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Communication for Development: Theory and Practice for Empowerment and Social Justice, Third Edition

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This book critically examines directed social change theory and practice while presenting a conceptual framework of development communication to address inequality and injustice in contemporary contexts.

This third edition features significantly revised and updated chapters to include the latest scholarship on, and practices of, media and communication for development. It explores empowerment and social justice to individuals and communities around the world in the context of increasing globalization. Tracing the history of development communication, it looks objectively at diverse approaches and their supporters, and goes on to provide models for the future. It also offers a new chapter presenting the authors' framework foregrounding empowerment and social justice as goals for development communication in the 21st century.

The earlier editions of this book, **Communication for Development in the Third World** (1991 and 2001), are established core texts for courses on development communication throughout the world.



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Melkote
Steeves

Communication
for Development

3e

Revised and Updated edition

Communication for Development

Theory and Practice for
Empowerment and Social Justice

Srinivas Raj Melkote • H. Leslie Steeves

3e

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Communication for Development

**Theory and Practice for
Empowerment and Social Justice**

3rd Edition

**Srinivas Raj Melkote
H. Leslie Steeves**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPC	Action for Cultural and Political Change (India)
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APC	Association for Progressive Communications
ARRM	AIDS Risk Reduction and Management
ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens
CBA	Communication-Based Assessment
CEB	Base Ecclesial Community
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNA	Communication Needs Assessment
COMOG	Coalition of Muslim Organizations of Ghana
CPR	Contraceptive Prevalence Rate
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAN	Direct Action Network
DEVCOM	Development Communication
DSC	Development Support Communication
EE	Entertainment-Education
EATWOT	The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FOMWAG	Federation of Muslim Women's Associations of Ghana
FOSS	Free and Open-Source Software
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G8	Group of Eight
GAD	Gender and Development
GDI	Gender-Related Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

HBM	Health Belief Model
HDI	Human Development Index
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICT4D	Information and Communication Technology for Development
ICT4AD	Information and Communication Technology for Accelerated Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IT	Information Technology
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
LETS	Local exchange and trading systems
MAB	Movement of People Affected by Dams (Brazil)
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MSA	Mutual Security Administration
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NACO	National AIDS Control Organization (India)
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
ODA	Organized Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLPC	One Laptop Per Child
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PCS	Population Communication Services
PD	Positive Deviance
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
POD	Acronym for model in Chapter 11 (Figure 11.3)
PQLI	Physical Quality of Life Index
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRCA	Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal
PGA	People's Global Action
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal

SAF	Situation Analysis Framework
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policies
SDD	Song and Drama Division (Ministry of Information, India)
SEEDS	Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SITE	Satellite Instructional Television Experiment
SOPA	Stop Online Piracy Act
SWM	Sarvodaya Women's Movement
T&V	Training and Visit
TAZ	Temporary Autonomous Zones
TCA	Technical Cooperation Administration
UAR	United Arab Republic
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV and AIDS
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
WOPS	Windows of Perceptions
WCC	World Council of Churches
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WSF	World Social Forum
WSIS	World Summit on Information Society
WTO	World Trade Organization



FOREWORD

I regard *Communication and Development for Empowerment and Social Justice* clearly as one of the very best pieces of the world's literature on this discipline. It is an extraordinary work in both historical and conceptual terms. In fact, it is a thorough and penetrating overview of the evolution of this discipline in terms of theory and practice as well as an overall reflection in-depth about the nature of it.

The account deals with the different propositions about development, and about communication and development for social justice and empowerment. It does so critically, comparatively, and creatively, paying special attention to the transition from the classical and dominant paradigms to the innovative models that emerged after several years in some countries of what used to be called the *Third World*.

The book begins with an illuminating discussion of key concepts of the trade carried out with plausible insight, equanimity, and rigor. And it culminates in a very valuable proposal for reconceptualizing the role of development support communication with emphasis on empowering the people so as to democratize communication as well as development. As if these merits were not enough, Melkote and Steeves write in plain language and present their descriptions and conclusions in a very well-documented and most orderly configuration.

This book, I honestly feel, is a sort of the Bible of the profession. It should be in the hands of every student of development communication (devcom) all over the world. I hope it is translated into many languages, starting with Spanish. Let me, thus, reiterate now my congratulations and express my admiration and affection.

Late Dr Luis Ramiro Beltran Salmon
Journalist and Communication Theorist
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PREFACE

The third edition of this book builds on the two previous editions in our efforts to trace the history of devcom theory and practice, present diverse approaches and their proponents, critique these approaches as appropriate, and provide ideas and models for devcom in the 21st century.

The book is divided into five parts. As in the second edition, this edition is organized conceptually versus historically. However, we provide historic context for each concept, and additionally present a historical map for the volume in Part I of the book. Part I also defines key terms, such as communication, development, empowerment, and social justice. We explain our understanding of the term *Third World* and our decision to drop the term from the title. We also discuss our emphasis on development for social justice, as well as on ways in which globalization is changing the entire dialogue—for example, by radically altering global realities of time, place, proximity, and markets.

As in the second edition of the book, Parts II, III, and IV each introduce a major set of assumptions regarding development and communication therein: modernization and globalization (Part II), critical perspectives (Part III), and liberation perspectives (Part IV). We conclude with three chapters in Part V: one synthesizing key perspectives on the *participatory paradigm* and its vision for development and social change, one on communication for empowerment, and a final chapter that presents our framework foregrounding empowerment and social justice as goals for devcom in the 21st century.

The book has been updated to include much of the scholarship and practice on communication for development, social change, and social justice since our second edition. Many excellent articles, books, and anthologies have been published since the second edition, and it is impossible to include everything within our space limitations. We have done our best to trace key themes over the past 14 years, while advancing our arguments. We know we have undoubtedly failed to acknowledge all colleagues who have contributed importantly to this dialogue, and we apologize for these omissions.

As before, underlying goals throughout include: critiquing the power of dominant knowledge systems, challenging the truth claims of modernism, and sensitizing the reader to the relationship between dominant knowledge and the exercise of social power. We identify and critique interventions and practices that have been promoted by modernist discourses, and analyze their political, economic, and cultural origins and consequences. We examine the local and *other* contexts and assert the heuristic value of alternative, non-Western, local experiences and knowledge systems to the tasks of social change.

We are honored and humbled that a luminary in the field of devcom, Late Dr Luis Ramiro Beltran Salmon, has written the foreword to the present edition. We are thankful to many colleagues, former students, and collaborators over the years for their help and encouragement. They include: Sidick Ahmed Abubakari, Robert Agunga, Kwesi Ansu-Kyeremeh, Alan Brody, Audrey Gadzekpo, Ab Gratama, Ammina Kothari, Twange Kasoma, Janet Kwami, Gabriela Martinez, Sundeep Muppidi, Radhika Parameswaran, Fay Patel, Luz Estella Porras, Kumarini Silva, Arvind Singhal, Archie Smith, Jr, Prahalad Sooknanan, Fatoumata Sow, Sanjanthi Velu, Karin Wilkins, and Nancy Worthington. Our current students who have contributed ideas and assistance include: Irma Jolene Fisher, Senyo Ofori-Parku, Brenna Wolf-Monteiro, Tewodros Workneh, and Arpan Yagnik. We are indebted to them. Significantly, we are grateful to the late Professor Everett Rogers, who wrote the foreword to Melkote's (1991) first edition, and Professor Bella Mody, who likewise wrote the foreword to Melkote and Steeves' (2001) second edition, and provided helpful comments.

We acknowledge our common mentor, Professor Joseph Ascroft. We met Joe at the University of Iowa in the early 1980s, and were changed forever by his powerful stories from the field, where he observed firsthand the many failures of top-down message strategies. Joe Ascroft was born in Malawi, lived in Zimbabwe, attended college in South Africa during the Apartheid, and eventually earned his Ph.D. at Michigan State University. These experiences sensitized him to both the realities of oppression and the many blind spots in theory and practice intended to help, subsequently shaping his approach to teaching, writing, and consulting globally. Joe is a gifted and inspirational teacher, and his most fundamental lessons live on in this volume.

Finally, we thank our readers. Over the years, we have received much support and encouragement from our readers globally. We hope you like the new edition and find it useful. That will give us ultimate satisfaction.

Srinivas Raj Melkote
H. Leslie Steeves



I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW



CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION, EMPOWERMENT, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE GLOBALIZATION EPOCH

A way has to be found to enable everyone to benefit from the fruits of the earth, and not simply to close the gap between the affluent and those who must be satisfied with the crumbs falling from the table, but above all to satisfy the demands of justice, fairness and respect for every human being.

Pope Francis, Address to the Food and
Agriculture Organization (June 20, 2013)

Our world bears little resemblance to the 1940s when institutional development plans and strategies were first executed. Today, themes such as diversity, digital divide, human welfare, community-oriented participatory initiatives, social justice, and transparent modes of collective action reflect the new priorities. New global and local political and developmental realities demand new institutional arrangements based on 21st century conditions and priorities. The legitimacy of the modernization paradigm of development is being challenged on several fronts, including critiques of their scientific and economic foundations, challenges by fundamentalist religious movements, and postmodern, poststructuralist, environmental, antiglobalization, and feminist revolts. Fundamentalist religious movements are questioning the validity of Western modernity and advocating a return to their vision of a *good* society, while postmodernists, poststructuralists, feminists, and other critics point to significant problems with the meta-discourse on development currently in vogue.

The second half of the 20th century brought a tradition of communication research and practice geared toward Third World

development needs, an area known as *development communication* (devcom). Research and projects addressing devcom flourished during the First Development Decade in the 1960s. The works of Daniel Lerner (1958), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Everett Rogers (1962), Everett Rogers and Svenning (1969), and many others, such as Fredrick Frey (1973), Lucien Pye (1963), and Lakshmana Rao (1963), attest to this lively interest. Since the 1970s, Western development aid and all facets of the process, including communication, were challenged. Many large and expensive projects promoting directed social change have failed to help their intended recipients, or have resulted in further worsened conditions for them. Development's primary focus on economic growth has ignored other crucial, nonmaterial aspects of human need. Further, economic development aid has often contributed to corruption and large gaps between the wealthy elite and the masses in most countries. Charges of gender bias, ethnocentrism, and even racism abound in the literature of development studies and devcom. Most commonly, the discourse of development reveals a single story of poverty and disaster, positioning development recipients as victims and Western aid workers as saviors. Nigerian novelist Adichie (2009) argues powerfully that this single story engenders a *flattening of experience* by hiding the complexity of life in much of the world. Scholars have increasingly debated the value, purpose, and meaning of communication for development, debates which certainly parallel those on development itself.

Our book explores the scholarship and practice of media and communication for development, social justice, and the empowerment of individuals and communities around the globe, especially in a context of increasing globalization. Though perspectives on the role of communication in development have evolved considerably since the 1950s and 1960s, the need for devcom remains important. This book will trace the history of devcom, present diverse approaches and their proponents, critique these approaches as appropriate, and provide ideas and models for devcom in the early phase of the 21st century. We will critically examine the modernization paradigm that has guided much of development theory and practice since World War II. Our interest in examining various theoretical perspectives on development is to identify and critique interventions and practices that have emerged from them and analyze their social, political, economic, and cultural consequences.

An underlying goal throughout the book is to critique dominant systems of knowledge, question the truth claims of modernism, and sensitize the reader to the relationship between dominant knowledge and the exercise of social power. In this approach, we are informed by the work of poststructuralist, postmodern, feminist, and post-colonial scholars. We assert the heuristic value of alternative, local, and non-Western experiences and knowledge systems to the tasks of social change, and, therefore, reject the notion that development and change must flow from the North or from nonlocal experts. Local knowledge and experiences may not only be practical in solving local problems, but will also resuscitate these subjugated knowledge systems and empower marginalized groups and individuals. In fact, local knowledge is essential for the success of self-reliant and autonomous self-development activities.

