefs to keep abreast with the developments in his area, especially regarding the new arrivals in the villages that fall within their areas. As stated earlier, the chiefs have the power to request anyone who has settled in their areas without their permission or approval to return where s/he came from. Headmen who allow people to settle in their villages without liaising with their chiefs risk falling out of favour with the Chiefs.

Umulondo is always conducted in summer. The date is orally communicated to the communities, using any of the media discussed in Chapter Seven, two months before the due date. As stated in Chapter Seven, this timing conforms to the villages' working calenders and thus enable the residents to adequately get involved and prepare for *Umulondo*. During summer the communities

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[2]

By this was said to be meant having houses which are nicely thatched, well moulded, built within residential and not cultivation precincts. It also meant that the houses must have toilets. By ensuring minimum hygienic standard in this way, the communities, among other things, minimise the chances of malaria epidemics in the rainy season which follows shortly after this inspection. The inspectors also seek to establish and ensure that the houses are not be congested. Thus, grown up children are expected to have separate housing units within the family yard. It is for this reason that the inspectors require every member of the family to be present during inspection.

are not busy with the fields. It is in fact the time when they remodel and rethatch their houses. The annunciation of *Umulondo* two months in advance is intended to facilitate the communities' readiness for the Chiefs' visits and inspection. As a rule, no one leaves the village on the inspection day, as that would be tantamount to being disrespectful of the Chief and his entourage.

The above bespeaks the continued existence of communal and cultural values, which are favourable for high community participation. Respect for the traditional leadership was one of the factors which fostered high levels of community participation under the indigenous modes of communal work. The continued existence of respect for traditional leadership and many other cultural, communitarian and communal values among the people is further corroborated by the following case study.

At the time of the inquiries into the indigenous modes of communal work, there was an ongoing project in Musaila village. The project was about building an extra classroom block at the local primary school. The community had already finished building the classroom block and were only left with putting up the roof. However, the community had been unable to secure the timber/planks for the roof for a long time. As a result, the project had come to a standstill, until a week before these inquiries were conducted in this community. The community had just received some help which enabled it to purchase the planks at the time of the inquiries[3]. The collection of planks from the Boma (district headquarters) took place during the period of the studies in this village. Besides being invited, it was the intention of this researcher to attend this

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[3] The money for purchasing the planks had be donated by a local Member of Parliament through the Councillor who worked closely with the senior headman and the Parents Teachers Association of the school to mobilise the community especially the parents who had their children at the school. As an ongoing project, there had already been community meetings and a lot of work had been done under the leadership of the headman.

assignment to observe the level of participation by the community members in their own development. Led by their headman, Senior Headman Musaila, the residents walked, and a few cycled, for 12 km to the District Forestry sales department to fetch the planks they had purchased.

The manner in which the community went about acquiring the planks and transporting them testifies the existence of a strong sense of communal responsibility and communitarian values. The community defied the lack of transport and walked 24 km (12 x 2) to go and fetch the planks for the school, which they said was for "their children". This entailed waking up at 05:00 am, especially for those who had no bicycles, and starting off for the Boma. There was no need for a meeting partly because it was too early in the morning and everyone knew what to do and where to go. The residents nevertheless woke up their neighbours and walked in small groups. It was at the timber sales office that the headman gave what might be termed a motivational address, while the community was waiting for the sales office to open for business[4]. The community collected the planks and returned to the village. Those who had bicycles carried at last two planks each. Some of the residents, especially women, who had no bicycles carried one plank between two of them. The planks were not all collected in one day. It was decided that the community would take another trip at a later stage.

What was even more impressive about this project was how the community had decided and discussed, and planned to implement the decision about building the classroom block by itself. It was reported, following this researcher's questions about the background of the project, that

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[4]

It was clearly noticeable that indeed the community would tell which members of their community were absent. They asked after one another, as if to announce someone truancy. Even those who came late appeared quite uneasy. This feeling and interaction would indeed deter one from staying away from communal work.

the community felt that the classroom project had been long overdue. Its requests to the government for assistance had not borne any results. The government kept saying it had no money to spend on the community's need for an extra classroom. The community headman, the school headmaster and the sub-headmen decided that the community should just build the classroom block by itself and they summoned the 'citizens' to the village/community meeting. This announcement for this community meeting had been done through *Imbila*. The headman had also asked the leaders of all the churches within the village to announce the school project community meeting in their churches. It was through these meetings and several others that the project was planned and implemented as described already.

Could this communal, communitarian and cooperative spirit be said to have been expressed because the community was in the rural areas, where the people still live by old communal cultural value systems? To the contrary, the people in urban areas did not only articulate a similar affinity for, and belief in the efficacy of, collective strategies in confronting community problems. Rather, as the following case study shows, they actually cooperated to solve their problems along the lines of the beneficiary-driven development model.

The urban experience: The case of Clermont, Pinetown, South Africa[5]

The study was conducted for three months, between April and July 1997 in Clermont township. Clermont township is an urban area which is just outside Pinetown and only twenty kilometres from Durban city. The township falls under the Inner West City Council. It is divided into seven wards, which in turn are sub-divided into sections. As in Musaila community, the study in Clermont was conducted through participant observation. The *participant-as-observer* technique was used to collect the data in this community. As stated earlier, this was because the study in Clermont lasted relatively longer. Also, this researcher was more involved in this community's work. He therefore had more contact with the researched in this community than in Musaila community. The study entailed taking part in the community's work, which was conducted on Saturdays.

The Saturday sanitation campaign work by the Clermont community, upon which this case study is based, followed the resolution by the Inner West City Council to involve its communities in their community development. This was summed up in the maxim, *"delivering services to the*

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[5]

There is no suggestion that this researcher started this project. Similarly, it is incorrect to think that the Inner West City Council started this particular project. The Council initiated the framework within which the project was carried out, i.e. the resolution to involve its communities in the delivery of services. Accordingly the Council also offered some material support to the community in this project. The various Councillors became the links between this resolution (or theory) and its implementation (or practice) by the various communities falling under the Council. Accordingly, various communities embarked on various projects under their Councillors' leadership. From this perspective, it might be correct to suggest that the various communities' Councillors might have proposed some projects to their communities, from which the communities settled for one, like sanitation campaign in the case of Clermont community. This is particular likely to be correct in that different communities/wards which fall under the Inner West City Council undertook different projects within the same frame work of delivering service to the people through the people. Thus, while Clermont carried out sanitation campaign other communities engaged in projects ranging from fundraising for the maintenance of schools found in their areas to community policing activities. It is therefore clear that the Council did not initiate this particular project of sanitation campaign in Clermont or indeed any other community's particular project. The Council helped with material resources, which is absolutely correct as far as the beneficiary-driven development model is concerned. This note is intended to clarify one examiner's concern that the project was initiated by the council and not by the community.

people through the people". This resolution required the Councillors to organise their communities, work with their communities in identifying the problems and design the collective strategies for solving those problems. Therefore, the implementation of this resolution depended on the commitment and skills of the community leadership, the Councillors.

Following the Council's publicity of this resolution through the local newspapers, a community newspaper and Ukhozi Radio, this researcher got interested and approached the Mayor, His Excellence Mr S'bu Gwacela, who referred him to the deputy, who also referred him to another official. After several referrals, this researcher finally got the men who were going to make it happen and with whom there was going to be a lasting relationship - the Councillors themselves. After the introduction and the statement of the purpose of the study/interest, this researcher was welcome initially as a just another participant and later as some 'technical advisor', helping in the designing of the work.

The community's sanitation work was accordingly under the auspices of the Inner West City Council. Thus, wherever possible the Council would assist the Councillors and their communities materially and otherwise in their collective strategies. According to the plan, the community was divided into smaller units, the already existing wards. It was designed that the wards would work separately and on different Saturdays. The residents would work with the confines of their wards[6]. Under the leadership of the local councillors of the particular wards,

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[6]

The wards were free to work two or three Saturdays in row during this project, as long as the residents were willing. However, this meant that they would not have the facilities provided to them by the facilitating agencies (the Council, the Parks Board and Highway Mail), as it would be another community or ward's turn to use the facilities. Thus, for instance, Ward B 7 worked three of the eight Saturdays of which they had the facilities only provided for them only once. This was the arrangement and was mutually agreed among the Councillors based on the understanding that the facilities were few and needed to be shared.

all of whom resided in their respective wards, the communities worked Saturdays starting in the morning to early afternoons for the period stated above.

The residents would be informed about their community meetings by announcements through the local radio, Radio Ukhozi (formerly Radio Zulu), through small posters and through a mobile loudhailer. The meeting venues varied according to each ward. The most popular venues were three local churches which served the meeting places before and on the days of work: the Catholic, Methodist and Pentecostal churches' yards. It was at such meetings, often held during late in the week days, that the work was planned under the leadership of the Councilors and their committees. Proposals would be suggested at the meetings for the most pressing problems which the communities thought needed collective attention. Among the proposals was one about the community's sanitation. It was generally felt that the broader Clermont surrounds were filthy and needed cleaning. This was rightly so because the Council did not regularly provide garbage collection services. Among other reasons, the council did not service this community because the garbage collection trucks could not reach most parts of the township. The Council also claimed it did not have enough resources to regularly provide this service especially that most of the business owners in the community did not pay rates to augment the costs of the services. Given this, the community's choice for the sanitation campaign was indeed a right one that was widely appreciated in the communities. Thus, every ward settled for the sanitation campaign. This campaign entailed cleaning the streets and the surrounds of the community by the community itself. The communities were defined by the boundaries of the wards. This campaign became known as *Keep Clermont Clean Campaign*s.

The results of the study were as follow:

- The Clermont community work was very successful in terms of leadership and organisation, community participation, and support from resource systems and coverage by the media like the local community newspaper, the Highway Mail;

- Resource systems consistently assisted in various ways. The churches consistently provided the venues which were in a way the most convenient; The Inner West City Council itself provided (a) refreshments which the communities had after work, (b) refuse removal trucks, bags and personnel and (c) T-shirts inscribed Masakhane, meaning let us build together; the Natal Parks Board provided additional tools, vans and personnel;

- Participation was very high and consistent. Whether this was due to the T-Shirts, it still takes away nothing from the consistent and high levels of participation by the community members;

- Besides that they generally assumed the duties of preparing and serving refreshments, women were particularly active in all sections of the campaigns;

- The Councillors were very effective in their leadership roles, hence the impressive assistance from the resources systems;

- The end of this researcher's study in the community was marked by the invitation of the Councillors to speak at a seminar at Natal University's Centre for Cultural and Media Studies about the successful work that had been undertaken in their communities. This presentation also provided this researcher to thank these leaders and, through them, their communities;

- Although the study ended, the relationship between this researcher and the Clermont community and its leadership has not. They often get in touch with, and appraise, this researcher on what is going on in the community in terms of development work by

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telephone, and sometimes through the researcher's supervisor by telephone. Accordingly, following the communities' decision to diversify their areas of community work, this researcher has, though unsuccessfully, tried to get the communities some disposed containers for use by the community entrepreneurs as infrastructure for their stalls.

The following pictures are some of the illustrations of the Clermont community showing the beneficiary-driven development model in practice.

Figure Eight
Beneficiary-driven development model in practice: The Clermont experience

Conclusions and lessons from the two studies: Assessing the perceived potential limitations of the model

Conclusions

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the two studies. Firstly, there is indigenous knowledge for solving community problems, which the African people have cultivated out of their direct experience of problems. This knowledge might be localised to a particular people. Rather than being viewed as a weakness, this should be viewed as a strength because it ensures that the knowledge for solving problems is specific to the contexts of the problems it solves. The search for context-specific solutions for development problems is what is at the centre of this thesis and the concern of every development scholar and policy maker who sincerely agrees that the technical view of development has been the greatest undoing as it encourages the manufacturing of solutions for problems which are generally localised, resulting in development failing to meet the intended beneficiaries' aspirations or being unsustainable.