Our approach is interdisciplinary. We recognize that the scholarship and practice of devcom has many disciplinary origins besides communication studies: political science, economics, sociology, social psychology, social work, education, women's and gender studies, postcolonial studies, community psychology, community organization, international/global policy studies, geographic area studies, and more. We aim to synthesize the material and present it in a conceptually organized manner by reducing disciplinary jargon. In terms of limitations, we examine the role and place of devcom at micro levels of the individual and communities. We recognize that development and change also requires changes at the macro levels of national governments and global institutions. However, due to considerations of space, a detailed discussion of macro-level policy-making structures is beyond the scope of this book.

Our exploration of this field cannot begin without first clarifying understandings of key concepts, and how these meanings compare and contrast with how others use and define them. The most obvious are the five concepts in the title of the book and this chapter, that is, *communication*, *development*, *social justice*, *empowerment*, and *globalization*. Combinations of these four yield additional terms, concepts, and accompanying controversies as well.

An understanding of devcom varies not only with definitions of the terms that comprise it, but also is complicated by assumptions about related areas of study and practice. These include *development education*, *development journalism*, *international communication*,

globalization, transnational communication, international journalism, cross-cultural and intercultural communication. Most scholars and professionals readily agree that devcom is concerned with the role of media and communication in directed social change, but so are all of these other fields. Generally, each of these areas connotes differences in focus, emphasis, and scope, but these differences must be explicated in each instance.

Terminology is a problem within the rubric of devcom and related areas, and varies enormously between texts. Distinctions made between devcom and *development support communication* (DSC) constitute one example.¹ Other areas of continued contradiction and confusion include the distinction between devcom and *communication development*, and the meaning of *participatory communication*.² The definition and boundaries of these interdisciplinary areas have become even more fluid and nebulous in the past decade. The end of the Cold War, alongside greater polarization along ethnic, religious, and nationalistic lines, increased globalization, growing consciousness of marginalized groups, and diminishing resources, has challenged and changed the issues and questions.

Throughout this volume, beginning here, we attempt to untangle the contested and overlapping meanings of these and other terms, and the areas of study and practice they signify. At the same time, we argue for the integrity and value of devcom. We agree that old views of the field are no longer appropriate. Yet, as long as development projects are carried out, devcom will take place. Development policies and projects continue to be important at the global, national, and local levels. Organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank (WB), and several private foundations including the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation set aside billions of dollars for development assistance, mostly to poor countries and regions (Mefalopulos, 2008). Therefore, planned yet self-reflexive communication, accounting for mistakes of the past, will remain crucial to the relative success—and ongoing transformation—of development.

While development projects constitute an integral part of directed change efforts, we wish to emphasize that all aspects of directed change do not necessarily fit within the narrow definitions of *development* as operationalized in projects until now. The new challenges and

opportunities presented to us in the globalization epoch call for other potential areas, principles, and activities for remaking our world. We will group these ideas under the rubric of *post-development* for a detailed discussion and critique in the final chapter.

Next, we introduce concepts central to this edition of our book: communication, development, empowerment, social justice, dev-com, Third World (and variants), and globalization. In later chapters, we will further historicize and explicate these and other terms as we argue for our vision of communication and development for empowerment and social justice.

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION

Issues of words and language are certainly issues of communication. As mass communication spread in the early 20th century, the potential increased for terms such as *development*, *underdevelopment*, and the *Third World* to be globally transmitted and legitimized. Scholars increasingly questioned the influence and potential of media and communication to effect change—both in individuals and in society. These questions led to a plethora of media and communication models and accompanying assumptions and theories about the components of the process, the process itself, and the context in which communication takes place, as different communication contexts have yielded their own subfields of communication studies.

The earliest models of communication described or assumed a relatively linear process whereby someone sends a message to someone else via a channel and receives a response, called feedback. Interference in the process—whether psychological or environmental—was often called noise. This exchange process can occur on a more or less equal basis between the sender and receiver. When the initiative and ability lie overwhelmingly with the sender, the result is an impersonal, one-way flow of information. Of course, this is the case often with the traditional models and processes of mass communication, where media create and send messages with few opportunities for feedback from audience members and seldom via the same channels.³

Given the sheer volume of information transmitted by mass media and the broad audience access that they enjoy in every society, especially in societies with market economies, early theories assumed that mass media have considerable power to inform and influence. This early model of information-based processes has been termed as the *transmission approach*. Much has happened since these early models and theories of communication were developed. Empirical research revealed flaws, pointing to the need for considerable refinement to account for differences in contexts and audience demographics. Additionally, significant advances have been made in media and communication technologies, resulting in rapid increases in information flows globally. Radio and television stations have multiplied exponentially. The Internet is revolutionizing our home and work environments, along with smartphones, tablet computers, and other mobile communication technologies. In the contemporary world, the audience is less passive than depicted in the earlier models and processes. Users now have the ability and opportunities to send their own messages using vehicles such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and blogs, thus, communicating instantly to other users globally. Several recent global events have demonstrated that ordinary people can be global media makers, gathering and disseminating information as first responders.

The empowered roles of many users/consumers globally are reflected in new terms used to describe them, such as *producer* or *prosumer*. All this has been largely a result of the convergence of technological inventions: (a) computers and smart machines, which provide information-storage and data-transfer capacities previously unknown; (b) communication satellites, cell phone towers, and fiber optic broadband networks, which relay information over vast distances quickly; and (c) digitization, which converts any kind of communication/information data—pictures, sound, graphics, text—to a binary code that can be readily transmitted, decoded, and delivered to the intended individual or audience. Social networks such as Facebook are creating their own islands of virtual information, communication, and fellowship.

Data from the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) show the dramatic increase in Internet users, mobile telephone subscriptions, mobile broadband connections, and bandwidth capacity that are crucial for high-speed Internet (ITU, 2011, 2013):

- Mobile cellular telephone subscriptions around the globe have reached nearly 6.8 billion with a penetration rate of nearly 100 percent by 2013.
- Between the years of 2006 and 2013, Internet access has gone from 360 to 749 million homes among the nearly 1.8 billion households worldwide.
- Internet users increased from 1.15 to 2.27 billion between 2006 and 2011, an increase of nearly 97 percent.
- Mobile broadband subscriptions around the globe rose from around 268 million to over 2 billion between 2007 and 2013.
- Internet bandwidth, a key factor for high-speed Internet, grew from 11,000 Gbits in 2006 to 80,000 Gbits in 2011.

Social scientists interested in questions of message transfer and effects have developed newer theories to address problems with the early theories, and to account for the increased complexity of the media environment (McQuail, 1994, 2010). Digital technologies have inspired new and more elaborate arguments about the power of these technologies to deliver information, set agendas, persuade, socialize, educate, satisfy myriad audience needs, and democratize societies. The excitement among media and communication scholars and practitioners about the role and effects of information and communication technologies (ICTs) is palpable. Terms such as *weightless economics*, which denotes the effortless movement of bytes of information via digital networks, are bandied about, and digital communication technologies are seen as iconic representations of globalization (Barker, 1999; Waters, 1995). The nature of digital media and communication products is such that they can be easily carried and circulated globally through digital networks (see Box 1.1). Sparks (2007: 133) suggests that “to the extent that globalization is constituted in and through networks and the resulting circulation of symbols rather than things, then the immateriality of media products are emblematic of the process of globalization.” All of these claims show that processes of contemporary globalization are traceable to media and communication technologies. Waters’ (1995: 9) theorem deserves a mention in this context: “material exchanges localize, political exchanges internationalize, and symbolic exchanges globalize.” Since media and communication products can be easily

Box 1.1
Bits and Bytes

Digitization represents the process by which information and media messages are converted to a computer-readable form. Computers and smart machines communicate with each other in a binary digit code or bit. A bit is represented by either a 1 or 0. Eight bits comprise a byte. Each letter in English is one byte. The letter "A" is represented in machine language as "01000001." Similarly, every digital word, picture, audio, or movie may be represented by a string of ones and zeros. Computers can process this information rapidly making no difference between a video or a text message, except that each of them takes up different amounts of memory in the computer. Here is handy information about bits and bytes:

- Byte = 8 bits
- Kilobyte (KB) = 1,024 bytes
- Megabyte (MB) = 1,024 KB
- Gigabyte (GB) = 1,024 MB
- Terabyte (TB) = 1,024 GB
- Petabyte (PB) = 1,024 TB
- Exabyte (EB) = 1,024 PB

Source: Compiled from Pavlik and McIntosh (2011).

symbolized, it follows that they are symptomatic of globalization. Just as the mass media were considered agents and indices of modernization in an earlier era (Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964), digital media now serve as agents and indices of globalization.

Instrumental versus Culture-centric Symbolization

The *swashbuckling generalizations* about the globalizing tendencies of digital media and communication technologies described above need closer scrutiny (Tomlinson, 1999: 23). Such data transmissions

are emblematic of instrumental symbolization, and describe pure information exchange for instrumental purposes. We recognize that instrumental symbolization via ICTs is ubiquitous and is important in fostering global connectivity. The exchange and circulation of data by banks of financial information, or the sending and receiving of intelligence information pertaining to national security issues and other global transactions are important for certain sectors in our societies. But, data exchanges alone do not constitute communication (Pasquali, 2006); as such, they do not constitute the subject matter for this book. An important objective in this book is to examine the role of culture-centric symbolization through media and communication channels and networks to influence culture or to facilitate greater cultural and social interactions globally. We consider culture as “the social production of existentially significant meaning” (Tomlinson, 1999: 21), and we further assume that cultural processes and institutions are enmeshed with and mutually constitutive of economic and political processes and institutions (Althusser, 1971). Therefore, we wish to focus on the role of media and communication messages, technologies, and networks in cultural as well as economic and political change. In other words, how do media, information, and communication products and actions in one context or locale have influence and consequences in terms of significant meaning construction in other contexts or locales? We will examine these issues further in this book.

Critical Communication Scholarship

At the same time that social scientists have been analyzing mass media’s effects, critical scholars have challenged the relatively linear nature of the models and their isolation from entwined economic, political, and ideological processes in their societies (Sparks, 2007). These scholars assume links between culture and communication in the idea of communication as shared meaning, versus information transmission or persuasion (Carey, 1989). Communication contributes to the maintenance, modification, and creation of culture. This has been termed as the ritual view of communication. In this sense, the processes and institutions of communication, culture, and development are all inter-woven. Therefore, it becomes impossible to

think of communication as predominantly a process of information transmission.

Because of the assumed inseparability of culture and communication, many critical scholars argue that communication reinforces hegemonic values and priorities in society. We accept Gramsci's (1971) conceptualization of *hegemony* as the cultural production of a society's values and beliefs by the state and other institutional structures that pervade all areas of daily life such that they appear as logical and plain common sense. Hegemonic processes socialize people to have *imaginary relations* with aspects of reality (Althusser, 1971). Hegemony is assumed to be subtle and seductive, such that most audience members do not resist the values embedded in messages; in fact, they actively accept them. The fact that hegemony allows the mainstream transmission of some alternative perspectives gives an illusion of balance, even though only selected nonmainstream messages are allowed, messages that can be most easily co-opted by the dominant system. Hence, a major focus of much critical work is to carry out textual analyses that expose the dominant and resistant values embedded in media content, based on the assumption that exposure alone provides an important consciousness-raising function that may challenge hegemony. There are many textual conventions supported by standard traditions and values of media practice that powerful groups use to reinforce dominant messages. These include, for instance, trivializing nonmainstream views; undercounting those with alternative views; overemphasizing support for mainstream views; creating media and cultural myths by actively framing events or personalities into stories that create an enduring feeling and shared history, thus, often creating pseudo-events; and an over-reliance on official government and corporate sources. Media traditions that reinforce these conventions include focusing on events rather than on the process or context, on conflict versus consensus, and on individual freedoms rather than on group responsibilities. Additionally, economic motives, deadlines, and competition between journalists contribute to what gets in the media and how it gets represented.⁴

One key tool on which we will briefly elaborate is language and the selection of labels that support hegemonic agendas. Several prominent critical theorists and philosophers have developed arguments about the power of the dominant discourse to shape society

and in fact create *reality* (Foucault, 1972; Gramsci, 1971). There are numerous historic examples of this. For instance, in missionary and colonial times, all African people were classified into *tribes* headed by *chiefs* regardless of the hierarchical or egalitarian nature of the group (Staudt, 1991: 12). This established linguistic relationships of superiority and inferiority consistent with the values and style of Europeans. In contemporary society, the power of language is evident when policy or public relations decisions about word choices outweigh accuracy, as in the initial refusal of the United States (US) to use the word *genocide* for the 1994 Rwandan slaughter of Tutsis by Hutus.