Secondly, it is evident from the findings that indigenous knowledge adapts to the time and the situations. This is how and why this knowledge has not only evolved over centuries but also survived the onslaught of modernisation. Thus, despite all the foreign influences, the changes in the communities' dispositions and the length of time that has elapsed since it was developed, indigenous knowledge still continues in African communities, as the findings of the Zambian studies have shown.

Thirdly, there is no doubt from the findings of the studies that indigenous knowledge such as communal practices can be used as a basis of successful and sustainable self-organising

community development policies. There are sufficient reasons for encouraging self-organising community development along the lines of communal modes of collective work and, based on the two case studies' findings, there is reason to be optimistic about the success of such policies.

Fourthly, although much has indeed changed in terms of the cultural and communitarian values and organic disposition of today's African communities compared to the pre-modern ones, high participation of the community members in community work is still very possible. From these findings, there is no evidence that community participation would be an exclusive phenomenon of the rural areas. There is evidence that community participation is also feasible in the urban areas. Therefore, the beneficiary-driven development model can be applicable in both the rural and urban communities.

Some lessons

The findings of the studies have lessons which can be applied to the concerns raised at the end of Chapter Six[7]. In both case studies, there were indications that the beneficiary driven-development model could work. There was no leadership conflict, **as the leadership structures used were contextually appropriate**. Thus, in the case of the rural Zambian community, the committee comprised the headman and sub-headmen (equivalent to section leaders in the urban areas). These leaders spearheaded and directed the work processes. In the case of Clermont

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[7]

The potential limitations included the concerns about whether collective community action was possible and where the community members' urge for voluntary participation would come from; how to ensure broader participation; whether the processes would not be dominated by a few individuals; whether there would not be leadership conflicts between community leaders (project, traditional and civic/political leadership); how and whether the communities could relate with external resource systems; how resources provided to community development projects could be administered and kept; Whether this kind of development process would not be too long, labourious and time consuming; and whether it was possible for the external resources systems to facilitate without running the roost.

township, an urban area, there were ward committees, which were made up of the section leaders and their respective ward Councillor. These committees, which were interestingly called development committees, were headed by the respective Councillors.

In both cases, **the resources were provided according to the direct needs of the project**. Cash was provided in the Zambian case where the government minister and area Member of Parliament helped the community to secure the resources (roofing sheets, planks and packets of cements). The community itself bought and transported the resources from the district headquarters on bicycles and on foot. In the South African Clermont case, the council and the Parks Board provided the garbage collection tracks, several types of tools and refreshments.

Like in Musaila, women in Clermont community prepared and served the refreshments at the end of work. Contrary to the concern that particpatory development processes would take too long, the **work in both case studies took shorter and took up less resources** than it would have done if the projects had been externally-driven.

In both cases, communication was effective and the projects were successful mostly because of the **micro-zoning approach**. That is, in terms of communication, it was audience-specific and it was not just about disseminating messages but also about ensuring that messages were widely received by their intended audiences. The **communities used the media which were widely accessed so that the messages could reach and solicit the attention of as many residents** as possible. Thus, in the case of Musaila village in Zambia, the community communicated orally through *Imbila* done at dusk or dawn, the time when it was certain that everyone would receive the messages; and face-to-face interpersonal communication, which gave everyone the

opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. In Clermont, the community leaders announced community meetings using several media - radio, posters, mobile vehicle announcement and door-to-door oral communication - to ensure that the information reached many residents. In this way, many residents would know about the meetings, attend them and participate in making decisions and plans for the projects. Thus, this kind of communication facilitated everyone's participation in decision-making and consequently gave everyone the sense of ownership of the project. As much as possible, the projects themselves were kept at the micro or community levels in both cases. This helped to minimise potential problems of poor community participation that could be caused by operating at broader communities levels.

Despite being different in terms of quantity, type and attention with which it was rendered, there was assistance from resource systems in both cases. The studies' findings reveal **that the communities knew not only whom or which agency they should approach for assistance which was relevant to their projects but also the type of assistance they needed for their projects.** This vindicates the Freirean notion of 'naming the world' - that is, people know their problems and possible solutions although they might lack the means to implement the planned solutions. Thus, both communities asked only for material they thought would help them in their work. There was no indication of misappropriation of any resources rendered as assistance. While Musaila community got the assistance in the form of cash so that it could purchase the kind of timber it thought suited its project, Clermont community always got the assistance in the form of material which the community leaders requested before the days their communities were working. One cannot tell whether the nature of work the two communities of study did was the reason there were no reports of resource misappropriations. However, it is worthy being noted that contrary to fears of maladministration of resources secured for self-organising community

development, there was responsible appropriation of the resources provided for the projects in the two case studies.

Some limitations and Problems encountered during the trial of the model

There were still some limitations and problems encountered in the course of the two studies. Their mention is intended for further research with a view to finding solutions which could enhance the beneficiary-driven development model. Thus, as it was always conceded by the community leaders at the end of work when thanking the communities, not all members of the community turned up for work in both cases. Although the participating residents said they did not want any truant to be punished as everyone needed to attend community work on her/his own conviction, staying away by some community members can adversely affect the beneficiary-driven development model.

With regard to the Clermont case, work could not start on the planned date. Thus, only 8 instead of 12 Saturdays were worked. This was due to some planning hitches, which led to work not being done on some Saturdays. At the start of the sanitation project/campaign, it was planned that three wards would work together and the remaining four would to work in pairs. Nothing was done until after the third Saturday. This was because the plan was not clearly and sufficiently communicated to the members of the three wards assigned to work collectively. Similarly, there was confusion among the wards expected to work in pairs, as most residents did not know which ward they were to be paired with. It was at this researcher's suggestion that work be done in smaller units and on smaller operation scales defined according to the wards that work finally took off. This researcher could not attend the community's work one Saturday due

to a Catholic Media Workshop at Marian Hill Parish in June 1997. As the case study itself shows, undertaking the projects on smaller geographical scopes or units of operations could alleviate the problems of low levels of community participation and difficult planning.

It is would also be advisable that different communities avoid undertaking similar projects at the same so as to minimise the difficulties (a) that come with the feeling that one community deserves the facilitation more than the other and (b) facilitators might face to help similar projects at once. Although it did not really affect the project in Clermont, conducting similar projects in neighbouring communities (wards) nearly impacted adversely on the work, as the facilitating agencies had only enough resources that could help one community at a time. This meant that a community could either work with no assistance while another worked with assistance or it could not work at all until the time when assistance would be available for it. This situation can be alleviated by advising the communities through their leadership to engage in community projects that are different from other communities' at the same.

Towards making the model better and more effective: Recommendations

The beneficiary-driven development aims at making the intended development beneficiaries to become actively involved in planning and implementing their development. The means for this lies with the Oral Particpatory Communication approach. This approach seeks to ensure that development messages speak to the intended audiences by giving them increased control over, and access to, communication rather than information. The approach draws from the views scholars like John Dewey (1915), Brenda Dervin and Kathleen Clark (1989) and others who conceive communication as a *"process which binds people together into a community"* (Dervin

and Clark: 1989: 5). It particularly also draws from Dervin and Clark's (1989:5) *'the whats'* conception of communication, which emphasises the <u>contents</u> of (development) communication more than anything else[8].

It is important to pay attention to the contents/messages of communication because this would ensure that (development) communication relates to the communication environments. This is essential because, as Raymond Williams (1958: 310) asserts, *"any theory of communication is a theory of community"*. Therefore, real participatory (community development) communication would require to relate development communication to the communities in which it is to take place and to involve those for whom it is intended.

Community participation in designing and communicating their development needs is important because it would lead to the identification of the real problems facing the communities, based on their perceptions. As social reality is a product of collective and associated action, collective strategies for confronting community problems provides a potentially effective way of identifying and solving these problems. What is more, as John Dewey (1915: 5) pointed out, involving the communities designing development messages is necessary because *"society does not exist by transmission, by communication, but also in transmission and in communication"*. This would ensure that the communities (who are at the same time the audiences of the development messages) arrive at the same meaning of the messages and ensure that development messages are

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Dervin and Clark (1989: 5) have delineated three aspects of communication: *'the whos'*, *'the whats'* and *'the successes and failures'*. By 'the whos' Dervin and Clark refer to the practice of communication in which more emphasis is put on the communication structures (channels, technologies and institution and communicators); by 'the whats' they mean the practice of communication in which the emphasis is on the contents incorporated into the messages being sent; by the 'successes and failures' they mean communication in which the emphasis is on sending messages with a view to changing the recipients into a particular desired state of being.

culturally acceptable and relevant.

Participatory Communication approach could make development communication to be effective, as it would forestall the designing of redundant development messages by involving the intended audiences and beneficiaries in the programming of such messages. Thus, this approach seeks to foster development communication which is based on dialogue, with messages flowing vertically between and from development beneficiaries to benefactors, and horizontally among development beneficiaries.

To accomplish this approach and, through it, the beneficiary-driven community development model, requires (a) micro-zonal media modelling, (b)facilitative policies, (c) strong and skilful community leadership, (d) skilful community media practitioners and (e) supportive external development agencies and expertise. These recommendations deserve to be discussed in some detail.

Micro-zonal communication approach: Community media

Micro-zonal communication approach requires the development communicators to select and use the media that are commonly used and widely accessed in the communities where development projects are implemented. The aim is to foster horizontal communication, dialogue and feedback in the communities. This would ensure that the residents have unhindered access to the media so that they could participate in deciding, planning and implementing their development. Besides ensuring wide reception of messages, this would also lead to high levels of participation by the communities. In the rural areas *Imbila* and other traditional media and means of making sense

might continue to serve this purpose. The performance of these media may be greatly enhanced if the communities were provided with portable loudhailers. At the risk of repetition, it is important to reiterate why traditional media appear to be more potent in community development communication than the mass media. These views are evident from the findings of the studies discussed in this thesis:

i.   Traditional media are less costly,

ii.   As doing *Imbila* at dusk and/or dawn shows, traditional media can be effective due to their selective exposure[9]. That is, *Imbil*a is done at a time when the communities' particular audience is certain to "tune in" - in the evening when adults are relaxing and at dawn when they are waking up;

iii.   These media are readily available to all members of the communities;

iv.   They give everyone the access to 'programming', as the messages they transmit are designed by the very people who are the intended audiences;

v.   Due to (iv), these media's messages can be said to be directly oriented to the particular audience. This minimises the possibility of the messages/communication campaigns to fail, as traditional media communication overcomes psychological barriers to communication like *chronic " 'know-nothing'"* and *"selective interpretation"*, which leads people to interpreting same messages differently. The whole community would know the

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Selective exposure to information is defined as *"systematic bias in audience composition"* done either through broadcasting for a ceratin audience or at a particular time. For more, see D. Sears and J. Freedman. 1974. 'Selective exposure to information: A critical review' in W. Schramm and D. Roberts. (eds.). 1974. *The process and effects of mas communication.* Urbana: University of Illinois. p 211.

message's meaning[10];

These factors make traditional media's messages to be potentially more effective than the mass media's, hence the need to facilitate these media's use in community development communication.

In the urban areas, and eventually in the rural areas as well, community radio and newspapers would serve this purpose better and faster as they would reach a broader spectrum of the communities instantly and quickly. Community mass media practitioners would have to relate the messages to the particular communities' lived realities. This would require having the broadcast structures within the communities so that the communities can participate in the 'programming' process of the messages that are broadcast to them through their community radios. That is, the communities must initiate the development messages that are meant for them.

The above suggestion of using the mass media for communication in the development of urban and eventually rural communities is deliberate and despite the valid argument that there is little evidence of their contribution to development so far. Furthermore, it is well known that "*despite the dramatic advances in the spread of the mass media, large segments of populations are still without access to them*" and that the mass media have a "*bias which codifies the messages in a way that make them fail to correspond to the intended audiences*" (Beltran, 1974a: 17-20). However, the point of the suggestion made above is best expressed by the following anecdotes. These anecdotes make one important point. That is, if used effectively, the mass media can play

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For more on the barriers to communication, which the use of traditional media can overcome, see H. Hyman and P. Sheatsley (1974: 449-450). 'Some reasons why information campaigns fail' in W. Schramm and D. Roberts. (eds.) *Op Cit.*

its rightful role in communication for community development.