A careful examination of the language and imagery of development certainly provides insights into values and agendas of those communicating. Take the word *underdeveloped*. Suppose instead that the term *overexploited* is used. The meaning changes immediately in a way that may challenge our usual ways of thinking. Further, many nouns and adjectives have been used to describe people—including here in this volume. While the word *peasant* is seldom used anymore,⁵ many other terms appear to be used nearly interchangeably. These include: *poor*, *oppressed*, *marginalized*, *disadvantaged*, *peripheral*, *exploited*, *neglected*, *excluded*, *disempowered*, *dispossessed*, *disenfranchised*, *devalued*, *vulnerable*, *underprivileged*, and many others. Even the term *development-starved* has been used (Moemeka, 1994). This set of labels suggests substantial variation in intended meaning and appropriate context of use. Some labels appear ethnocentric, depending on the context. Others appear more politically correct. Staudt (1991: 14) points out that in the context of development projects, the individuals to whom technologies or services are directed are commonly referred to as *targets*, suggesting military imagery, or as *beneficiaries*, suggesting welfare imagery and also assuming a positive outcome. While most scholars and practitioners of devcom want to avoid offence, it is clear that subtle—and sometimes blatant—forms of racism, sexism, and ethnocentrism do remain evident and must be continuously examined and exposed.

In addition to theorizing relationships between communication and culture and examining the power of the dominant discourses, critical scholars have focused much attention on the role of large institutions in controlling global communications. They point out that the organizations that are most influential in disseminating information

are the largest ones, including private corporations, foundations, governments and their branches, and major political parties. These large political and economic institutions have power and influence over the manufacture and distribution of hardware, provision of training, decisions about message channels, the creation of messages, and export of cultural products (e.g., television programs) in a manner consistent with their values. Some of the largest organizations today are transnational corporations, which have economic power greater than many national governments (Ernberg, 1998; Harvey, 2005; Sparks, 2007). The inventions of the information age have strengthened critical scholars' concerns and arguments about large political and corporate institutions, and their roles in influencing global cultural change supportive of Western or other elite economic, political, and ideological values. However, critical scholars concede that hegemony is never complete, and that resistance is possible. The Internet, in particular, allows greatly expanded possibilities for information access, information sharing, and coalition-building by interested communities including marginalized groups. Yet, possibilities translate into realities for the privileged few. Illiteracy and other barriers make Internet access still impossible or rare for the majority. Although statistics cited above show a global mobile phone penetration rate of nearly 100 percent, statistics are often misleading, as they do not count for multiple phone (or SIM card) registration by single users. In fact, routine mobile phone use is not yet available to everyone in the world.

In sum, many scholars and practitioners continue to think of communication as a relatively linear process of information transmission, causing or contributing to changes in knowledge, attitudes, and/or behaviors. Media and communication models based on this understanding are called positivistic models and fall under the rubric of administrative uses of communication. Critical scholars view communication as a much more complex process, inseparable from culture, which is sustained and challenged by global and local economic, political, and ideological structures and processes. Models that follow this interpretive conclusion are considered critical approaches to communication and its effects. In this book, we will advance arguments on both sides of this coin, especially with reference to the role and effects of media and communication in directed change processes. Additionally, we will discuss nonmaterial perspectives on communication and development that reject both of these dominant approaches.

DEVELOPMENT AND DIRECTED CHANGE

Like communication, development means different things to different scholars and practitioners. Therefore, the theory and practice of devcom cannot be meaningfully discussed without defining development as well. Although the importance of defining development should be obvious, relatively few studies of devcom bother to do so, leaving it to the reader to figure out the authors' assumptions (Fair and Shah, 1997). Where definitions are provided, understandings about development vary greatly. Though most would agree that development means improving the living conditions of society, there has been much debate and disagreement on just what constitute improved living conditions and how they should be achieved. In later chapters, we will detail three perspectives or ways in which development and directed change have been thought about and practiced. Here we introduce them briefly.

The first is *modernization*, based on neoclassical and neoliberal economic and social theories and promoting and supporting capitalist economic development. This perspective assumes that the Western model of economic growth is universally applicable, and that the introduction of modern technologies is important in development. Evidence of modernization can be readily observed in local-level projects that aim to persuade people to adopt technologies, and also in the macro-level policies of governments and aid organizations that pressure poor countries and communities to sacrifice education, human, and social services for economic growth. The guiding theory specifies an incremental and causal process to this directed change toward an end that closely resembles the societies of advanced Western countries and communities in their political, economic, social, and cultural makeup. Critics claim that this vision of change describes social evolutionism. It subscribes to a *Grand Narrative* idea of social change in which human history like a grand story has an inherent purpose and design and moves forward in interlocking steps toward a grand end stage. This perspective is now widely criticized for its teleological bias to history and change.

Critical perspectives constitute a second way of thinking about development. These perspectives challenge the economic and cultural expansionism and imperialism of modernization, and they argue for political and economic restructuring to produce more even

distribution of rewards in society. These perspectives do an excellent job of exposing and critiquing flaws of modernization, yet they have been less successful thus far in establishing alternative political and economic structures to the present neoliberal policy regimes. In addition, they seldom form the primary basis of funded development projects. However, they have incubated social movements relating to social justice, resistance communication, and other empowerment strategies that are proposing and working for alternatives to the neoliberal economic and political order. We will be describing communicative acts involved in social activism in greater detail in the final chapter of this book.

Liberation or *monastic* perspectives constitute the third area of scholarship and practice in development and social change that we highlight in this volume. The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1973) is among the most well-known proponents of development as liberation. These perspectives derive largely from liberation theology, which prioritizes personal and communal liberation from oppression as the key to empowerment and self-reliance, which is the goal of development. Liberation theology assumes that all people want to become fully human, which means free and self-reliant, and that they have the internal capacity to develop themselves on their own terms. However, internal and external forms of oppression restrict their ability to do so. Therefore, the purpose of development is liberation from oppression, with a focus on both individuals and communities. However, liberation theology argues that the oppressors are oppressed too, because they do not realize that their oppression is dehumanizing. Therefore, the human potential of all is best reached by working toward universal human liberation.

This mode of thought differs from the modernization and critical perspectives, in that the basic premises and goals are primarily spiritual, not economic. However, material realities are not ignored as in other theologies. Liberation theology recognizes links between material and nonmaterial needs and the impact of unmet material needs and economic exploitation on spiritual growth. Proponents of liberation perspectives do not necessarily side with critics of modernization. The basic premise is that individuals must be free to choose, and that their choice is not inevitably against the values of modernization.

It is important to emphasize that the three perspectives highlighted here and elsewhere in this book are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. They certainly overlap, and we will argue that all three offer valuable insights and arguments. Further, there are other themes in the scholarship and practice of development that intersect with these three. These include the *basic needs*, *sustainable development*, and *gender and development* (GAD) perspectives or themes, all introduced in the early 1970s. The *basic needs* perspective argues for prioritizing the survival needs of the world's poor—versus assuming that the benefits of infrastructure development will *trickle down*. Another significant theme has been the *sustainable development* or *sustainable environment* perspective. This perspective assumes that maintaining the biological diversity of the planet is essential to the survival of humanity. Hence, development that does not prioritize environmental sustainability is doomed to fail. A third major theme or perspective is *women in development* (WID) and, later, GAD. Proponents of this perspective demonstrate that most development aid has ignored or marginalized gender roles in project planning. As women's roles are central to most development goals and can only be understood in context, failing to consider gender seriously jeopardizes project success.

EMPOWERMENT

Another key—and contested—concept that we explore in this book is *empowerment*. The construct of empowerment is mentioned frequently in devcom literature, and is often overused. The terms, exemplars, levels of analyses, and outcomes are seldom carefully explicated. Empowerment cannot be understood without first defining *power*. As scholars and practitioners, it is important that we consider power and control in development theory and practice. From Foucault (1980), we assume that power is meaningful only in social relations. It is constituted in a network of social relationships. There are several kinds of relational power (Rowlands, 1998: 13). These include: power over (controlling power), power to (generates new possibilities without domination), power with (collective power, power created by group process), and power from within (spiritual strength that inspires and

energizes others). *Power over* is especially relevant here, as it refers to those who have access to formal decision-making processes. Real change may not be possible unless we address power inequities between marginalized individuals, groups, and communities and the elites who make policy and aid decisions (Lewis, 2006; Ryan and Jeffreys, 2012). The other kinds of power—power to, power with, and power from within—may be instrumental in attaining greater power over.

Like the other concepts explored in this chapter, empowerment means different things to different people. In recent years, much has been written about alternative, highly participatory, empowerment-oriented approaches to development. These are varied and are not mutually exclusive.⁶ Jo Rowlands (1998) reviews the literature of empowerment, dividing it into three overlapping dimensions: personal empowerment (developing individual consciousness and confidence to confront oppression), relational empowerment (an increased ability to negotiate and influence relational decisions), and collective empowerment (collective action at the local or higher level to change oppressive social structures). Santi Rozario (1997) traces the history of the empowerment concept, which she argues has been overused. She divides empowerment into two primary models: One model “is based on empowering the individual, not on encouraging collective social action by the oppressed” (ibid.: 46).⁷ The other model is consistent with Paolo Freire’s approach, which emphasized “conscientization and radical social action” (ibid.: 47).

Our interest is in Rozario’s latter model, consistent with Rowlands’ third model, that is, collective empowerment. Given the nature of this book, which can be described as the study and practice of directed social change, and given the power inequities in societies between and among individuals, groups, and organizations, our definition of empowerment is connected to the building and exercise of power for social change. In this book, empowerment is defined as the process by which individuals, organizations, and communities gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions (Rappaport, 1981), over democratic participation in their communities (Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988), and over their stories. In our approach, there is an increased interest “in local autonomy, culture and knowledge; and the defense of localized, pluralistic grassroots movements” (Escobar, 1995b: 215).

SOCIAL JUSTICE

While individual and collective empowerment are crucial in development, empowerment alone is not enough. This book, therefore, highlights our critique of the *moral* and *ethical* underpinnings of devcom methods and processes in the theoretical and policy-making realms. We point out ways in which the dominant paradigm assumes an ethnocentric conception of what progress should be. It describes the type of modernization that has been achieved in West European and North American countries. Also, it has looked at development from a macroeconomic perspective, viewing development as economic growth obtained through greater industrialization and globalization, and accompanying urbanization. Development performance has been gauged via measures such as Gross National Product (GNP) and per capita income levels and other dry economic indicators.

Missing in this definition has been a broad-based conception of development. Any discussion of directed social change must include the physical, mental, social, cultural, and spiritual growth of individuals in an atmosphere free from coercion or dependency. Additionally, greater importance must be given to preserving and sustaining local cultures, as these constitute the ideological lens through which local communities structure their realities. Local cultures are not static. The fact that they have survived over centuries speaks of their intrinsic resilience and dynamic nature. Local cultures also may harbor solutions to many of the problems at the grassroots. To speak, therefore, of uprooting local cultures is not only naive but also ethically indefensible.

Further, much development research and practice has been at the level of the nation state. Even research at the micro level has been concerned with bringing the nation, or some region thereof, into modernity. Missing here has been the recognition that individuals, groups, and communities require different strategies for development. If directed social change is to avoid creating greater misery for the majority at the periphery, then we need a process by which not only the *mythical* concept of a nation state is developed, but individuals and communities are also given the opportunity to create the type of society they want. Societies have different value systems and goals and must be free to determine their own definitions of the good

society—at each level—and how it may be achieved. This leads to our final and most significant point.

The elites in powerful international institutions and governments, leaders in every nation, usually men, have always had the prerogative of deciding whether a definition and outcome of development is acceptable or not. In most countries, economic and political power are concentrated in the hands of a small elite. In such circumstances, any definition of development by elites will be in a direction opportune to their interests. In contrast, we argue that people who are the objects of policy need to be involved in the definition, design, and execution of the development process. Participation, in such a bottom-up orientation, would need to be more polyphonic. The concept of participation favored by many bottom-up strategies has been narrow: achieve widespread cooperation in adopting better health care practices, increased agricultural production, etc. True participation, however, would go beyond such goals to raise awareness and spark activism to confront and reform unequal social and spatial structures.

We believe that any policy that continues to exploit the masses for the benefit of the rich and powerful is morally indefensible. Development must aim for more egalitarian distributions of benefits, as well as risks, across all social and economic classes. The model as enunciated in the dominant paradigm is inappropriate for most contexts. This model has served to increase the power and wealth of elites. It has led to much corruption as well. An alternative model that stresses decentralized development planning with effective local participation is more appropriate.

Policy-making needs to prioritize human development, that is, to reduce human suffering and not increase it (Berger, 1974). We seek to deconstruct development in directed change efforts and policies through the lens of *social justice*. Elimination of injustice should be the goal of development and all directed social change. Therefore, we will examine social justice, a central concept and outcome of development, in some detail in the second and final chapters. However, here we state that our view of social justice—which involves not only freedom from the effects of unequal development, but also freedom to enhance the capacity of every person to live a meaningful and full life—should be a central consideration at all levels ranging from the local to global.

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

The theory and practice of devcom as presented in this book reflect varied underlying views about media, communication, development, social justice, and empowerment. Devcom scholars and practitioners still tend to be split between those who view communication as an organizational delivery system and those who view communication more broadly, as inseparable from culture and from all facets of social change. Each orientation rests on certain assumptions consistent with divisions in views on concepts and processes previously discussed, such as development, social justice, and empowerment.

The links are perhaps most evident in the case of the information transmission view of communication and the modernization perspective on development. For those who view communication as a process of message delivery, it is easy to view development as a process of modernization via the delivery and insertion of technologies, and/or via inculcating certain values, attitudes, and behaviors in a population. Communication and information are persuasive tools that can assist in the modernization process. Communication in the form of market research can assist in decisions about development goals and communication strategies. Persuasive or marketing communications subsequently *sell* development ideas and associated technologies to target audiences. In this sense, devcom under the modernization framework often is viewed as a process of persuasive marketing. Some examples of this would be biomedical-based health communication initiatives that seek specific behavior changes in their receivers/users, the diffusion of innovations approach, and social marketing approaches.

In contrast, critical frameworks reject marketing models that aim to spread and support alien (and largely Western) technologies and economic, political values. Critical perspectives also view persuasive campaigns as manipulative and potentially harmful, often with inadequate attention to the cultural contexts in which people live. Additionally, proponents of these perspectives observe that large development projects involve multiple economic interests that may benefit others more than the population supposedly served. Further, corrupt leaders and government officials in developing countries find ways to enhance their wealth with foreign aid, hence increasing gaps

between haves and have-nots. For those with critical perspectives, therefore, devcom is a process of consensus building and resistance. It is not a linear process, but it must be historically grounded, culturally sensitive, and multifaceted, with attention to all the political, economic, and ideological structures and processes that comprise society. Examples of these would include participatory approaches in social change, social mobilization, advocacy communication, resistance communication, communication and liberation approaches, and participatory action research (PAR) approaches.

Our dual emphasis on empowerment and social justice has direct implications for the objectives of devcom. Empowerment and social justice require more than just information delivery and diffusion of innovations. An important focus of development communicators will be to help in the process of giving agency to marginalized individuals, groups, and organizations. This calls for grassroots organizing and communicative social action by and for women, the poor, minorities, and others who have been consistently and increasingly marginalized in the process of social change. The implication for devcom, then, is a reconceptualization of its role. Greater importance will need to be given to the organizing value of communication (versus the transmission function) and the role of participative social action communication in empowering citizens to find solutions toward a more fair and just society. This will also imply a multidisciplinary focus. Devcom will need to borrow and adapt concepts and practices from social work, community psychology, community organization, critical education, and other areas engaged in empowering people, communities, and organizations. We will elaborate on these concerns and the communicative acts for achieving social justice in the final chapter.

Liberation perspectives suggest yet another way of defining and operationalizing devcom. As the twin goals of development are assumed to be freedom from oppression and facilitating personal and communal empowerment, the devcom process must support these goals. Therefore, devcom is not message exchange, but rather *emancipatory communication* that will leave people free to determine their futures. That should include everyone participating in the process, not just the so-called target groups. The assumption is that once people are able to name their sources of oppression, as well as their sources of power, they will then be able to find solutions. The nature of emancipatory communication may vary. Many projects

grounded in liberation perspectives include spiritual practice, consistent with the religion and faith of the group involved. Additionally, Paulo Freire and other critical educators have advocated particular forms of *dialogue* (interpersonal and small group strategies) that will lead to expanded consciousness and power—and, therefore, liberation. These dialogic processes are heuristic, and enable participants to identify and explore issues that have meaning for them.

Aside from differences in underlying assumptions about communication and development, the scholarship and practice of devcom vary greatly in strategic scope, that is, the range of methods and approaches included as part of devcom. Given the convergence of legacy mass media and new information technologies, it makes sense that all of these technologies would be relevant. Also significant are small-group, interpersonal, and pedagogic strategies of communication, as are traditional forms of communication and folk media. Some authors include religious and spiritual practice as crucial elements of devcom.

Finally, devcom involves issues at all levels of consideration. What is possible at the micro level (individual and grassroots) often depends on constraints at the macro (national) and meso (global) levels. Yet, at the same time, action at the grassroots may influence higher-level policy and practice. We believe that no useful theory can ignore any level of analysis and practice. Yet, most devcom texts focus attention at one level, therefore, neglecting major issues (and populations) relevant to the process.⁸

Obviously, we cannot ignore serious problems of individual and local deprivation while waiting for modernization to be revised. Yet, development projects may not be able to empower certain classes of people until larger structures of global capitalism are first addressed (Bales, 1999, 2012). In his book, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, Bales (2012) reports research estimating 27 million economic slaves globally. These are not people exploited in sweatshops, but children and adults forced to work by violence and threats of violence. The violence and force do not come exclusively from the economic motives of business owners, but additionally from families who want consumer goods and are willing to sacrifice family members to get them. For instance, the title of Bales' (1999) chapter on forced prostitution in Thailand is "One Daughter Equals One Television." One should not also forget or condone the deplorable working conditions of workers in sweatshops and other such sites producing cheap

clothing for shoppers in the cities and in the rich countries.⁹ Clearly, these are problems requiring interventions at the global and the macro levels. They cannot be alleviated by grassroots projects alone.

THIRD WORLD

Another term that appears in this book is *Third World*, which we use both for historic reasons and because the term has survived the Cold War. Further, as we discuss below language limitations alongside our privileged position as writers make choices of labels and categories always problematic and vulnerable to critique. Though we explain our understanding of the term Third World in the following pages and use it periodically in the book, conventional uses of the term are so pervasive and problematic that we have dropped the term from the title of this edition.

What Is the Third World?¹⁰

John Isbister (1991) traces the Third World notion to 18th century France, where the three social classes were described as the first, second, and third estates. The first and second estates had the political power. The term third estate, or *tiers état*, became a revolutionary slogan during the French Revolution, which began in 1789 and sought to win and transfer political power from an elite few to the third estate. However, most scholars credit the French demographer Alfred Sauvy with first using the term Third World in a global sense (Isbister, 1991; Pletsch, 1981). Isbister (1991: 15) further notes that revolutionary theorists such as Jean-Paul Sartre used the term as “the banner of the hungry and oppressed.”

Today, the primary connotation of Third World is *underdeveloped*, or simply *poor*. This picture has been somewhat complicated by the emergence of so-called newly industrializing countries (e.g., Taiwan, South Korea, Mexico, Brazil, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines), as well as the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) countries. So, the term Third World is an unstable concept. Yet, the global geographic distinctions remain primary. Most people

think of Third World as economically poor, and as places in Africa, most of Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean.

This geographic picture is reinforced by the most common Mercator map projections of the world on a flat surface (see Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3). The Mercator projection was developed in the 16th century as an aid to navigation, but eventually it became a reference base on which to put any kind of geographical information. The projection maintains directional accuracy¹¹ and reproduces shapes quite well. However, the price paid is that distances and areas are magnified toward the poles, so that Greenland, for instance, looks enormous compared to what it really is relative to southern landmasses such as Africa and South America. Many say that the Mercator projection promotes a Eurocentric view of the world. The Mercator map distorts the world to the advantage of European colonial powers. *The North* (i.e., North America, Greenland, and northern Europe) is actually 18.9 million square miles, which is half the size of *The South* (i.e., Central and South America, Africa, Asia, and Australia), which is 38.6 million square miles. However, in the Mercator Projection (Figure 1.1), it appears to be much larger on the map. Similarly, North America (area: 7.4 million square miles) appears to be larger than Africa (area: 11.6 million square miles) (see Figure 1.3). Therefore, it may be argued that this popular geographic visual reinforces a conception of the Third World as other, smaller, and apart.

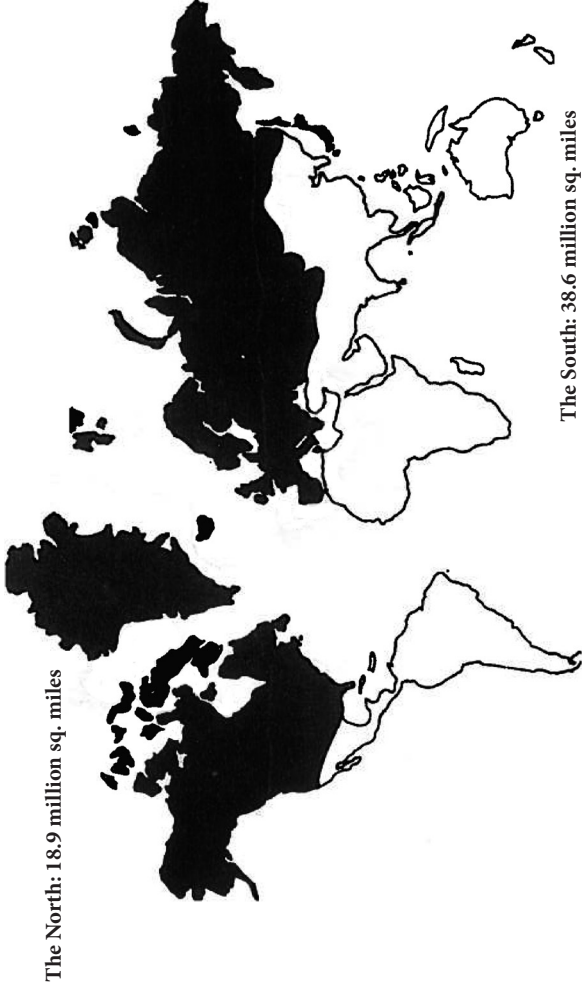
Later map projections, such as the Peters projection (Figure 1.4) attempt to correct for some of these problems. The Peters projection is an *equal areas* projection, meaning that all quadrants on the map represent equal land or sea areas. Also, the equator is in the center. However, here, shapes are distorted, so that land areas toward the equator are elongated in a north–south direction, and land areas toward the poles are elongated in an east–west direction.