Bertolt Brecht (1967: 119-134) asserted that *"the radio had to be changed from an apparatus for disseminating messages to one for communication. If only the radio could receive, as well as transmit, messages, it would be the perfect medium; it would enable the listener not only to receive but to impart as well. The listener instead of being isolated would become a participant"* (underlining added).

The late Richard Burton, British actor, also commented in a similar way. He once said: *"TV is an evil medium. It should not have been invented"*. But he was quick to add that *" since we have to live with it, let us try to do something about it"* (Observer, 1969: 2).

Development communicators would share the above concerns, given their desire to use the mass media for communication in development. The point the anecdotes are making is that there is still no question about the mass media's role in development. What is doubtful is whether the mass media can foster any development in Sub-Saharan African countries given their current mass media genre. Worse still, this is unlikely under the current mass communication practice whereby communication often masks the variety of need, interest, language and culture. It is at this point that development communication scholars and practitioners share, particularly, the late Richard Burton's challenge. The challenge is to do something to ensure that the mass media are used more effectively for development than they have been used so far. Community mass media provide one way towards *"doing something about the mass media"* to make the effective tools for community development.

Policy

There is development communication policy that would aim at facilitating the achievement of the micro-zonal recommendation. The policy would be important as it would provide the framework for such media and array the concerns that often lead to central governments' unwillingness to devolve and facilitate communication to micro levels. The potential benefits of micro media modelling would be more than community development. These media would facilitate the communities' input into other policy matters and enhance communication between the leadership and their communities. Lessons for micro media policy might be drawn from various countries which have experience with micro-zonal communication. Canada, Australia, Bolivia, Peru and India are among these countries.

Development project leadership

It is perhaps the leadership which is the most important prerequisite for the beneficiary-driven development model. How and whether the communities would participate fully in deciding, planning and implementing their development ideas largely depends on the kind of leadership the communities have. Community leadership needs to be consistent and committed to their communities' development initiative. It is for this reason that it is recommended that the leadership comes from the intended development beneficiary communities. This would make the leadership committed, accountable and consistent, as they live in the communities and face the same reality that the community seeks to work on. This gives the local leadership an edge over the leadership that would come from outside the communities in terms of representing the communities' real aspirations.

Resource systems, assistance and linkages

The linkages of the communities to the appropriate resources systems which might help them with the required resources will depend greatly on the community leadership. This will require commitment and consistence of the community leadership for contacting and requesting institutions/organisation for assistance. Commitment is vital in that it is likely that there will be times when the request persistently meet with failure. The experiences of this researcher to source used containers for use as infrastructure by the Clermont entrepreneurs are instructive. None of the five institutions asked for this assistance responded favourably. Despite this, the search continued. Perhaps, by the time this thesis is marked, Portnet will have responded favourably, having contacted its management through its Public Relations Manageress, Ms. Yvonne de Kock. The point being made here is the need for a committed and consistent leadership. It is recommended that the leadership comes from within the development beneficiary communities.

Assistance from external agencies/resource systems

Going shopping for project materials might be cumbersome for the communities in view of the economic assumption of opportunity cost, especially if the community leaders have full-time employment or have other pressing personal/household matters to attend to. This is most likely to be the case in the urban areas where many community members might be employed and might only be available for community assignments during weekends. Therefore, it is recommended that the communities seek and/or be given the assistance in the form of the material rather than cash. This would be more convenient for the communities, as it would save them time and

energy to go shopping and transporting the materials.

Timing and venues of community project/programme meetings and work

Participation of community members in their community development project meetings and implementation will depend greatly on the timing and venues of community fora and work. If these factors are considered to ensure that they suit as many people as possible, the community members' participation is likely to be high. For instance, besides other factors, it is highly probable that the high participation of the Clermont community members in their sanitation projects discussed in this chapter was also due to the projects work being done on Saturdays when most members were off their main duties. Holding community meetings at the churches undoubtedly contributed to the high turn out of the community members because not only are the churches easily reached but, in places were there is great political diversity like in Clermont, the churches would appear to be the most neutral places. Although there were no political undertones throughout the study in Clermont despite the Councillors themselves and their communities having different political affiliations, it is not unlikely that holding such meetings at a place known to be politically inclined to one or the other party would have impacted on who and how many attended community fora. It is the view that political unity, tolerance and neutrality are important factors for self-organising collective community development work. Thus, it is recommended that community fora should be held according to the communities' popular working calenders and that they should held at politically neutral places such as churches, community halls and schools. These factors can be established by communities themselves.

Research

The successful implementation of the beneficiary-driven development model would require further research for solutions to the potential limitations identified and mentioned earlier as well as ways in which to implement the above recommendations. The following are some of the areas for further research.

Truancy by some community members

In the two case studies, not all residents participated in the communities' projects. However, the residents who had participated did not seem bothered by this problem. The fact is that this is potentially a problem, as it supposes the tendency of free riding. In the long run, it might affect other members of the communities and prevent them from participating further in collective undertakings. Therefore, this is a problem that will need further research with a view to finding ways in which the communities can sustain their non-punitive attitudes towards those who do not participate in community projects without themselves stopping to participate.

Planning for larger communities

In Clermont community, work could not start partly because of poor communication. It would also appear that this was caused by the fact that three wards were too many to work collectively, as work started following the plan for the wards to work separately. There is a need to research for ways of planning that would avoid confusion when collective work is planned for larger communities. This is important as the communities would vary in size and still fall under the same leadership structures.

Participatory communication skills

There is need to find ways in which the communities can create their own messages in participatory ways, especially in the urban areas where community radios operate, and hence participate in the programming of their community media messages. The research should also be conducted on how the community residents can be skilled so that they can give their input in their community affairs so that their community projects/programmes include their views. This is important as it would minimise the attendant concerns of lack of consensus on the community's priorities and course of action.

Funding and expertise

Communities would most likely lack the necessary resources. There is need for finding ways in which the communities can be helped to know where to seek assistance for their projects. This assistance could be in the form of material resources and/or expertise. The communities' failure to secure assistance timely could discourage them to undertake collective assignments in future. Therefore, there is need to devise ways of avoiding delayed assistance to communities implementing collective development initiatives as was the case in Musaila where the community project had been stopped half-way because the community could not get help in time.

Responsive community media - channels for community dialogue

However, caution must be taken to avoid making community radios a platform for the privileged minority in the marginalised communities. There is an attendant danger of community media ceasing to sideline community issues, as they become increasingly music stations. Furthermore, As Zakes Mda (1994: 141) points out, there is an attendant danger as community radios aspire to become commercial stations. Their operators view micro media modelling largely as an

"infancy stage of broadcasting from which they should graduate to commercial adulthood".

From this perspective, it would be impossible for the community media to really serve as vehicles for dialogue in the communities. There is therefore need for further research to find ways in which either the two objectives can be achieved or the objective of community dialogue through community media is maintained. It is important that in the search for lessons particularly on how to run community media for development the researchers and policy makers do not adopt without adapting the borrowed ideas. Copying without redesigning has been the causative failure for many innovations in Africa.

Training of community media workers - Developmental journalism

There is need for training community media practitioners. They would need skills on collecting views from the communities and programming the messages that would include the communities' views, which would then become the basis of collective intervention. This is what is known as *'development journalism'* (Edeani, 1993: 126; Musa, 1997: 137)[11]. This refers to the kind of journalism which *"pays sustained attention to the coverage of ideas, policies, programmes, activities and events dealing with the improvement of life of a people. It takes the stand that media have a social responsibility in development"* (Edeani, 1993: 126). *"A development journalist is interpretative and investigative. [He] acts as the conscience of society and voice of the voiceless."* (Musa, 1997: 137). Therefore, for community media practitioners to successfully perform the development journalism role, they would need to become, as Bella

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There is a distinction between developmental journalism, which was fully discussed in Chapter Five, and development journalism which is discussed here. For further discussion see D. Edeani. 'Role development journalism in Nigeria's development'. *Gazette*. 52. 1993. pp 123-143; J. Merrill, 1995. *Global journalism: Survey of international journalism*. New York: Longman; B. Musa, 'Uses and abuses of development media theory in Sub-Saharan Africa: Critique of quasi-descriptive and prescriptive theory'. *Ecquid Novi*. 18. (1). 1997. pp 132-147.

Mody points out, " *researchers who are seriously committed to the cause rather than those who are monogamously wedded to science for their own sakes, to methodology for fear's sake, and to publishing in academic journals for increment and promotion's sakes*".

Training community leaders

As stated earlier community leaders can encourage or discourage community participation, depending on how they lead the communities at planning meetings and how they identify themselves. Thus, some members might feel discouraged if the community leader presents himself as a member of the party they do not belong to. There is need therefore to find ways for developing community leadership skills to alleviate leadership crises. This might take the form of community development leadership courses run by development facilitators. The aims of the courses can include making the leaders acquire, among others, the skills to ensure harmony and unity within political and cultural diversity.

Conclusion

The beneficiary-driven development model depends on communication. It requires that the messages speak to the intended audiences, arousing both their response and action in the form of participation. This requires contextualising communication by involving the intended audiences in the design, construction and programming the development messages. This can be done through micro-zonal media modelling, which can be in the form of community radio, community newspapers, theatre and *Imbila* facilitated by loudhailers, and interpersonal communication. As well as being informed, people need to be involved in the conception of messages. Involving the communities in programming their development messages makes the

messages to be more effective, as the communities would identify with the messages easily and act accordingly. The case studies discussed in this chapter suggest as much. Unless people are involved, appropriate media are used and the messages reflect the relevant variety of realities, the much hankered-after development through communication will still remain a pipe dream.

Besides that the need to practice *communication as if people mattered,* to adapt Fritz Schumacker's words, derives from people's right to be informed and to instruct policy and action concerning them, involving people in communication would ensure the accurate representation of their needs. This would in turn facilitate the design of effective interventions and policies. *The darkest thing about Africa has always been our ignorance of it.* With the beneficiary-driven development model, which turns on more lights by facilitating the delivery of what the communities need and not what they should have, the continent might be illuminated.

Chapter Nine
Recapitulation

What has been missing most in many of today's development discourses and responses to community problems is the sincerity of development scholars and practitioners. People who should, and actually do, know better, choose or are forced to embrace the top-down development practice for whatever reasons, be it plain survival. The ultimate and lasting effect of this is dependency of those meant to be served and unsustainable community development. Call it anything but I call it intellectual immorality because to provide solutions without addressing the root causes is not only irresponsible but also cunning.
Emmanuel Kasongo, 1997: 1.

Epilogue

This chapter is a recapitulation of the whole thesis. Several reasons spurred this thesis. Among them is the growing agreement among development scholars and practitioners that Africa's dismal development performance since the 1950s could be due to the exclusionary development manner rather than cultural irrationality. Another reason for undertaking this thesis was the need to articulate a development model which, with further intellectual research, could alleviate Sub-Saharan African countries' development failures, lessen these countries' unquestioning quest for development based on alien ideas and resources and lead to sustainable community development. Accordingly, this thesis advanced and researched the beneficiary-driven development model whose means lies with the Oral Participatory Communication approach. The model aims at fostering self-organising community development through participatory decision-making and communication. As its means, the Particpatory Communication approach requires the use of media that give the communities unhindered access to communication, rather than information, in development. The results of the case studies conducted in Musaila and Clermont communities provide the empirical corroboration for this development understanding and model. The following sections sum up the thesis's main arguments, themes and recommendations.

Faulty yet popular: The lingering modernisation development discourse and practice

The discourse around communication strategies and development implies a lot of ideas about the paradigms of understanding applied to both development and communication. Communication in development, media and development, Development Support Communication and similar concepts have become vogue in current debates about development. These terms and their associated practices have superseded earlier paradigms of development, now considered abject failures by a growing band of scholars. Development studies, too, has lost the critical allure it gained during the 1970s and 1980s. Critique and macro-analysis gave way to micro-projects working with real people. Yet, even in these supposedly community-based projects, top-down assumptions often continue to alienate those who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of development projects.