There are other map projections that similarly attempt to challenge our historic geographic biases, such as upside-down map projection (see Figure 1.5).¹²

Is there a better term than *Third World*, one with more positive connotations? Many prefer *developing countries*. Yet, that term implies that some countries are finished developing and have *arrived*, whereas others still struggle. Another is *less-developed countries*, which has some advantages in that it doesn't give the impression that a *Third* exists distinct from First and Second. But, is the word *less* any

Figure 1.1

World Map: Mercator Projection Comparing the North and South



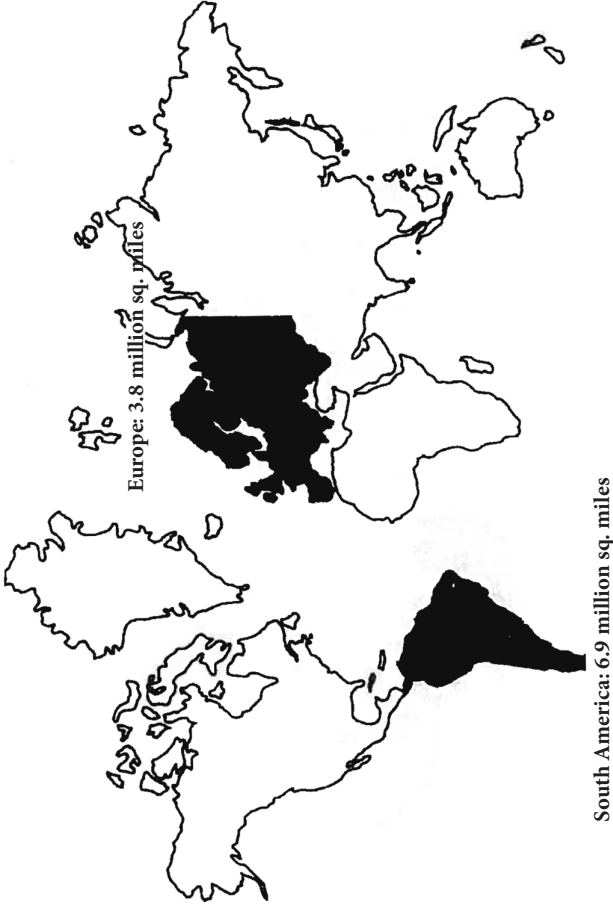
Source: Arno Peters. *Map of the World: Peters Projection*. Leipzig, Germany: Akademische Verlaganstalt, 1978. Distributed in North American by Friendship Press. Used by permission of Presbyterian Historical Society, Presbyterian Church (USA), Philadelphia, PA.

Note: The Mercator map distorts the world to the advantage of European colonial powers.

The North is half the size of *The South*, though it appears to be much larger on the Mercator map.

Disclaimer: This figure is not to scale. It does not represent any authentic national or international boundaries and is used for illustrative purpose only.

Figure 1.2
World Map: Mercator Projection Comparing Europe and South America

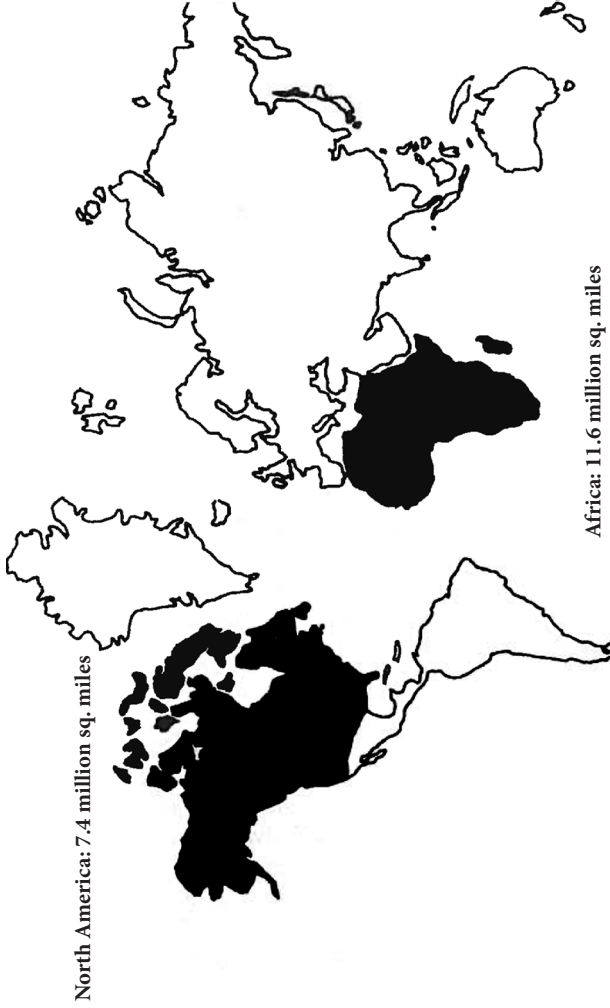


Source: Arno Peters. *Map of the World: Peters Projection* © Akademische Verlagsanstalt. Distributed in North America by Friendship Press. Used by permission of Presbyterian Historical Society, Presbyterian Church (USA), Philadelphia, PA.

Note: The Mercator map shows Europe larger than South America, which is almost double the size of Europe.

Disclaimer: This figure is not to scale. It does not represent any authentic national or international boundaries and is used for illustrative purpose only.

Figure 1.3
World Map: Mercator Projection Comparing North America and Africa



Source: Arno Peters. *Map of the World: Peters Projection* © Akademische Verlagsanstalt. Distributed in North America by Friendship Press. Used by permission of Presbyterian Historical Society, Presbyterian Church (USA), Philadelphia, PA.

Note: In the Mercator map, North America appears to be larger than Africa, which in fact is much larger.

Disclaimer: This figure is not to scale. It does not represent any authentic national or international boundaries and is used for illustrative purpose only.

Figure 1.4
World Map: Peters Projection



Source: Wikimedia Commons, <http://commons.wikimedia.org>

Disclaimer: This figure is not to scale. It does not represent any authentic national or international boundaries and is used for illustrative purpose only.

Figure 1.5
Upside-Down World Map Projection



Source: Wikipedia.org

Disclaimer: This figure is not to scale. It does not represent any authentic national or international boundaries and is used for illustrative purpose only.

more complimentary—and positive—than *Third*? The same criticism may be made of the term *underdeveloped countries*. Additionally, the term *South*—versus *North*—is frequently used. Simply scanning maps and statistics shows this categorization is overgeneralized, as many economically disadvantaged countries are in the North and some arguably First World countries are in the South, such as Australia and New Zealand. Finally, since the so-called Third World in fact constitutes two-thirds of the world, some have used the term *two-thirds world* to make the point.

While all of these terms have some advantages, we note that all of them—developing countries, less-developed countries, South, and two-thirds world—still delineate Third World by geography. While characterizations such as *poor* or *agrarian* may be somewhat legitimate in distinguishing the Third World from the *modern* world, they greatly overemphasize the importance of these—usually economic—characterizations in comparison to others, ignoring gigantic differences between and among Third World countries on other dimensions such as history, cultural traditions, and language (Pletsch, 1981). Take, for example, Honduras, the Philippines, Nigeria, and Jamaica. Is it really meaningful to describe and analyze the role of communication in all of these countries as a group? Unless one takes specific national, regional, or local conditions into account, sensible practical applications are impossible.

Another argument against the geographic conception is that using an entire country as the unit of analysis muddies the water. A *Third World* exists within the so-called First World and vice versa. For example, Tehranian (1994: 275) categorized India as a combination of First and Third Worlds. According to him,

It can be divided into three distinct groups: (i) an underdeveloped agrarian and semi-urban population of about 350 million, (ii) a developing industrial population of about 100 million putting India among the top-10 industrial nations, and (iii) a developed middle class of nearly 400 million

making it one of the largest middle classes in the world. Similar divisions may also be seen in industrialized countries such as the US where there are geographically and socially isolated impoverished groups. Many people and communities within the First World are disadvantaged in ways that are similar to the disadvantages of the so-called

Third World. As long as we use countries as units of analysis, we gloss over ethnic, regional, and class divisions within countries.

At the same time, we recognize that the most extreme and widespread situations of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, hunger, disease, sanitation, and refugee displacement are usually located in geographic areas conventionally labeled *Third World*. Globalization, which assumes greater connectivity between people and countries, also reveals global dynamics such as the sweatshops, mega-agricultural operations, strip mining operations, and other such ventures, which occur more often in the Third World where workers toil under unsafe and sometimes inhumane conditions. Therefore, much of what we say—and most of our examples—have geographic specificity consistent with conventional conceptions of Third World. We will use the terms developing countries, South, and Third World interchangeably when used in this sense. We also emphasize that the ideas and processes we describe are not always geographically specific to countries as units of analysis, and that development, communication, empowerment, and devcom can occur at local, glocal, and global levels.

In post-development scholarship, the primacy of development to categorize people and countries is being increasingly replaced by other ways of seeing realities. To address all of these problems, some prefer to define Third World in terms of oppression by some combination of race, class, gender, and nation, which then automatically becomes inclusive of groups living within the so-called First World countries. We concur with this view of Third World, which is consistent with its revolutionary origins, connoting opposition to systematic disadvantage by class, race, ethnicity, language, and/or national origin. Therefore, we assume that *development* and *devcom*, the central concepts of this book, are not processes that occur a long way away, but occur everywhere, in virtually any community on the planet.

Quite often in this text, we use *community* as our preferred unit of analysis, though this term is also fraught with challenges and contradictions, as communities may be spatial, grounded in a physical locality, and/or be affinity-based as in online communities. As in the case of countries as units of analysis, communities usually are highly stratified by ethnic, class, gender, language, and other groupings. As with other units, communities too give importance to some groups as opposed to others, usually along lines of power distribution. As development communicators, we are aware of these crucial challenges.

Our interest is in examining, eradicating, or minimizing existing inequalities in rights and access to resources and opportunities of the poorest, marginalized, and vulnerable sections of the population in communities.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization represents a relatively recent avatar of modernity, since the latter half of the 20th century, and is characterized by: the intensification of global relations, complex connectivity and networks of influence via new ICTs, and speedier transportation mechanisms. A distinguishing characteristic of globalization is the manner in which the basic ontological categories of time and space are organized and reorganized, which then influence our perceptions of place, distance, and proximity, and in turn provide the dynamism that leads to the expansion of the power and influence of dominant global institutions.

It was Marshall McLuhan (1964) who introduced the idea of the global village. He was referring specifically to the power of electronic media such as radio and television to unify the modern world into one large community or village. McLuhan was a grand theoretician, an intellectual rabble-rouser. His observations are considered largely anecdotal by social science scholars. But, there is no denying the fact that by the early 1960s, and well before digitization and the Internet, McLuhan had grasped the idea of a global space. By indulging in a discursive examination of the social and ontological categories of time, place, and space in his writings about the media and communication vis-à-vis society and its culture, he had anticipated the future work of social scientists in globalization theory.