The discussions throughout this thesis consistently pointed to the need to bring about a practical shift from the 'entrepreneurial' top-down externally-driven development practice, which is the conventional and still popular model, to the participatory bottom-up beneficiary-driven development practice. The thesis posited the means for the envisaged paradigm shift as lying with communication. While the externally-driven/modernisation development model has been practised through Development Communication approach since the 1950s and through Development Support Communication approach since the 1980s, this thesis has proposed the Participatory Communication approach for the beneficiary-driven development model. Besides that '*Another Development*' deserves '*Another Communication*', doing otherwise would be like

"tearing a piece off a new coat to patch an old one, ... or pouring new wine into old wineskins"[1].

If that were done the Development Communication and Development Support Communication approaches would be misplaced and the beneficiary-driven development model flawed. The Development Communication and Development Support Communication approaches are traced and critically commented on, with the comments serving as reason for the adoption of the Participatory Communication approach.

The Genesis of communication in development - The Development Communication approach

Theories of development within the discipline of communication initially revolved around American modernization theories of the 1950s. Modernisation paradigm saw underdevelopment as a product of internal cultural barriers. It posited ignorance, backwardness and irrationality of the peasantry in particular as the root of underdevelopment. Wilbur Schramm (1964: 31) makes this point as he asserts that " *traditional cultures are hostile to change and lacking in economic motivation. The agricultural villager tends to live at a subsistence level rather than in a money economy; he brings up a large family for 'old age insurance' and uses all his money immediately rather than save it in bank accounts or insurance policies"*.

Development scholars who ascribed to the above view of the causes of the Third World's underdevelopment included Daniel Lerner (1958/1966), Everett Rogers (1962; 1971) and Wilbur Schramm (1964). Accordingly, they propagated the <u>cure</u> which called for vast doses of

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[1]

Lk. 5: 36-39

modernisation through the <u>mass media</u>, aimed at breaking down traditional values, introducing technical skills, encouraging national integration and accelerating the growth of formal education. It became accepted that the Third World's development would be a matter of information and innovation transfer from the West. The information technologies were seen to be the means for this development. As Wilbur Schramm (1964: 50) asserts, it was believed that the mas media would *"fill in the gap for the traditional norms, when the new roles are created"* in the Third World societies. He concludes that *"gradually the flow of information leads to broadening of the horizons, and if the information is sufficient"* development would *"happen without a bitter struggle between traditional isolationism and the new international* (development) *viewpoints"*.

The mass media were seen to be the magic *"mobility multipliers"* that would hasten the flow of, and the communities' access to, (development) information, transport better experiences from other lands and quicken the replacement of the allegedly developmentally antithetical traditions in the Third World. Daniel Lerner (1966: 48), and later many others, asserted that *"everywhere increasing media exposure has gone with wider economic participation"*, expressed by rising *"per capita income, wider political participation"*, expressed by *"voting"*. This correlation between media exposure and development reaffirmed the mass media's perceived capacity to widen the horizons, focus the attention, raise the aspirations of the development audience and beneficiary communities and rapidly create a climate for innovation adoption and development (Schramm, 1964). The diffusion of innovation discourse of the early 1970s added inspiration to this understanding and reaffirmed the understanding that the Third World countries' development would be a function of *"channelling information and resources downwards to the grassroots to get effects"* (Rogers, 1971: 4). The Development Communication approach accordingly drew its inspiration and internal consistency from this understanding.

Local problems, foreign solutions: development by effects...

The above conception of communication development assumed the centrality of the mass media in innovation diffusion, trickle-down processes and behaviour adoption. It subtly meant meeting needs which are local and context specific with solutions which are foreign (external to the beneficiary communities) and general, albeit rational and conventionally correct. So, with communication seen as a means for this kind of development, there followed a remarkable growth of electronic media worldwide. As the (Sean) MacBride Commission final report reveals, there was a great increase in radio and television set ownership in the Third World, Africa in particular, due to the enormous influx of these media into the Third World countries in the period 1960 - 76:

- In Africa, there were 7 times as many radio sets and 20 times as many televison sets,

- In Asia, the ratio went up by 5 time as many radio and televison sets,

- In Latin America, there were 4 times as many radios and almost 10 times as many TV sets.

Relating these figures to the period 1950 - 1975 and looking at the world scale, the following can be shown:

- Percentage increase in the number of radio sets rose by 417%,

- Percentage increase in the number of TV sets rose by 3,235%.

From Development Communication to Development Support Communication

Then emerged the notion of Development Support Communication in the early 1980s. Development Support Communication emerged in the context of the perceived flaws of the modernization paradigm and the Development Communication approach such as the *"operational impasse caused by the absence of a common language of communication between administrators and technical experts on the one hand and receivers on the other"* (Melkote, 1991: 262). The Development Support Communication approach sought to reorient the role and process of communication in development, emphasising participation of the beneficiaries. This approach stood for a shift from the top-down, big media centred, government-to-people Development Communication to the co-equal, little-media-centred government-with-people communication.

Development Support Communication claims to bridge the communication gap between the development technical specialists and the beneficiaries through a development support communicator. The Development Support Communicator *"mediates between the technical experts and their beneficiaries, helps the beneficiaries to interact with the development technical personnel and administrators as co-equal partners"* (Ibid.: 262). He translates the technical language and ideas into messages understandable to the beneficiaries so as to provide the horizontal axes which should counterbalance the vertical axes of communication in development involving technical change agents. This creates a climate of mutual understanding between development benefactors and beneficiaries and makes for the effectiveness of development interventions (Melkote, 1991).

Although it is not an exact replica of Development Communication approach, Development Support Communication is similar to, and sometimes may operate within the framework of, Development Communication. Thus, for instance, like Development Communication approach, Development Support Communication also relies on the mass media, but not necessarily big mass media; its media comprise video, film strips, traditional media, group and interpersonal communication.

Is the acclaimed correlation between media exposure and development real?

By implication, the profile of increased media exposure as shown earlier should have yielded intensive and extensive '*effects*' (development!) in the Third World countries. There should have been widespread improvements in people's living conditions. But, this turned not to be the case: the condition of most people in the Third World remained as poor as ever throughout the 1980's while the few who had always been better off have became even much better off.

Even today, despite the increase in media exposure and the enhanced 'flow' of information, more people live in poverty than did in 1973. Many people especially in Africa are just as "*poor as they were 30 years ago*" (World Bank, 1989: 1). Not only are the Least Developed Countries still locked in appalling social conditions and poor economic performance but also their number has "*increased from 28 in 1968 to over 52 today*" (Agunga, 1992: 3). This failure of development is despite the more than twenty years of increasing and revolutionising information technology. How can this be explained? Is it that media exposure is in fact inversely rather than proportionally related to development?

Any lessons so far?: A critical appraisal of the externally-driven/modernisation development paradigm

The key problems of the externally-driven/modernisation paradigm or model can be summarised as follows:

- It excludes the intended beneficiaries from participating in development,

- It is doubtful whether the development imperatives emanate from the intended beneficiaries' aspirations and consequently,

- It is doubtful whether such development confronts the real needs of the intended beneficiaries.

It can be seen that under the externally-driven/modernisation development model the intended beneficiaries become passive recipients of the benevolence of others. They are made to wait in what may be called the *'culture of silence'*[2]. The model systematically denies the people the power to determine their own destiny based on their knowledge, traditional thought and action in that it does not allow them real participation in changing their reality. Their 'participation' takes the form of selecting between pre-established choices which serves only to enhance their acceptance of the benefits handed down to them by the 'developers'. By denying the people full and active participation in making decisions concerning the process meant to benefit them, the externally-driven development model fosters and perpetuates dependency. It has the quality of welfarism rather than development. All this is owing to the flaws embedded in model's

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[2] People are made to become mute, apathetic, passive and hence downtrodden. They become tamed as they take no active part in the transformation of their communities. See Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. N.Y.: The Seabury Press. See also Bee, B. 1990. "The politics of literacy" in R. Mackie. ed. *Literacy and revolution*. Lon.: Pluto Press.

communication approaches as the following sections show.

Development Communication approach - Theoretical weaknesses

The underlying core of Development Communication approach appears to be <u>information theory</u> rather than <u>communication theory</u>. Under this approach, communication is seen to be the transmission of information from a source (an expert) through a medium to a destination (the intended audiences and beneficiaries). The approach can be said to be founded on the magic bullet theory of the media. Like this theory, the approach assumes that (a) *"cleverly designed stimuli would reach every member of the community through the mass media"*, (b) people have the same psychological and emotional make-up, (c) *"every member of the community would perceive the development messages sent through the mass media in the same general manner"* and (d) these messages would therefore *"provoke a more or less uniform response"* according to the communicators' intentions (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1989: 163). So, Development Communication approach's concern is the dissemination of standardised (development) messages to the communities.

From the foregoing, it can be argued that the Development Communication approach:

- does not consider the possible variety in the development needs and communication environments;

- restricts the role of development beneficiaries in communication to reception of messages;

- ignores mutual comprehension, which is essential for enlisting the beneficiaries' involvement in, goodwill towards, and support for, development projects and for

achieving successful and sustainable development,

- does not consider the concern that the mass media are potentially instruments of oppression by a coterie of elites. This is even evident from the historical circumstances of the Development Communication approach's emergence. Thus, as Sultana Krippendorff (1979: 74) rightly points out, *"the ubiquity, standardization and omnipresence of the mass media, which were found to be oppressive in the West, were the very features which recommended them in the historic mission to develop the Third World through the mass media"*. Clearly, as mentioned earlier, the Development Communication approach shows no regard for the development messages' audiences.

In terms of media imperialism theory, the Development Communication approach's reliance on information technology in the development of the already impoverished Least Developed Countries, especially those found in Sub-Saharan Africa, becomes a catch-22 situation. Given that most information technologies (satellite dishes, telecommunication equipment, computer hardware, radio and televison sets, etc.) are manufactured by and patented to the major Western and Japanese industrial giants, their procurement by Least Developed Countries in quantities which would ensure wide access and meaningful use in development is contradictory. The costs of importing, using and maintaining these technologies by the needy communities are astronomical.

As the orthodox economic principle of *supply leading finance and demand following supply* explicates, the lure of these technologies spreads the demand for more hardware and more software and makes their purchase a priority among the needs competing for the ever meagre

resources in foreign exchange. Besides the vagaries of import quotas, these technologies continue to demand resources and incur costs in the intended beneficiary countries and communities. They are too dependent on back-up service and spare-parts and often require highly sophisticated user knowledge and skills, all of which entail recurrent capital expenditure. Being capital intensive, information technologies also lead to labour displacement. This, ultimately, is a contradictory position rooted in modernist assumptions, for it denies the high cost of such technologies in meeting pressing social needs, masks the technologies' low cost-benefit association and refuses alternative appropriations especially in this ever variable information technology age.

The widespread of information technologies also paves the way for easy spread of certain dominant ideological and cultural values around the globe, fostering, among others, cultural hegemony. Coupled with the information technologies' tendency of centralizing communication, the cultural hegemony thus fostered results in the relation of domination in development and deflects any attempts to alter the status quo.

Empirical shortcomings

Perhaps what makes the Development Communication approach even more unpractical in fostering development, especially beneficiary-driven development in Africa, is the multitude of adverse realities such as the high rates of illiteracy. Recent estimates put illiteracy rates for "*Sub-Saharan Africa at 56.8% and 62% for the years 1995 and 2000*" (Nyirenda, 1996: 7). This is compounded by the equally high lack of skills in most African, especially rural, communities. Such a mix of adversities becomes an impediment on any kind of participatory development

potential that the medium of, say, computer technology, would have. It fosters the division between the knowledgeable and the ignorant. The irony is that it is the latter (the unknowledgeable) who are in the majority in most needy African communities. Yet they remain largely excluded from the processes purportedly intended to meet the needs which, contrary to the possible protestation, only they know better.

Inadequate infrastructure

Besides the poverty of the people themselves, most African countries face the lack of technical infrastructure. The use of such media as television and radio sets, telephones and computers require technical infrastructure, knowledge and skills, of all which factors require sufficient outlay of financial means. Given the poor state of many African countries, these media may not be equally distributed. Many people still have no access at all to either radio, television or computer because either there is no infrastructure in their areas or they cannot afford the media, or both. To illustrate, in 1976, while in North America there was 1 television set for every 2 people and in Europe 1 for every 4 people, there was 1 TV set for every 12 people in Latin America, 1 set among 400 people in Asia and Arab countries, and there was 1 television set for 500 people in Africa (Valle, 1995). To this date still, while there are 2 radios per head in the USA, there are fewer than 30 radios per 1,000 people in Angola, Burkina Faso, Nepal and Tanzania. There is only one television set for over 100 people in Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Central African Republic, Haiti, Laos, Mali, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire). This compares with 53 sets per 100 Danes. While 69 per cent of the 8.7 million Swede population have a mainline telephone and while there is one telephone per two people in the USA, in Peru, Botswana, and Paraguay only 2.7 per cent of populations

totalling 29 million have a mainline telephone. In Cambodia, Chad, Mali, Niger, Vietnam or the Democratic Republic of the Congo, only 0.1 per cent of populations totalling 147 million have a mainline telephone (UNDP, 1996).

Inadequate distribution of the media infrastructure and ownership in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Third World in general, as the above figures show, would obstruct people's equal entitlement to participation in the process of changing their conditions towards self-empowerment. Thus, inadequate media distribution and access is one major source of the Development Communication approach's ineffectiveness. Besides, the costs involved in procuring and installing the media infrastructure on a wider scale does not seem to be commensurate with the media's contribution to development. The continuing underdevelopment of Sub-Saharan African countries despite increasing media influx over the last four decades testifies this doubtful or inverse relationship between the media and development. Based on the facts discussed in this thesis, it can be argued that information technologies or the media, however logically justified in terms of enhancing communication for development and service delivery, tend to improve social communication or communication between elites more than the conditions of the poor.

Can the Development Support Communication approach get us there?

Several elements of the Development Support Communication approach suggest that little of the strategies based on it is likely to be different from the Development Communication approach, let alone to reorient the externally-driven development model significantly. Development Support Communication approach subtly reproduces the Development Communication approach's professionalised, expert sender-centred and institutionalised communication of

uniform messages for development. The reappearance of the notion of 'expert' bespeaks this point. Professionalisation, expert sender-centredness, etc. are typical elements of the modernization paradigm and the Development Communication approach.

Whether and how Development Support Communication addresses the following questions, adds to the point about the approach's limitations in terms of re-orienting the earlier paradigms. If Harold Lasswell's (1948: 84) "*act of communication*" is employed to unravel the Development Support Communication approach, it would be found that, like its forerunner, this approach still emphasises the "*control analysis*" perspective of communication practice more than the practice of communication oriented to "*content analysis*" perspective[3]. Thus, it might be asked, on whose views, expressing whose reality are development imperatives based under the Development Support Communication approach? How and how much do the intended benefiting subjects access the medium? How much control and ownership of the development process do the intended beneficiaries have under the Development Support Communication?

Answers to these questions focus the whole debate around wanting to place decision-making in the hands of those whom social change/development would affect. This realisation draws from, among others, the Freirean notion of '*naming the world*' which challenges development practitioners to recognize that people are capable, through using their everyday language, of unveiling the complex and hidden roots of oppression (Freire, 1972: 12). '*Naming the world*'

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Harold Lasswell's (1974: 84-85) 'Act of communication' describes communication as an act which answers the following questions: "*Who says What in Which Channel to Whom with What effect?*" He accordingly delineates five orientations in communication practice: "*Control analysis, Content analysis, Media analysis, Audience analysis and Effects analysis*". H. Lasswell. 1948. 'The structure and function of communication in society' in W. Schramm and D. Roberts. (eds.). 1974. *The process and effects of mass communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

is a useful view for engendering sustainable, effective and relevant community development, as it provides the basis for self-organising and participatory community development. Robert Huesca (1996:26), in his notion of *"moving from naming to theorising"* corroborates the Freirean notion. Huesca points to the realisation that the needy people in fact cannot only speak of their needs but they can also theorize those needs' relationships, causes and nature. Therefore, rather than being mere beneficiaries of changes, the needy are potential architects and agents of their own change according to their contexts.

Towards development by context: Beneficiary-driven development through Participatory Communication approach

Development by context or beneficiary-driven development entails shifting away from closed macro conceptions and execution of development based on bureaucratic planning and directing, linear communication and administrative research processes. It entails a shift from the dominantly *"control analysis"* practice of communication in development to communication that is based on *"content analysis"* (Lasswell, 1948/1974: 84). The former is oriented to disseminating uniform development messages, designed in centralized ways exclusively by professionals, through the mass media. The latter emphasises the development messages and their basis more than the media and the sender. This shift is envisioned through micro-zonal communication and development modelling. Micro development modelling acknowledges and accommodates the diversity of development contexts and needs. In this way, micro modelling would deinstitutionalise the practice of development and foster, as its means, the practice of communication in development based on the interchange of sender-receiver roles and on the horizontality of communication at all levels in the development process. The perspectives

underlying this kind of development practice include the view that structures, values and views on the ground constitute an assortment of a tool for change. If the communities are involved in development, they can put to use these tools (that is, their structures, values and views) in ways that could be even more effective than the mass media.

Micro development modelling and participatory communication in development would only be possible if certain basic constraints are removed. The first of these constraints involves the initial lack of appropriate communication mechanisms within development beneficiary communities. The second constraint emerges later in the need for communication between beneficiaries and the resource systems. Unless these concerns are addressed, community participation and the envisioned achievement of sustainable community development through convergence and synergy will remain a pipe dream. Participation will be a mere tokenism and more said than done. It would be like asking people to participate but only as they are told. Thus, it would be the usual participatory rhetoric which political leadership, development policy makers, scholars and practitioners engage in for their own sake and for the sake of the project objectives and not for sake of the intended beneficiaries. The debilitating effects of such disguised imposition of development ideas on, and patronage of, a people who know their needs better except that they lack the means to solve them, are well known: community apathy, project irrelevance and, ultimately, failure. Former Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana summed up these concerns as he counselled development practitioners about the importance of involving the intended beneficiaries in development:

> *Whereas an armchair intellectual of development, lost in the labyrinth of misty theories and postulations, can afford to oversimplify matters and get away with it, a practitioner of development, that man or woman in the constant glare of various vicious and different shades of rural poverty and suffering, cannot. Time and again, now and in the future, they face the bleak disjuncture and mismatch*

between lengthy and labourious theories, decked in figures and ornate expressions, and the ugly, undecorated and sordid reality of rural poverty[4].

Robert McNamara advised as much in 1973, as President of the World Bank. He asserted that " *no program will help small farmers if it is designed by those who have no knowledge of their problems and operated by those who have no interest in their future[5].*

As it can be seen from the foregoing, it has been decades since it was realised that it was important to involve the intended beneficiaries in development. However, it would appear, as Theodore Thomas (1985: 17) points out, that *"there is either a serious deficiency in, or a complete lack of, the implementation strategy"* for real participatory development approaches. This realisation calls for concerted and practical efforts, ideas and policies which would ensure that the communities really participate and take the lead in their own development.

The Beneficiary-driven development model through the Oral Participatory Communication approach provides one possible strategy for ensuring that the intended beneficiary communities effectively and really participate in their development. Participatory communication is a *"social process in which communities with common interests or problems jointly design messages aimed at improving their social existential conditions"* (Mody, 1991: 10). As an approach it emphasises the use of 'oramedia', hence its name Oral Participatory Communication. The mass media may be used if they are widely accessed and allow broad community participation in decision-making.

4

C. Banana quoted in M. de Graaf. 1987. *The importance of people: Experiences, lessons and ideas on rural development training in Zimbabwe - Hlekweni and beyond.* Bulawayo: Hlekweni Friends Rural Service Centre. p 9.

5

R. McNamara quoted in S. Melkote. 1991. *Communication for development in the Third World: Theory and practice.* New Delhi: Sage. p 177.

Where the mass media are used, they will be required to be equipped with feed-back capabilities so that they could allow the communities to have a say in the programming of development messages being disseminated. The need for communicating in this way in development appears to be well supported by development communication scholars like Wilbur Schramm (1977: 3) who, as if u-turning or abandoning the earlier wisdom, conceded after two decades that:

> *Only when communication can build itself into the social structure, is it going to show any real hope of extensive results. Only when mass media channels can mix with interpersonal channels and with organization in the village, are you going to have the kind of development that you will like.*

Oral Participatory Communication seeks to re-organise the practice of communication in development from its current form of primarily sending messages to exchanging messages between beneficiaries and benefactors and among beneficiaries. This approach emphasises dialogue at all levels - horizontally within the communities and vertically between the communities and the resource systems. Horizontal communication permits reflection and facilitates wider input from the intended beneficiaries. The broader the spectrum of views the more accurately the realities of the communities can be represented and the more legitimate the projects would be. By sharing their views, communities identify problems through mutual comprehension, and open up collective strategies for confronting them. Vertical communication becomes crucial thereafter, in order to facilitate implementation of the strategies which have been developed in this way.

Underlying the Participatory Communication approach is the view that any *"real theory of communication is a theory of community"* (Williams, 1958: 301). Communication ought to relate to the environment in which it takes place. It is for this reason that interactive media forms alone are not enough for development communication approaches. In order to be effective, a

development communication approach ought to encompass both interpersonal and local media forms and styles characterized by culturally defined ways of making sense.

By its oral disposition, Participatory Communication fosters participation and mutual responsibility. The interactivity and inter-subjectivity of orality boosts mutual comprehension and the communities' sense of ownership and responsibility over the projects. As it occurs face-to-face, oral communication would also reinforce the cooperative spirit pf the communities to engage collaboratively in their development processes. It this collective action of the intended beneficiaries that is termed in this thesis as beneficiary-driven development. It ensures the production of sustainable, lasting and manageable improvements in the intended development beneficiaries' lives.

Beneficiary-driven development model - Envisioned steps

This model envisions the 'citizens' of beneficiary communities acting collectively in the following key steps of the development process. *Problem identification*: Collectively identifying and characterising what the problems are. *Alternatives identification*: discussing ways in which these problems can be tackled. Alternative adoption: choosing suitable approaches from among the ways thus discussed. *Planning*: laying out what steps are needed to carry out the tasks involved, delegating these tasks, and identifying the materials needed and the anticipated time-scale. *Implementation*: acting collectively towards the desired change. *Reflection and projection*: meeting at the end of the planned intervention in order to evaluate and lay down further responsibilities.

In terms of leadership in the development process, the communities will elect leaders to preside at community meetings, spearhead the work and encourage participants throughout the processes, and not to rule over them. The leaders will serve as the link between their communities and the appropriate resource systems. By contrast with the externally-driven development model where leaders are appointed by 'developers' to ensure 'directed participation' by community members, these leaders are elected by the intended beneficiary 'citizens'. The leaders will take part in all tasks and will regularly be elected, because the model is based on participation rather than representation. In the case of rural communities, there may be no need for electing leaders. There are natural leadership structures (traditional) already in place. This leadership's enthronement is done through culturally defined ways of making sense, which is perhaps why they are effective. Not only does letting the existing community leadership structures lead in the community development projects ensure that the communities are led in their development by people known to be suitable and committed, but also it boosts the communities' sense of project ownership and legitimizes the leadership. What is more, this provides one way of ensuring and encourages high community participation.

Development professionals' role in this kind of development will largely be facilitating and helping in community mobilisation, community organisation and civic education for development. They will also help to identify, and link the communities to, appropriate resource agencies; facilitate intra-community and agency-community communication and negotiation. Community leaders will liaise with the professionals concerning the resources needed for tackling the problems being faced, because not all the needed resources may be readily available, hence the need for facilitated negotiation.