McLuhan (1964) coined the pithy statement “The medium is the message” to show the intricate connections between the media of communication, society, and its culture. It is not so much the content of a medium but the medium itself that could transform the social, cultural, economic, or political contours of a society. Both McLuhan (1964) and Innis (1950) showed, for example, how societies dominated by oral media were essentially localized and centralized within a limited geographical region. However, the later development of papyrus

and then paper allowed delocalization and decentralization as communication and knowledge became more portable, and written laws and information could be distributed easily across distances. This allowed empires to expand across large geographical spaces and still maintain political and military control, and support commerce and trade.

McLuhan (1964) and Innis (1950) were, thus, pointing to the characteristics of newer portable media to knit distant localities of an empire together, reduce the consciousness of a small community, and replace it with an imagined empire or kingdom. McLuhan's work revealed how the efficient and time-saving characteristics of the new modes of transportation and communication such as print media, the telegraph, and later the audio-visual electronic media have created a feeling of proximity despite the constraints of huge spatial distances. Communication via electronic media (unlike print media) is instantaneous and total, appealing to the senses of sound and sight and similar to the oral communication of the imagined tribal village, which was instant, immediate, and complete. In McLuhan's words, we are back in the local setting of the village, albeit a global village where space is phenomenologically reduced and reorganized using time.

McLuhan (1964) also analyzed two other devices that have transformed social relations in the direction of greater global consciousness: the mechanical clock and money. Until modern times, most people kept time in terms of specific local activities, local events, etc., and it was difficult, if not impossible, to separate time from place. The mechanical clock replaced the conflation of time and place with an abstract scale in which time is measured in precise quantitative units and can be universally applied regardless of place. If you live within a single time zone, spatial markers make no difference to the time. Thus, the rich connections between time and specific social, cultural, or spatial markers are lost. Money, that can be easily transmitted and exchanged around the world, is the other universalizing device that has transformed relationships toward greater globalism. Later writings on globalization follow and extend McLuhan's prophetic vision.

Said's (1978) landmark book *Orientalism* was among the first to expose and critique the power dynamic evident in a discourse of oppression under globalization. However, while the orientalism concept worked well to critique political-economic arrangements during the Cold War with clear east-west and north-south divides,

today's global complexity requires new and much more nuanced post-colonial analyses of globalization discourses, accounting for historic and local context, as Garcia (1995), Tomlinson (1999), and Shome and Hegde (2002), among others, have pointed out.

Globalization theorists question the proclivity in the social sciences with one form of spatiality, that is, the nation state, to the exclusion of others (Appadurai, 1996). We will elaborate on this and other concerns in future chapters. But, we would like to state briefly that the imagined concept of the nation often has glossed over significant ethnic, regional, linguistic, cultural, and class divisions within and between countries, as has the concept of Third World previously discussed. Certainly, the nation concept has been seized by elite groups and mainstream media organizations to support policies that showcase and defend a *national culture* and social reality (Sparks, 2007).

The term *global* is often paired with the term *local* in globalization and social change theories as well as in popular culture, as in the expression "Think Global, Act Local." *Local* is often conflated with the terms *place* and *community*, which we introduced earlier. In the modernization paradigm, local place (defined by language, identity, customs, religion, lifestyle, or culture) was often something to be eschewed in order to achieve modernization. A widely shared understanding of *local* is a small geographical (physical) place with strong interpersonal links among residents and attachments to the land and its customs. We share this perspective. However, we also accept that *local* could include groups that may not be tied to a physical place but are affinity-based, such as by language, religion, culture, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and myriad other associations (Appadurai, 1996). Later on, we will introduce and discuss global cosmopolitan politics, which employs a "broad definition of the local as an experience of power relationships rather than spatial proximity" (Sparks, 2007: 139). Robertson (1992) has been credited with coining the term *glocalization* to describe a process of deliberately indigenizing or adapting foreign culture for local purposes (see also Straubhaar, 2007; Szalvai, 2008). Post-development discourse suggests the primacy of local place and its other manifestations to "launch a defense of place in which place is constructed as the anchoring point for both theory construction and political action" (Escobar, 2000: 165). We will discuss later how in a post-development scenario, technological networks are being used to

boost the countervailing power of local places against the forces of globalization and in their wake creating powerful *glocalities*.

We also argue that the phenomenon of globalization must be situated within the context of modernity. However, there is no unanimity among scholars as to the exact date of origin of the modern period.¹³ For our purpose, we concur with several sociologists in setting the emergence of the modern period around the beginning of the 17th century in Europe (Bauman, 1991; Giddens, 1990; Tomlinson, 1999). We will pick up the theme of globalization in Chapter 3 and further develop related ideas and arguments.

CONCLUSION

We recognize the failures and harmful outcomes of much development aid, yet we support the crucial importance of development interventions under many circumstances in improving people's lives. Likewise, we agree with most critiques of devcom, yet we believe in its necessity and value, to the extent that legitimate critiques are addressed. We agree with those who argue—usually from critical, liberation, or feminist perspectives—that development should prioritize the needs of the most oppressed groups. Additionally, development must be culturally and historically sensitive, recognizing the nature and relative salience of key social divisions, such as gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, religion, and nation.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into five parts. In Part I, the introductory chapter is followed by Chapter 2 which presents a brief overview of the evolution of the theory and practice of devcom. In Chapter 2, we also introduce new challenges in the areas of development and directed change and attempt to reappraise devcom theory and practice for social justice and empowerment outcomes. As the remainder of the book is divided conceptually versus historically, Part I aims to provide historical and conceptual maps for the volume as a whole.

Part II focuses on modernization theory, including the dominant discourse under modernization and globalization. We begin, in

Chapter 3, with an introduction to modernization and globalization theories and discourses and their evolution from the early years of development to the present. Chapter 4 details strategies and practices of media and communication under modernization and globalization theories. Examples from historic and contemporary projects are provided.

Part III discusses critical perspectives on communication and development. Chapter 5 critiques the dominant development discourse looking specifically at inherent biases that characterize the discourse. This chapter describes many of the consequences of this discourse, often negative, that flow directly from its biases. Challenges to modernization, including dependency and world systems theories, GAD, sustainable development, globalization and postcolonial theories and ideas are reviewed. Other alternative approaches are also suggested. In Chapter 6, we take a critical look at the media and communication strategies used to guide social change, especially under the rubric of modernization. We then discuss newer, alternative roles for communication in development, including the renewed interest in local cultures and the use of indigenous communication media for development and change. In addition, we examine uses of digital ICTs for development and social change.

In Part IV, we turn to liberation perspectives on development. This is a departure from most devcom texts, which seldom extend their consideration beyond Freire's basic ideas and methodologies on dialogic communication. We begin, in Chapter 7, with an introduction to liberation theology and its role in development and in freedom struggles globally. Although liberation theology often is associated with Roman Catholicism in Latin America, there have been liberation theologies associated with Protestantism (as in African American liberation theology), and with every major religion, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism. Areas of overlap between critical and liberation perspectives also are considered. Chapter 8 discusses the ways in which liberation theology has been operationalized in development projects. This necessitates attention to meditation and prayer as communication—forms of communication seldom considered in communication studies, yet crucially important to the daily lives and well-being of most of the world's people.

In Part V, the final section of the book, we take up the participatory paradigm in Chapter 9. In this paradigm, in contrast to the universality of earlier paradigms, priorities are highly contextual to the needs

and problems of specific communities. The participatory paradigm signifies an area in which countries and communities within them are expected to set their own priorities, goals, and standards, which may be unique to their contexts. This has been variously defined as *Another Development* and as *multiplicity in one world*. As opposed to the exogenous bias of the modernization paradigm, the new vision in the participatory paradigm is endogenous development, in which the people and communities involved are active agents in the process of directed change. In Chapter 10, we attempt to reconceptualize the role of devcom in facilitating empowerment. The key goal of development must be empowerment for social justice, whether at the individual, community, national, or global levels. Empowerment is multifaceted, in that creative survival requires both material and nonmaterial resources that vary by context. In Chapter 11, we focus on communication and social justice in the epoch of globalization. We summarize our views, synthesizing insights from previous chapters and arguing for new directions in theory and practice. In this chapter, we explicate and expand the term *development*, and we present a framework to organize communicative actions in directed change efforts in the contemporary context. We will examine core issues related to social justice in directed change, describe new terms and meanings, and operationalize them; we will then examine communicative actions that might help in meeting desired outcomes in directed change.

NOTES

1. Moemeka (1994: viii) sees DSC as a historic phase that has passed, that is, as the second of three stages in the place assigned to communication in development. The third stage is devcom. In contrast, others such as Jayaweera and Amunugama (1987: xix), Melkote (1991: 263), and James (1994: 331–332) distinguish devcom and DSC by level, scope, and nature of strategy, with devcom associated with macro-level hierarchical entities, and DSC with grassroots participatory entities.
2. Brenda Dervin and Robert Huesca (1997) sort meanings of participatory communication, distinguishing participation-as-end versus participation-as-means assumptions in research and practice.
3. In contemporary contexts, most mass media outlets are very receptive to audience feedback through various channels such as Twitter, blogs, interactions on their websites, and other means.

4. For analyses of textual conventions and reinforcing media values and traditions, see Gitlin (1980) and Steeves (1997).
5. We do occasionally use the term peasant in this text, but only in reports of research by others who use the term.
6. In addition to other lines of argument to be discussed, they include communitarian theory (e.g., Tehranian, 1994) and environmentally oriented perspectives, including ecofeminism.
7. She traces this model to Solomon (1976), who blamed internalized oppression for African Americans' marginalization and powerlessness in the larger society.
8. Some texts focus primarily on *macro-level* issues of information flow (Boyd-Barrett, 2012; Reeves, 1993; Stevenson, 1994) and/or of communication and information technologies and policies (Castells 1996; Rao, 2005; Sussman and Lent, 1991; Woods, 1993), though from varying ideological perspectives. Moemeka's (1994) collection also is directed at the macro level, emphasizing the role of world trade in development communication. Most other texts emphasize theory and strategy at more local levels, with little attention to global power structures. Several of these—Mody (1991), Nair and White (1993), White et al. (1994), Riano (1994), Jacobson and Servaes (1999), Palmer (2007), Hartnett (2007), and Carragee and Frey (2012)—tend (with some internal inconsistencies) to align themselves with Freire's dialogic pedagogy and criticize diffusion and marketing approaches that reinforce top-down participation. Others (Hornik, 1988; Mefalopulos, 2008; Singhal and Rogers, 1999; Singhal et al., 2010) see value in diffusion and marketing models but attribute failures to poor planning and design.
9. In 2013 alone, Bangladesh has seen deaths of hundreds of workers in sweatshops due to unsafe working conditions.
10. For a comprehensive analysis of the term *Third World*, see Melkote and Merriam (1998).
11. The advantage of Mercator's projection for navigational purposes is that it maintains the true direction of any one point relative to another. For instance, if you draw a line diagonally anywhere at 45° to the equator, it always points northeast or northwest.
12. The interested reader can easily find reference volumes explaining and illustrating varied map projections. Examples include: Bugayevskiy and Snyder (1995), Kennedy and Kopp (2000), and Snyder (1997).
13. If capitalism is considered as an integral part of modernity, then according to some scholars, the modern period emerged around AD 1500 (Wallerstein, 1987). Political modernity as evidenced by political democracy would move the date of emergence to the 17th century or even the 18th century. If industrialization is regarded as the prime solvent of the modern period, the emergence of modernity could be moved forward even further to the 19th century (Tomlinson, 1999).

CHAPTER 2

EVOLUTION OF DEVCOM FOR DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.