Anticipated limitations and hence the areas needing research

The beneficiary-driven development model may not be without problems. Until after the research studies had been conducted in Zambia in 1996, and in Clermont, Pinetown near Durban in South Africa in 1997, the following posed as the possible problems of the beneficiary-driven development model.

It appeared that collective action would be impossible, as it is generally believed that voluntary community participation often fails due to the opportunity cost of getting involved in communal work. How and whether communication would be possible before and during the community fora where the communities would discuss development proposals and project also appeared to be a potential difficulty of the model. This was especially so given the need to have the information reach as many 'citizens' of the community as possible. Given that the beneficiary-driven development model hinges on participation, how to ensure that at such community fora as many people as possible express their views without being dominated was yet another concern. It was also the concern that there might be friction between the leadership for the projects. Thus should there be leadership specially elected for the projects? Or should the Civic leaders (Councillors) assume leadership in the community projects? Should the traditional leaders (Chiefs, headmen and sub-Headmen) lead the processes? Where and how would the communities look for development project resources and, in the event of securing them, how would the resources be administered without the fear of misappropriation? Given its emphasis on broader community input into the decision-making process and participation, would the processes not be too long, too labourious and too time consuming?

The two studies proved some of the above concerns as being merely theoretical and others as being real but not insurmountable. Thus, from the first set of the three studies in Zambia (Mansa, Serenje and Mbala), which explored the pre-modern indigenous African modes of communal work for lessons for the beneficiary-driven development model, it was reported that voluntary participation in communal work derived from the moral obligation which each 'citizen' had towards the well-being of the community. Moral sanction and stigma, which was caused by staying away from communal assignments, also spurred community members to participating in communal work. Although it has undergone some changes with the passing of time as explained in the discussions, this factor has continued to influence people's lives today. It finds expression in communal work and in mutual practices such as care for one another in times of hardships, social and cultural ceremonial events like rites of marriage and birth. In such moments everybody in the community contributes spontaneously to the moral support for one another in time of hardships, and to the success of the events in time of ceremonies. The building of a 1 x 2 classroom block by one of the Zambian rural communities of study (Musaila, Mansa, Zambia) on the self-help basis whilst this researcher was there and took part, not only bespeaks the continued existence of this communitarian factor favourable for communal work. It also vindicates the beneficiary-driven development model, by pointing to the reality of the communities participating in their development.

Such voluntary community participation is not a unique characteristic of rural communities as the Clermont community case studies conducted between April and July in 1997 revealed. For three months this researcher worked with the members of the Clermont community on Saturdays in sanitation programmes under the auspices of the Inner West City Council. Besides helping in the designing of the work, this researcher was an active participant observer who attended all

and full work sessions. This work involved cleaning the streets and the surrounds of the community by the community itself. For effectiveness sake, the community was divided into smaller units, the wards, which worked separately on different Saturdays. Under the leadership of the local councillors of the particular wards, all of whom resided in their respective wards, these programmes (dubbed as the *Keep Clermont Clean* campaign) went on very well on Saturdays.

In both Musaila and Clermont cases, the beneficiary-driven development model was vindicated. The communities worked collectively to solve the problems facing them. There was no leadership friction, most likely because the leadership structures used were naturally appropriately, ie, traditional in the case of rural and civic in the case of urban areas. In both cases, resources were provided according to the needs specific to the project and, except for Musaila, it was material assistance which was provided. Like in the case of Musaila, the women participated and assumed largely the role of preparing and serving the refreshments at the end of work. In accordance with the strategy of convergence and synergy, and contrary to the concern that such development process may tend to take too long, the work in both sets of studies took shorter and consumed less resources than the case would have been had the projects been externally-driven.

Perhaps what was most impressive was the communities' participation in the development decision-making, planning, design and implementation process were done by the communities in the projects referred to. The community leaders led their communities throughout the process: summoning their community members to community meetings and deciding their development processes collectively. In the case of Musaila community, it was through 'oramedia' that the

community was informed, with churches and the school being one some of the dissemination points. For Clermont, a local radio station was used together with small posters and a mobile loudhailer to call people to a community meeting planned to be held at a local Catholic church where the work was planned and done as outlined in the discussions in the previous chapters. In both cases, communication was effective and the projects successful mostly because of the micro-zoning approach, ie, keeping the undertakings as small as possible at the micro or community levels.

However, as was always conceded by the leaders at the end of work when thanking the communities, not all members of the community turned up for work in both cases. Although seemingly insignificant, as was shown by the communities' non-punitive attention to this trend saying that everyone needed to attend community work on his own conviction, truancy of some community members can place a limitation on the beneficiary-driven development model. This is nonetheless a limitation which can be addressed. It can be addressed through the leaders approaching and talking to the members known to be staying away from community work. Incentive system would also help alleviate truancy among the members. It will seek to win the community members' desire to participate in community work. This may take the form of community awards, which would seek to reward consistency in community work participation, or gifts, which would be kept until the end of the work. South Africa's Community Builder Award of the Year and the giving of T-shirts in the case of Clermont at the end of community work provide good examples and sources of lessons for the furtherance of the model.

Some general inferences of the study in relation to its overall objectives

Before concluding, some points are worth stating more succinctly as a way of addressing the

study's overall objectives.

- Development projects in many Sub-Saharan countries have performed generally dismally and particularly unsustainably not because of cultural irrationality of the intended beneficiaries, alleged to be resistant to change or unwilling to adopt innovations. The very fact that projects have been introduced and enforced among many people in these countries bespeaks their willingness to cooperate towards improving their living conditions. This can only point to the people's appreciation of change rather their resistance to it.

- Development projects in many Sub-Saharan African countries have failed not because of poor development policies. As the discussion of some development programmes/projects in the course of this study showed, most of the projects arose both at the right time and in the right context, well vindicated and motivated. In nearly all of them there could not have been better policies at the time. The case in point is the programme reviewed about Zambia where the government decided to regulate fishing to secure the fish and the fishermen's future. It accordingly introduced an alternative way of sustenance, cattle farming, which should have added to the communities' quality of life.

- Development in Many Sub-Saharan countries' poor development performance could not be due to lack of resources. The individual countries might have not had enough resources on their own but the international community has been tremendously supportive in funding development projects, assisting with material and human resources. The World Bank itself has been at the lead for decades now in funding development projects. Why then have these countries performed so dismally in terms of development at least since the 1970s?

- The development manner has been exclusionary with development imperatives being couched in abstract. One point is worth making here. Wanting to help is one thing and how that is to be is another. More often than not, projects have been initiated both timely and well motivated but their ideas have missed the intended beneficiaries real aspirations. The intended beneficiaries have not been consulted, with the benefactors delivering <u>what they can and what they deem fit</u> rather than <u>what they should and what the intended beneficiaries deem as the most pressing needs</u>. No sooner than the projects get implemented and completed than the communities hunger for what they consider the pressing needs. Despite the benefactors having spent so much, the projects leave the communities not any better than before. Project evaluators will record a success and recommend the benefactors move on to another community, where an 'assessment' of community needs will be done in a similar manner. Implementation follows and the same story is repeated. So as the community needs get missed and the communities remain in a perpetual state of needs more resources get spent.

- The exclusionary manner of development also prevents development projects from being sustainable because the developers do not seem to bother about, or certainly they do not leave any mechanism for the projects' continuity or regeneration They design the projects, implement them and leave the communities only with role of consumption of what services the projects bring. Herein lies the semblance of welfarism and the implications for dependency.

- Communication in development has been but a matter of informing the communities about what they should do, expect and await to enjoy. The construction of messages and the making of decisions have been exclusive provinces of the development experts, with

the people about whom such decisions arise being limited to mere reception of the messages/policies and their concomitant benefits. Hence, the use of the information technologies in development has been about enhancing this transmission of information from the expert originator and sender to the intended audiences cum development beneficiary communities. This understanding of communication for development has not only misrepresented the practice of communication but it has also not paid attention to the constraints which limit such transmission and hence inhibit the intended effects. That the process has been development information rather than development communication, can hardly defy logic.

- From the above, it is hardly illogical to assert that despite the being two decades old, the two offensives, the New World Information and Communication Order and the New World Economic Order, little has changed. The latter does not concern this study per se. Suffice it to say that international trade is still skewed against the South (Third World) in favour of the North (First World). For the Communication Order, it is evident that it has had no or little effect, if any: development imperatives continue to be grounded in the lived realities of the benefactors and with the highly revolutionised information technologies, information flows more smoothly this part of the globe than vice versa, and hence the point about it being development information rather than development communication.

- It is clear that unless the understanding and practice of development and communication in development are reorientated sharply, the development problems of failing and unsustainable development in Africa will continue. The communication media are not the panacea for development problems, but communication. The point is not that there is no development the media can foster but that under the current media genre in Sub-

Saharan African countries how possible is such development through the media? The beneficiary-driven development model and the Oral Participatory Communication approach provide some possible solutions to the known development problems facing Sub-Saharan Africa and their sources. It also holds some prospects towards sustainable and successful community development.

Final Words

This thesis' s argument is that dependent and unsustainable development may be a function of both the development model and the communication approaches used in the practice of development. The results of the exploration and review of the literature, observations and studies on Sub-Saharan African countries' development experiences with the externally-driven/modernisation development model and with the Development Communication and Development Support Communication approaches over the last three decades, corroborate this argument. Based on the studies and analysis in this thesis, it is inferential that Sub-Saharan Africa's development failures are not so much due to the crisis of technological capacity, ie, lack of appropriate values, skills, systems, methods and technologies. That much of such failures are due to an institutional capacity crisis, ie, the underutilisation and sometimes non-utilisation of the existing societal structures, values and resources which include the development beneficiaries themselves, cannot be denied.

Development scholars, practitioners and benefactors need to know the adverse effects of carrying out development based on imperatives couched in abstract, without involving the intended beneficiaries. However logical, such imperatives and the projects they instruct tend not to engage

the intended beneficiaries' real aspirations. This development manner alienates the intended development beneficiaries, saps their goodwill to the projects and fosters dismal project performance. Development actors must make concerted and radical efforts to foster dialogue between them and their development beneficiaries, and the participation of the beneficiary communities with a view ensuring local ownership of development projects. Involving the communities in this way would foster their commitment to the projects beyond the implementation point and their collaboration with development benefactors in further need assessment. This may be too demanding to achieve, sometimes too slow and frustrating rightly so because, as Harry Oshima (1976: 26) points out, it would be a *"gradual encroachment of ideas over other ideas and interests"* that have existed for many years. It would therefore *"take time"*, energy and commitment *"to occur"*. Like re-orientation of the top-down development practice, the realisation of the beneficiary-driven development model's benefits will depend on the scholarship's will and sincerity. Since the level of a country's development is a reflection of the kind of policies in place, its development success or failure is a reflection of the quality of advice or consultancy its government receives. Consultancy is largely a function of specialists/scholars and researchers, hence the assertion that the model's success would depend on the will of the scholarship to alleviate Africa's development failures.

It is the quest for re-orienting the exclusionary development practice to collective strategies for solving community development problems, using existing resources and involving indigenous community leadership structures in development that this thesis was undertaken. The beneficiary-driven development model and its Oral Participatory Communication approach provide the opportunity in this direction. As the two cases studies discussed in this thesis show, encouraging development beneficiaries to participate actively in their development fosters

meeting development needs cost-effectively and quickly through synergy and convergence. Lastly, notwithstanding the success of the two sets of cases referred to in this thesis, it is not the view that the beneficiary-driven development model will ensure always the success of all development projects in future. In fact, like every model, the beneficiary-driven development aims to contribute to forestalling the recurrence of Africa's past development failures more than to foretell the future outcomes.

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APPENDIX

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Question schedule 1 - Zambian Case Studies

A

INTRODUCTION

- Greetings and introduction of participants

- Purpose of study

- Instructions of how the study would proceed

B

THE MODEL'S LESSONS FROM THE PAST

1. I would like to some of the modes of communal work that the villages used in their collective endeavours in the 1950s up to the 1970s. I would like you to take me through these modes describing them in terms of their differences and their processes.