Rev. Dr Martin Luther King, Jr (1963)

Much has changed since 1991 and 2001 when the first and second editions of this book were published. It is no longer possible to endorse any one remedy, including DSC, for seemingly intractable problems of development and social change. The end of the Cold War was followed by widespread ethnic and religious conflicts, highlighting the centrality of these social divisions in development. Twenty-first century religious extremism and terrorism have further deepened these divides. Feminist, environmental, and antiglobalization movements are altering traditional ways of thinking in every discipline, including development and communication studies. Questions of ethics in interventions across lines of class and culture increasingly challenge development choices and methodologies. Globalization has made links between processes of communication for development and processes of politics, economics, and ideology in society much more evident, enmeshed, and problematic. New technologies are exponentially increasing global information flows and creating new dilemmas, as well as new opportunities and strategies for communication in development and change processes. Also, while early critical communication scholarship (to be discussed in Chapters 4 and 6) focused on the economic expansionist goals of the nation state, since the mid-1990s, a growing recognition of globalization has led to the framing of these goals within the context of transnational corporations and the global networked society. The globalized and networked society, however, has not brought peace and prosperity to all, but rather has increased gaps between haves and

have-nots. Even the most basic human needs are still denied to many millions of people based on social location and defined by intersections related to nation, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, age, and more. This global reality of continued and exacerbated inequality necessitates our focus in this edition on communication and development not just for empowerment but also for *social justice*, that is, with the aim of increasingly empowering all to live healthy lives, to self-actualize, to participate in the public sphere, and to care and provide for others.

This chapter begins by narrating the evolution of the theory and practice of post-World War II development and communication therein, as well as the biases and failures that became abundantly evident well before the end of the 20th century. Following this historical narrative, we discuss the globalized present and our emphasis on development and communication for social justice, which will inform the remainder of the book.

EVOLUTION OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF DEVCOM¹

Throughout history, no nation or people have been the sole repository of knowledge. Rather, all cultures and nations have generated ideas and information, which have accumulated over time and diffused geographically. Of course, some nations developed the ability to acquire and apply technological knowledge faster than others and they used it to place themselves above others in wealth and power, and to control the wealth and overall development of other nations (see Appendix A).

A review of ancient history shows that Europe, which was to dominate the world technologically and culturally from the 16th to the 19th century, did not lead before then. Between approximately 3500 and 1500 BC, the river valley civilizations of Mesopotamia (in West Asia), Egypt (in North Africa), Indus Valley (Indian subcontinent), and China were dominant in technology, architecture, and the arts. The Roman civilization (500 BC), which followed the Greek age in Europe, laid the groundwork for the advancement of Europe, which in recent history has wielded hegemonic power.

Spurred by the rise of European merchant classes and merchant marines, technological knowledge and power emerged most decisively

in Western Europe around AD 1500. The period from the 16th to early 20th century was one of expansionism and exploitation, which saw the subjugation and reduction to serfdom of vast numbers of humans across the southern two-thirds of the globe labeled eventually as the *Third World* (Brookfield, 1975). The first period of European expansion ended in the early 19th century, leading to the decolonization of the Americas and the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade (Goldthorpe, 1975). However, expansion continued unabated into interior parts of Africa and Asia. Colonial dissatisfaction escalated in the early 20th century as some European colonial leaders, such as the Dutch in the East Indies and the British in Africa, initiated an era of ethical concern by raising questions about the motives and consequences of colonialism. These leaders conceded some responsibility for the exploitation of colonized peoples and their territories (Brookfield, 1975). The struggles for separation from colonial rule were realized in the decades following World War II. First, the Asian and then African colonies won their independence by the 1960s.

Development Aid since World War II

Development interventions are not new and have occurred throughout history. However, development in its modern form dates back to World War II. The decades since World War II have witnessed the political emancipation of most of the Third World from colonization, along with the birth of the United Nations (UN) and its various executing or multilateral agencies—WB, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), and countless nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), thus, marking the formal beginning of development aid to Third World countries. Shortly thereafter, numerous bilateral aid agencies were established within Western industrialized countries, such as USAID. International and grassroots NGOs multiplied and grew during these years as well (see Appendix B).

In 1941, the United Kingdom (UK) and US under the leadership of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter in which they outlined common principles that would lead to a better world, including economic collaboration leading to equal access to trade, improved labor conditions, and world peace. Twenty-six nations signed this charter. Later, in 1943, 47 nations signed an

agreement to collaborate on aid to war refugees. They called their multilateral organization the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The UN was formed on October 24, 1945, largely as a result of world consensus that aid was important in the prevention of future wars. The UN replaced the old League of Nations, which had been formed after World War I. The wording of one part of the UN charter pledged international economic and social cooperation and aid. This made the UN different from the League of Nations, which was connected more by military and diplomatic agreements than a commitment to economic aid. The original UN members were the 50 allied nations. By 1965, the UN membership had doubled, and by 1985, it had tripled. The total in 2014 was 193. More than half are former colonies that achieved independence following World War II.²

The UN consists of a General Assembly, for which each member country contributes five representatives. These representatives plus outside experts work on committees that are concerned with financial, social, cultural, and humanitarian issues and concerns. The most important group with regard to development aid policy is the Economic and Social Council, with members elected by the General Assembly. The Economic and Social Council has an important impact on UN policy with regard to the many multilateral organizations or specialized agencies that make up what is known as the UN family, for instance, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, also known as the World Bank), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the UN Development Program (UNDP), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the ITU.

These organizations each have their own sets of goals and have official affiliations with dues-paying countries. Revenue also comes from donations, for example, from UNICEF drives. They are linked to the UN via specific agreements, and it is these that give and administer aid and loans, conduct research, and make policy recommendations in their own areas of specialization. These organizations sponsor many projects related to devcom in their areas of interest.³ For example, (a) DSC forms an important component in many of FAO's activities such as agriculture, forestry, fisheries, nutrition, population, and environment; (b) the concept of DSC was first articulated within UNDP in the 1960s by Erskine Childers; (c) UNESCO considers

communication as a major program in its own right, not just as a support to, or as a vector of the development process; (d) UNICEF has actively relied on communication activities to garner public interest and support for its programs. In partnership with the UNDP, UNICEF set up a DSC unit in the 1960s to stimulate and improve participation in all its projects, and (e) ITU took the lead role in organizing a World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) at two major conferences: Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005). WSIS brought together experts from member states, the private sector, and NGOs to address issues such as Internet governance, ICT policies, and projects that could help increase ICT access and bridge gaps between the global North and South.⁴

Marshall Plan

In general, in the early post-World War II years, the attention of the UN, its multilateral agencies—especially WB—and their most influential member, the US, was consumed by relief and rehabilitation work in war-ravaged Europe. To this end, the US launched the European Recovery Program, also known as the *Marshall Plan*, the first and largest government-sponsored foreign assistance project. US President Truman's administration contributed 2.5 percent of its GNP, a proportion which has yet to be matched (Hoy, 1998: 16–17). Goals of the Marshall Plan included humanitarian assistance, rebuilding European markets for US goods, and enabling Europe to resist Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. The success of the Marshall Plan inspired similar projects in Third World countries. Starting in the 1950s and on into the 1960s, the attention of the UN turned increasingly to the Third World where two-thirds of the world's population resided. This population enjoyed, in 1955, only 15 percent of the world's income, and was made up predominantly of subsistence farmers.

World Bank

Particularly significant among multilateral agencies has been the IBRD or the World Bank (WB). The WB was established in 1944 when economists from Europe and the US met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire (US) to consider Europe's need for reconstruction

following World War II. IMF and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were created at the same time. The WB, a lending agency, would provide credit, the IMF would regulate global monetary exchange,⁵ and the GATT⁶ would liberalize trade. Initially, the WB's goal was to facilitate private capital transfers to help rebuild Europe, consistent with the global climate at the time. Since the 1950s, the WB has served as the foremost development bank, lending money to poor countries for investment in large development projects such as public health, agriculture, transportation, education, and other sectors. In 2012, the focus of the WB moved from *Big Development* to *Small Development*. Small development represents specific development challenges such as, for example, the plight of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) victims, specific disaster zones, urban slums, and finding the right *tools* that *work* in such specific situations (*Economist*, April 21, 2012).

Point Four Program

Concern for the plight of the people in the so-called Third World countries moved US President Truman to propose the 1949 Point Four program, which was to be the Third World version of the Marshall Plan. He observed that:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people. (Daniels, 1951: 10–11)

The four points of the Point Four Program were simple. First, the US would support the UN and help strengthen its ability to enforce its decisions. Second, the US would continue its work in revitalizing the world economy. Third, the US would “strengthen freedom-loving peoples around the world against the evils of aggression.” Fourth, the US would “embark on a new program of modernization and capital investment” (Truman, 1949).

The philosophical consistencies between the Marshall Plan and the Point Four program were very clear. Both aimed to alleviate suffering, and both aimed to do so via capital investment. Countries considered

noncommunist or *freedom-loving* qualified as beneficiaries of aid. Clearly, therefore, alleviating Third World suffering consisted of inserting the Western cornucopia of advances in agriculture, commerce, industry, and health. The key to prosperity and peace, said Truman in his 1949 inaugural address, was “greater production” through “a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge” (Daniels, 1951: 11). The outcome of this proposal increasingly was equated with *development*.

In 1950, Truman created the US’s first bilateral aid organization, the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA). Its replacement, the Mutual Security Administration (MSA) provided primarily military aid, and only secondarily economic support and food aid. Economic support went to those countries considered strategically aligned with the US.

The 1961 Foreign Assistance Act established USAID and the Peace Corps, a people-to-people overseas volunteer program. In the Foreign Assistance Act, US President Kennedy sought to shift the balance of international aid from strategic goals toward development goals, including the alleviation and prevention of social injustice and economic chaos. Of course, the two types of goals have always been closely linked by the assumption that US foreign assistance ultimately supports its national security and political–economic interests.

As has been evident in this overview, there has been much historical consistency between the development goals and priorities of the UN family of organizations, the WB, and the US; this is in part because the US has played such a powerful role in the UN. Additionally, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) coordinates all development assistance supplied by bilateral aid agencies of the OECD. The OECD is made up of 34 industrialized nations, and aims to coordinate and encourage global economic growth.⁷ The DAC was established in 1961, at the start of the First Development Decade, and had 29 members in 2014, with WB, IMF, and UNDP as permanent observers. It monitors and assesses the Official Development Assistance provided by member countries.⁸ It also provides policy guidance in members’ aid programs, carries out critical reviews, maintains statistics, and establishes a context for dialogue and consensus building (Hoy, 1998: 28).

As we have seen, in the post-World War II years, most aid attention was directed to Europe. In the 1950s and 1960s, economic development

assistance focused on Third World countries and primarily took the form of infrastructure planning and development. In the 1970s, under the WB President Robert McNamara's influence, the priorities were integrated rural development and basic needs; in the 1980s, the focus was *structural adjustment*, or loan conditions including maintaining competitive exchange rates, reducing government spending, and privatizing government agencies; and since the 1990s, human development has become a major theme, including concerns of human rights such as free speech, gender equity, and sustainable environment. Additionally, globalization and enormous increases in private capital flows to developing countries are forcing WB, other UN agencies, and bilateral agencies to adapt. Changes proposed include forgiving debts of the world's poorest countries, providing small loans (via local banks) to the poor to start their own businesses, and increased collaboration with NGOs (Hoy, 1998; also see Appendix B).

All of the above changes have shaped the development process today. In later chapters, we will provide examples of projects—and project communication—reflecting these themes. Nonetheless, the goals and underlying values that shaped the Marshall Plan and the First Development Decade of the 1960s are still with us and have influenced the theory and practice of devcom, as well as development in general. Next, we examine some of these historic values, or biases, more closely, as they constitute themes that reappear frequently through the book.

Themes and Biases in Post-World War II Development Aid

Biases that quickly became evident in post-World War II development aid include pro-innovation, pro-persuasion, pro-top-down, pro-mass media, and pro-literacy biases, as well as in-the-head psychological biases, and external constraints on adoption biases.