- Imbile

- Icima

- Salongo

- Umulasa

2. Communication and decision-making

- How did the communities get to know about communal work?

- Whose duty was it to inform the community about communal work?

- How was this communication done?

- How were matters requiring and those not requiring collective action decided?

- How were the dates and times for both planning and implementation fixed?

- What were the criteria used to decide on matters requiring and not requiring collective

making the decisions?

- Were all 'projects' one-day events or were there some that took longer than that?

- What used to happen after a communal undertaking has been completed?

3. Participation

- What were some of factors that encouraged community participation?

- Individually, why did you participate in communal work?

4. Problems and solutions regarding decision making and participation

- What are some the problems that were faced in these processes?

5. Solutions

- How did you attend to these problems?

C

THE MODEL'S PROSPECTS TODAY

1. The situation at present regarding community participation in communal projects

- Are the modes of communal work we discussed earlier still applying today?

- What has changed?

- What difficulties do you face today?

- What factors would attribute these changes and difficulties to?

- How do cope with these changes?

- How do you resolve these difficulties?

- Are there projects that you have undertaken using any of these modes of communal work recently?

- Is there a project that you are currently undertaking along the same lines?

Verbatim of transcribed interviews done in the Zambian Case Studies

The questions and the responses

Self: It is interesting that I have come home this time not visit but to work. But even more interesting is to gather you here and ask you about things you would expect me to know already - *Icima, Imbile, Umulasa* and *Salongo*. The fact is that apart from vaguely recalling you working together when I was young in this village in the late 1960s and early 1970s and apart from the names of these forms of communal work, I know little. This is why I have come to ask you to tell me more about these practices. This is for my doctoral studies which, as some of you already know, I am pursuing at the University of Natal in South Africa. The aim of the studies is to try and see if there are lessons we can draw from such modes of communal work, adopt and use them today in collectively working to improve our communities ourselves. I will ask questions on how these practices went on. Please participate fully otherwise, I will not learn much. All our discussions will be recorded. (After introductions which, in the case of Musaila, were a matter of formality as everyone knew each other including me, the interviews started). Please tell me are these names - *Icima, Imbile, Umulasa* and *Salongo* - different because they depict different forms of communal work?

Response: Yes, these names indicate the different types of communal work which we engaged in. You will remember that your late grandfather's house was built through *Icima* and that the school you attended was built through *Salongo*, do you remember? (a light laughter) Ah! You were too young. (One of the particular responses from Musaila)

Self: That sounds interesting and vindicates my earlier concession that I knew very little and hence my coming to ask you. How are/were these forms of communal work different? Can I have others answers that, please. (interjected).

Others: No, let him finish what he has started. We will also talk about *Umulasa* and *Imbile*. We have a lot to say.

Self: Alright, that is fine with me too.

Response: *Icima* was when we as a village worked together for a particular good or person. Very often this included such activities as cultivating the fields, and building and remodelling houses of certain people such as single women in our village who had no men to cultivate for them as well as those who had spouses but needed help, like your late grandfather and grandmother ... (interjection)[1].

Others: Just say all of us were at one time or another helped through *Icima*. Yes! yes!

Self: Alright. That is noted. So it was everyone who benefited from *Icima*. Let him continue, please.

Response: I have finished. Let others now say something.

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[1]

Remodelling of houses refers to re-thatching and re-moulding houses. This was particularly so given that most of the houses among the people of my research studies used to be, and still are, made, of mortar plastered onto closely and vertically lined, sizably thick poles of wood rather than bricks, and were/are thatched with grass rather roofed with iron/asbestos sheets. This entailed/entails regular re-doing of such houses to prevent infestation with bugs and wearing by termites.

Self: Thank you very much. And *Salongo*? Can someone tell us more about this form of communal work?

Response: *Salongo* was when we worked together, men, women, children, everyone, for a general good. I remember in 1958, when we built Koshita lower primary school, now Mibenge upper primary school which you attended, it was everyone taking part in the building of the school and we attended work everyday until the school was complete. Now, we are happy because you our children went through there and are now living in countries we shall not reach. Other activities ... (Interjection)

Others: Do not even go that far in the past, just talk about our own Musaila primary school which we built on our own in 1980, and even this week we will be meeting there to build the teacher's house as we are planning. Yes! Yes!. Tell him may he can even get us some nails for plumbing the roof before he goes back. Yes! You a right.

Self: (Feeling humbled and helpless). I may have nothing tangible to offer but I will offer my services if the work is on this week before I leave. But we will come back later to the current work you are doing for school development. Let him continue please.

Response: I was almost through when I was interrupted. I was saying that other activities under *Salongo* were fire-breaking, path making and clearing our streams especially where we drew water. In these activities everyone was expected to attend, whether he was a man or woman. And we got on very well. Let Mr Lupenga add on the rest since he was older than most of us and can recall more than most of us (ends with a laughter). (Apparently, Mr. Lupenga was the oldest

among all participants at about 80 years old but very active)

Self: Thank you. Yes, Mr Lupenga please say something.

Mr Lupenga: (very slowly) Yes, I was going to say something Mr Chairman. I was only

waiting for my turn. Let me take you back to the other forms of communal work

we engaged in because I think enough has been said on the two forms so far.

These are *Imbile* and *Umulasa*. *Imbile* is/was a form of communal work practice

which entailed the community working for a person or household. (Interjection).

Self: So how does *Imbile* differ from *Icima*, which we have discussed earlier?

Mr. Lupenga: *Icima* was based completely on neighbourliness, ie, one has to attend *Icima* by

virtue of him being part of the neighbourhood. *Imbile*, on the other hand, was a

form of communal work based on mutual aid with the household in need of

assistance arranging some beer for the community to drink after work has been

done. Not that the beer was a form of payment but rather it was an incentive and

a way of saying thank you to the community which helped you. Unlike *Icima*,

Imbile is/was optional to everyone and no one was under any obligation. *Imbile*

could also be along gender lines depending on the kind of work the particular

household needs help in. Most common activities which we did under *Imbile*

were/are cultivation especially *chitemene* cultivation, a kind of shifting cultivation

which entailed cutting trees branches, crop harvesting and building and

remodelling houses. Is it clear now, Mr. Chairman? Can I continue?

Self: Yes, very clear *Shikulu* (meaning, grandfather). Please continue with *Umulasa*.

Mr. Lupenga: *Umulasa* refers to the kind of communal work which did together for the Chief,

that is important to note. I say for the Chief. The Chief would want us from time

to time, may twice a year, to go and do some cultivation or some other work for

him. In such instances all villages which fell under the Chief's authority had to go. So, we are talking of communal undertakings of multitudes of people. Sometimes we spent days there at the palace as we took turns sometimes according to our villages. There was no man no woman, everyone worked in such moments. This all I can say for now, unless there is any specific questions. You know in those days, at a gathering like this Mr Chairman there would be some drink just to keep us awake (everyone laughs). Asante sana (meaning thank you very much).

Others: Yes, he knows! He will buy us some drink before he returns! (Interjection and laughter).

Mother: We will brew you some!. At the moment he has no money he has a long journey ahead of him. The University wants him back in time and he may not have enough money to travel around. But the father and I will arrange something for all of you for your cooperation.(This was at Musaila).

Self: Thank you very much. I will have some questions later. But for now let us continue. I now want to know just how intentions, ideas and messages in communal work practices especially *Icima*, *Salongo* and *Imbile* were arrived at and communicated, and how everyone in the village got to know about such work. Can Banakulu Chibale (meaning Chibale's grandmother, an old lady of around 65) take us through that.

Old lady: Yes, I can speak of what I know of and experienced. In all these communal work, the person who had a problem presented it to the headman as a proposal for communal intervention. This was especially the case in the event of *Imbile* because it was up to the individual or the particular household to call for help on

something they felt needed broader intervention than the household alone would offer. In the similar way, if anyone saw an aspect of our environment which needed communal intervention he or she will tell the headman again as a proposal which required communal intervention. So, the headman was a very important person as he received the ideas from the community and later arranged for *akabungwe*, a community meeting, where proposals were discussed, adopted and later implemented. This is all I can say we went about planning and informing one another. Maybe others can add something.

Others: Very well, you have said everything. You are a very good speaker. You speak as if you were on the radio because you do not waste time! You have exhausted everything.

Self: How often was *Akabungwe* held and generally at what time?

Response: The communities met at least once a month but they could meet even earlier if there were proposals that appeared to require immediate attention. I cannot say the exact time we met but it was always in late in the afternoon before the sun set and it could be any day. The most important thing was that the community was informed well in advance. The meetings were held late in the afternoon to when everyone was back from the fields and could be able to attend. The regularity of meetings helped the community members not to get disoriented from communal matters. We were always concerned that the community members' participation in communal action would become irregular if the community met irregularly. The occasional calling of the meetings earlier than normal was intended to prevent the community members who had presented the proposals from feelings their proposals were not appreciated. This could harm the esprit de corps.

Self:	Now, how did the information go around for everyone to know that there would be *akabungwe* on such and such a day and time? Who decided on the time? Father can you tell us?
Headman:	Yes, just as it has already been pointed out, the headman was respected and some considerable authority to make certain decisions with or without the Chief's consent as long as the village people were happy. So, in terms of fixing the time, the headman did fix the time. With this being done over and over again, it became acceptably convenient to hold meetings on Saturdays around 04:00. Yes, not many of us had watches but we knew when it morning, Afternoon, evening and night (everyone laughs). That is about deciding on timing of community meeting.. Now, regarding sending word around, it was the headman's responsibility to inform the community adequately and quite in time about the coming community meeting. Perhaps, that is why it was only correct that the headman fixed the date and time because, as the convenor, it was also his duty to inform the community about the meeting. He had to do so very well to ensure that as many people as possible heard about it in good time and would be able to attend.
Self:	So how did the headman do that?
Headman:	Yes, I was coming to that. There were two major ways of summoning the community to the community meeting: *Imbila* is/was oral communication which entailed both making announcements in the vantage points of the village late in the evening and early in the morning. This was sometimes complimented with door-to-door way of passing information. This was perhaps the greatest task of the headman as everything depended on how well the information was passed

around which in turn determined how effective the particular headman's leadership was. The second way of informing the community about something and summoning the community to a meeting was through drumming. There were various kinds of drums which were used to communicate messages in the community, eg, *Umondo*, *Itumba* and *Icinkumbi*. These drums had each a particular message which we all understood. For instance, *Icinkumbi* signalled the death of the Chief, in which case it was summoning people to the Chief's funeral at the palace. Most often these drums were only available at the palace and at only certain senior headmen's residences. In all these modes of communication the Chief and/or the headmen had certain people who made the announcements as outlined above. I end here. I hope it is clear.

Others: (Clap).

Self: Yes it is very clear. Just before we move on to something else, I get the impression that the villages were very small and that is why one would just announce by word of mouth and expected to be heard. Is that so?

Response: We can say yes the villages were small in the sense that we lived quite adpressed, which made our villages to appear small in terms of boundaries. However, our villages can be said to have been big in the sense that the population density of our villages was very high, especially that our homes were very close together. So, in one way our villages were quite small in terms of the physical boundaries but big in terms of the number of people who lived in the villages. Therefore, besides that we all spoke and understood one language, the sizes of our villages made our communication by *Imbila* quite easy and effective. No one would say he had not understood or heard the deliberations or announcements.

Self: Thank you. Now, may I know. Why did you or why would people get involved in such communal work? From what I have gathered so far there was no particular payment for getting involved in communal work. Am I right? Just what made you attend these communal assignments?

Response: Yes, you are right only in so far as by payment you mean money or its substitutes. But you are wrong in that there was a lot of payment for getting involved in communal work. Thus, if you always got involved in communal work, your community naturally took note of you so that in the event of you being faced with problems such illness or bereavement, you were always assured of maximum community support and vice versa when you were irregular in communal work. So you were compelled because it was a form of social security investment as you never knew what the following day would bring for you. Also, getting involved in communal work was rewarding in that we did things for our own good and for the good of our children. For example, the school you attended was built by ourselves long before you were born and we are still building the teacher's house not because it is the teacher's house but because it will be for the good of out children if we had an extra teacher at our local school it will benefit our children directly and ourselves indirectly more than the teacher himself. So, really there were many incentives derived from getting involved in communal work.

Self: And working for the Chief through *Umulasa*, what made people to participate in such work? I do not see any direct or indirect rewards in this?

Response: They are there. You see, when you have a happy and healthy Chief, your villages will be happy too. Chiefs are not only God's messengers who guide us and help us to resolve community conflicts but they in fact intercede between us and our

ancestral world. So, when the Chief is happy, our ancestors are happy, which means we are fulfilling our duties to our ancestors through the Chief. Ancestors did/do us a lot. There would be seasons of severe drought and we would ask them for help. And because we had kept them happy at all times, we received assistance from them maybe in the form plenty wild fruit or our hunting sprees became bountiful, taking us through to the next season when there would be rain for us to cultivate our fields. In short, this is why we always endeavoured to keep our Chiefs happy by taking time to work for them.

Self: Thank you, very much. So it was largely out of communal concern for one another and for the common good that people participated in communal work, and in the case of *Umulasa* (working for the Chief), it was appreciation of your traditional leadership whom you believed interceded between yourselves and the ancestral world. Was everyone in the village able to attend? What were some of the instances which allowed people to stay away? Were there people who never attended such assignments? What happened to them?

Response: Yes. There used to be the kind of people we called *Batolwe*, meaning truants. They remained behind and never bothered much to get involved in communal work. You know we human beings are not the same. Some are hard-hearted and others are very good and care for others.

Self: And what happened to those truants?

Response: As a rule, they did what we called *Amafuto*, which was/is punishment administered at the palace by the Chief through his retainers. We all detested this punishment and tried to avoid it as much as possible because it was humiliating. One form of this punishment was/is called *Umulima-icipuma*, which was a kind

of punishment whereby the truant was made to work in the Chief's field the whole day. Other forms of punishment were kind of community service at the Chief's palace, which also took the whole day. One did menial chores like drawing water for the Chief's wives and/or washing at the Chief's palace. Can you imagine a married man with children doing such kind of work when he is supposed to be tendering to his own fields and be with his family? How would you feel?

Self: Terrible!

Response: (Continued). Yes, you are right. The aim of all this was to encourage participation in communal projects. In fact, we often never talked about the punishment but the benefits of participating in communal work. We always said to one another, "*Mu calo tabalila weka*" (You never mourn alone). The point was not really about punishing people. There were in fact some people who got away with such truancy especially if the headman decided not to report them. Rather, the point was to forestall the lack of cooperation which letting truancy unpunished could cause amongst ourselves. It was for this reason that the headmen were forced to report such community members to the Chief. Another form of punishment was to make the truants do some communal assignments at some stage all by themselves. This was often a choice they were given against reporting and making them go and work at the palace; and it was a choice given only to those who showed remorse and were not regular truants.

Self: What happened if someone stayed away from communal work many times and was punished many times at the palace?

Response: Well, we never had such extremes. All we can tell you is that everyone was

scared of defying the Chiefs, as he/she would be asked to leave the village. Where would he/she go and settle? No where! As word would go around about one having been chased from such and such village, he/she would not received anywhere he/she wanted to settle because of being unneighbourly or uncooperative. We all wanted to live with people you could count on. If someone can not even attend communal work, how could you expect him/her to attend to you individually? There is no way! This is why everyone tried to conform by participating in communal work.

Self: Were there instances when people were excused from attending such communal work? Can you tell us some of those instances, and who gave the permission?

Response: The headman gave the permission. The one who sought to be excused approached the headman before the working day and discussed with the headman. On the day of doing work, the headman always announced the apologies for all of us to know who was not present and why. There were various situations which made people to be excused. Some of them were bereavement, sickness, being away from the village, and old age.

Self;   Thank you. Let me take you back a little bit. You said anyone could bring to the headman matters he/she thought required communal attention as proposals to be discussed at community meetings, which supposes a system of problems identification. Were there instances when the community decided or turned down some of the situations brought up as proposals for communal interventions? Can you take us through the process of decision-making, planning ad implementation?

Response: Yes, there used to be a lot of such situations. You see the point is that those were only proposals, and as such they could be turned down or accepted by the

community. Even when the proposals were accepted, it was not everyone who accepted them. We only went by the majority' view. Proposals were turned down if they were deemed as not really requiring communal interventions and so, if it was personal, such assignments became *Imbile* in which case the onus was on the concerned person to arrange the processes. Attendance of such work was optional and not obligatory. This was when it paid most to have been a regular participant in communal work because the community could stay away from your *Imbile* if you were irregular in attending other communal work. Sometimes, proposals were deferred rather than turned down. This was often the case when the community generally voted that they had more pressing household assignments to attend to. This was common during the rain season when it was cultivation time. We are not saying we never did communal work in rain season. In fact we had just as much during that season. All we are saying is that there were instances when personal matters took precedence over communal assignments, and the rain season being a cultivation period provided some of such instances.

Self: Thank you very much. It seems there was a lot of cooperation among yourselves and that is why you were able to work together. How is the situation today? Do you still work communally as you did longer than two decades ago?

Response: We can say yes we do. On the other hand, we can say no we do not. Yes we still work together in the sense that we are still called upon to work for ourselves with the government only helping us with some required material. We have done a number of '*selufu helepu*', (meaning self-help) projects. We have already told you that this week we are building the teacher's house because we in the Parents

Teachers Association through the Head teacher requested the district education officer for another stream of classes at our primary school (Musaila). But he would not allow that citing the lack of teachers compounded by the lack of accommodation as the reason. So we said we could what we could to alleviate the problem. And we decided we should build the house for an extra teacher. The local Councillor asked the local Member of Parliament to help us with money for planks. We had no transport and were forced to mobilise the whole village and the nearby villages who send their children to school here to join hands in carrying the planks on foot 12 km from the forestry sales department at Boma (district headquarters). What we want now is someone to help us with nails or money to buy nails. This is not the first time we have done this 'selufu helepu'. We have done so the inception of our local school in 1980 and since the inception of the clinic at Mibenge village near the palace 15 km in 1981. We are now planning to call for our own clinic here in our village (Musaila). Maybe you can help us by telling people in Lusaka to come and listen to our plight. Our Members of Parliament have not been particular helpful besides that they pass around once in a year. So we can say we still cooperate in our communities.

Self: You also said no. What is the problem that is preventing you from working collectively today as you did in the past?

Response: It is hard now to mobilise everyone of us to take part in communal assignments. For so many reasons. Firstly, (particularly here in Serenje) our villages are more in name than they are in terms of denoting people actually living close together. Our homes have become so sparsely spread that our villages have become too big, and even too many as sometimes households thus widely spread apart tend to

consider themselves as villages on their own. So, this has tended to weaken the cooperative spirit necessary for communal engagement, especially if compared to the situation over two decades ago.

Self: Why is it so?

Response: Here (at Kapini in Serenje and Musaila in Mansa) it is largely due to the notion of farms whereby many people now live on what we call farms. This has meant that, because each of us needs a lot of land, our households have tended to settle quite apart from one another. This has been the case since the late 1970s at the onset of the Lima programmes, ie, maize farming programmes encouraged by the government as a way of discouraging the traditional *Chitemene* shifting cultivation which entailed cutting trees branches. Also, (at Motomoto in Mbala and Kapini in Serenje) our villages are relatively closer to the 'town centres' such there are members of our villages who live in the villages but essentially spend most of our time in the 'town centres' where they do some form of paid wage labour. This keeps them preoccupied from Monday to Saturday, walking or cycling to and from paid work, effectively, and genuinely so, making it hard for them to take part in communal undertaking especially if they have to be done during the week days. But despite that, we still work together in projects which concern the welfare of all of us such as the construction of schools, clinics, teachers and nurses' houses where we have schools and clinics not staffed due to the lack of accommodation which government often cites. Here in Serenje we are even called upon sometimes as villages and/or compounds by headmen and/or Councillors to go and take part in self-help maintenance of our grave roads which service our Boma (district headquarters). As you know, only the highway is

tarred; the road branching off the highway into our Boma has always been a gravel road as is the case with the rest of the roads around the district. Besides, we are still cooperative as we continue to visit one another in times of sickness and bereavement in our villages. No one goes to the field if one of us has a funeral ; the whole village mourns together. So, we can say that although our villages are no longer the same as over two decades ago, we still have the communal disposition which enables us to work on matters of communal concern together. Even those who live far apart on farms far apart from the majority of us still are compelled to participate in some communal activities as there certain things which they alone can provide for themselves - schools, clinics, roads, church and moral and emotional support in times of bereavement.

Self: Do you still punish those who stay away as we have heard was the case in the past?

Response: No and yes. No, in the sense that it is less common to have a village member being 'sentenced' to *Umulima-cipuba* as you have heard used to be done in the past. This is because there are many of our village members today who stay away for genuine reasons, among them paid wage employment and conducting own small businesses. Rather, and as a way of saying yes we still kind of punish and discourage truancy, those of us who stay away for one reason or another still must send apologies and spontaneously make some payment. This payment is not really an atonement for our absence from communal work but more of our token of contribution to the communal cause at hand and as our expression of the cooperative spirit. For example, when we are building a classroom or a clinic toilet, we may donate money for the nails or planks. And this donation is so

willingly done that it has become as if it was a norm. Even those of us who do not have paid wage employment but perhaps burn charcoal, make up for our absence by making some contribution in the form of money.

Self: To whom is that payment or donation made? And about how much?

Response: It is to the headman who, together with sub-headmen, oversees all communal undertakings in the village. As said earlier, the money thus paid is not so much a charge for absence and for that reason the amount really is not fixed and it is not what matters. So, how much it should be is completely a responsibility of the individual staying away from communal work and making such payment.

Self: Any records of such monies?

Response: Well, no. This is because we do not see the need for that as the monies are usually brought and announced at the announcement of the apologies in which case we all get to know not only who has stayed away but how much he/she has sent as contribution. So, the headman and his sub-headmen see to it that we use that money to help in our projects, say, to buy nails, planks, cement, or refreshment as the situation may require.

Self: And finally, do you still do work for the Chief?

Response: Yes, we do though not as we did in the past. We make contributions of anything ranging from money to foodstuff from time to time, depending on when the headman sends the message round regarding this, which we then give to the Chief. The headman collects such gifts and takes them on our behalf to the Chief. Sometimes, the Chief asks for these gifts and sometimes the headman just decides so without waiting for the Chief to ask. So, in way we still work for the Chief because sometimes our gifts such as money may be used for hiring labour in the

Chief's fields. Our Chief is still very important: he allocates land and can take away your piece of land, can ask you to leave his area and he and headmen still arbitrate in our disputes and their ruling is binding on us all.

Self: Thank you very much all of you for your time and support in my inquiries. I am very glad to hear about how you are trying to make your communities better places to live in on your own. (Addressing participants at Musaila) I am happy that I will be able to see and participate in your communal work, which you have just to me about in our discussions. I will stay until Thursday so that I participate in your work. Again, thank you very much.

Question schedule 2 - Clermont Township Case Study

The situation regarding community participation in Clermont community projects

For the Residents

- Do you have a family? How many members of your family are here?

- Are you employed?

- Why do you participate in community work like this campaign?

- How did you hear about this campaign?

- Why did you think cleaning the surrounds was the priority?

- Do you belong to any political party?

- What do you think might prevent you or other residents from participating in such campaigns?

- Are there projects like this one that you have participated in before?

For the community (and project) leaders (the Councilors)

- Whose idea was this campaign? The community or the Council?

- How did you get the community involved in this campaign? How did the residents know about it?

- How do you encourage the residents to participate in their community work?

- How does you being IFP/ANC/NP affect your community's residents' participation if they belong to other parties?

- Is this the first time you have tackled a problem collectively?

- Are there future plans along these lines?

- What have been some of the problems faced in this endeavour?

- How have you addressed them?

- Finally, how did you get the Parks Board, The Highway Mail and the Council involved in this campaign?