Pro-transfer of Innovations Bias

The UN named the 1960s the *First Development Decade* and set goals of economic growth in developing countries. These goals represented key UN donor agencies, primarily WB, and were largely consistent with the goals of newly forming bilateral aid organizations.



Photograph 2.1: Akasombo Dam. Akasombo Dam is a hydroelectric dam on the Volta River in Ghana. It was initiated in 1961 by Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah's administration and completed in 1965. Lake Volta, created by the dam, is the world's largest man-made lake. The World Bank played a major role in funding the dam, along with the governments of the US and the UK.

Source: Authors.

In the 1960s, the emphasis was on technological transfer from the North to the South. Although the traditional practices of the people of developing countries had enabled them to survive for millennia, the prevailing wisdom of the times dismissed them without any evaluation. It was after all known that Western agriculture, medicines, tools, and techniques outstripped corresponding traditional practices. Therefore, it made unquestionable sense that the people in the Third World discard unconditionally their *primitive* ways and embrace the technologies that had wrought such extraordinary progress in the advanced countries of the North. This orientation eventually came to be known as a pro-innovation bias (Rogers, 1976a). It has held fast to this day, though the innovations obviously have changed over time and new themes and biases have emerged as well.

Initially, the pro-innovation transfer paradigm appeared alluringly simple and straightforward. It had been largely derived from

the highly successful program under the Marshall Plan to resuscitate war-ravaged Europe. The essence of the plan consisted of making resources of finance and material available for preexisting European expertise to apply to reconstruction (Arkes, 1972). It was soon clear, however, that the postcolonial Third World problem was quite different. There was no adequate preexisting base of expertise except within the erstwhile colonialists themselves. More significantly, masses of people had to have their traditional lifestyles changed radically. Development, therefore, involved not simply the transfer of capital and technology but also the communication of ideas, knowledge, and skills to make possible the successful adoption of innovations.

What was then needed was an expanded base of expertise to, *inter alia*, persuade and motivate the people of the Third World to embrace modernity. To the pro-innovation bias, consequently, was added a pro-persuasion bias and, with it, the implicit acknowledgement that Third World people were not inclined to submit meekly to radical change. So, a burgeoning stream of Third World students flowed to the developed countries for training and education, reciprocated by a corresponding stream of experts representing multilateral (WB, UNESCO, FAO), bilateral (USAID), and voluntary (Catholic Relief Services, International Red Cross) aid agencies gradually flooding the Third World.

Pro-persuasion and Pro-top-down Biases

In the early years of development, before transistors made possible the ubiquity of radio, the task of convincing people to change their life ways through persuasive communication fell to the extension services. Extension has long been and continues to be regarded as a logical and systematic method for disseminating productive and useful knowledge and skills to receivers. To elaborate briefly, in most developing countries, the various government departments or ministries (health, education, agriculture) include an extension or outreach function. The ministry of agriculture usually operates the largest extension system. As a result of post-World War II aid, agricultural extension services globally have been modeled substantially after those in the US. For instance, Obibuaku (1983) notes that extension in the modern sense was not known in many African countries until the early 1960s when the USAID sent

extension experts to work with the ministries of agriculture. Prior to this time, agents were given only technical training, and extension work consisted primarily of the provision of supplies and not education. The extension division in the ministry of agriculture was “charged with the function of teaching the farmers such techniques and practices of modern agriculture as will transform the country’s agriculture from a predominantly subsistence type to a modern one” (ibid.: 37).

Many observers have noted that despite attempts the US model of extension has not been fully replicated in developing countries. Compton (1989) points out that the extension leg of the college/research/extension triad has remained weak and that there is often little or no communication between extension workers and agricultural research universities.⁹ Field agents who work directly with farmers typically have one or two years of post-secondary-school training. Also, the main emphasis in their training is on agricultural practices, not communication theory and models. These agents are sometimes assisted by field workers who have no formal training.¹⁰

Despite the many criticisms raised in recent years by devcom theorists, as we will discuss later, most extension programs have been based on Everett Rogers’ (1962, 1983) diffusion of innovations model. In the 1940s and 1950s, the diffusion of innovations research tradition gained momentum in the US. Starting with Bruce Ryan and Neil Gross’s (1943) studies of the diffusion of hybrid seed corn and Paul Lazarsfeld and colleagues’ (1948) studies of voting behaviors, much research data were gathered showing that information about decision options was communicated by the mass media to key opinion leaders, and from them to others throughout the social system (Rogers, 1962).

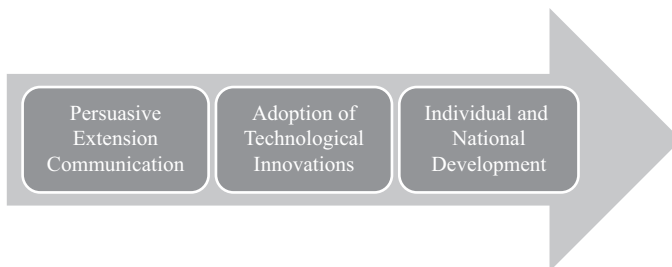
The diffusion model assumes that a proper combination of mass-mediated and interpersonal communication strategies can move individuals from a process of awareness (usually of a new technology) through interest, evaluation, trial, and finally the adoption of that technology. Criticisms of the model include its *pro-innovation*, *pro-persuasion*, and *top-down* nature—that is, its strong emphasis on adoption and underemphasis on recipient input into development decisions and processes.

Not only has extension methodology embraced the pro-innovation bias but also assumed the responsibility to decide which innovations

are best for its clients, followed by campaigns to convince them of the wisdom of its choice. The original extension responsibility to collect, collate, and convey all relevant research-generated information to potential clients is no longer adequate. The information disseminating extension agent is now expected to evolve into a change agent: “a professional person who attempts to influence adoption decisions in a direction that he feels is desirable” (Rogers, 1962: 283). The result is a one-way flow of influence-oriented messages from change agencies at the top to the rural peasantry at the bottom, a process of communication which has earned itself the derisive sobriquet, *top-down communication*. This approach holds that peasants are rational enough to see the value of adopting innovations selected for them but incapable of making rational choices from among an array of alternatives put before them. Thus, the pro-innovation transfer model is expanded as shown in Figure 2.1.

Additionally, extension programs based on diffusion have relied extensively on agent-to-client face-to-face communication, augmented here and there by certain demonstration multiplier effects involving *master farmers*, called the *training and visit* (T&V) system.¹¹ Colle (1989) points out that hundreds of diffusion studies around the world have questioned farmers about their information sources at different stages of adoption and appear to indicate that, while mass media are useful in increasing awareness, face-to-face communication is most important for trial and ultimate adoption. As mass media were not widely available in developing countries in the early years of development, it became a precedent to allocate most extension resources to

Figure 2.1
Pro-Persuasion Model of Development



Source: Authors.

field staff at the expense of exploring other kinds of methods. Additionally, Colle (1989) notes that most research and extension programs relying on diffusion assumptions often overlook the *quality and fit* of communications materials: “For example, if radio were used specifically to create ‘awareness’ and the material was boring and broadcast at inappropriate times..., diffusion researchers would be unlikely to discover much radio influence at the ‘adoption’ stage” (ibid.: 64).

Simple numerical and logistic obstacles have exacerbated the overemphasis on interpersonal communication. The available pool of extension personnel, grossly outnumbered by the thousands of people spread over huge geographic areas difficult to navigate, was woefully unequal to the task. Besides, extension agents were primarily subject-matter specialists (agriculture, health, and so on) to which was added a patina of communication skills that may have been useful in the interpersonal or the small group situation. But, these could not address the main problem, which was one of mass communication.

So, extension tended to focus its attention mainly on the closest and most accessible, most receptive, and, thus, easiest to convince farmers who, as diffusion studies were to show later, as a class had more education and income than the rest (Rogers, 1969). They were also disproportionately male, even in places such as sub-Saharan Africa where women constitute the vast majority of subsistence farmers (Boserup, 1970; Staudt, 1985a).

Aside from these biases, the individuals reached by extension workers were very few. Needed was a great multiplier. Diffusion and two-step flow studies in the US highlighted the power of radio, especially in early stages of the diffusion–adoption process. The advent of transistorized radio in the late 1950s, cheap, portable, and independent of electrification, accompanied by the publication of Daniel Lerner’s premature pronouncement, “The Passing of Traditional Society,” in 1958, offered great promise of satisfying this need.

Pro-mass Media and Pro-literacy Biases

Lerner (1958) examined the correlations between the expansion of economic activity (equated with development) and a set of modernizing variables, chief among which were urbanization, literacy, mass media use, and democratic participation. His findings suggested that the spread of literacy in an urban milieu and the emergence of

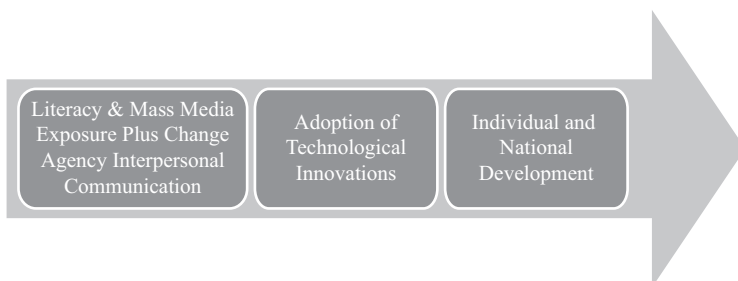
a mobile personality highly empathetic to modernizing influences provided the means to create a climate of acceptance of change within Third World societies. Implicit in his formulations, and in those of Wilbur Schramm (1964), who followed him, was the belief that the interaction of literacy and mass media was the means by which the masses would eventually break free of their stupefying bonds of traditionalism, heralding, as it were, the passing of traditional society.

Thus were born two new biases: the pro-mass media bias and its concomitant, the pro-literacy bias, to help multiply the effects of change—agency interpersonal communication as depicted in Figure 2.2. In this model, the mass media would be responsible for creating widespread awareness of, and interest in, the innovations espoused by aid agencies. Contained in their messages would be the persuasive components, which by some alchemy of the bullet theory of communication would produce a climate of acceptance. Change agents would then furnish targeted segments of adopters with the details of information and the skills necessary to make adoption of the innovations feasible. Early adopters would then presumably constitute role models for others in their social system to emulate. By these demonstration effects, the innovations would trickle down to the rest of the community. Over time, therefore, the innovations would diffuse across whole social systems.

There were strong precedents for this expectation in diffusion research in the US, as previously noted. However, even with the addition of the mass media and literacy, the expected diffusion of

Figure 2.2

Change Agency Communication and Mass Media Model for Development



Source: Authors.

innovations in the Third World did not eventuate as it had done in Western countries. In the industrialized West, when the rate with which an innovation diffused throughout a social system from the earliest adopter to the last laggard was cumulatively plotted over time, an S-shaped curve resulted. But, when these studies were replicated in the Third World, the curves which resulted were considerably less than the total S, signifying adoption by very few people (Ascroft and Gleason, 1981; Whyte, 1991b). In the few instances where completed S-shaped curves were indeed struck, they occurred only in those Third World social systems which somehow had already developed a *climate of acceptance* (Rogers, 1969).

How were these findings to be explained? Was there something wrong, something intrinsically unattractive about the innovations selected for diffusion? Were the channel linkages between source and receiver sufficient to the task of reaching all potential adopters adequately? Or, was there something perversely recalcitrant about the Third World farmers? Of these questions, communication researchers of the 1960s apparently chose to focus mainly on the last, that is, the in-the-head bias.

In-the-head Psychological Biases in Development

In the Western world, hardheaded non-adopters of innovations were labeled laggards and described as localite, that is, whose attention was “fixed on the rear-view mirror” rather than “on the road to change ahead” (Rogers, 1962: 171). Non-adopters in the Third World were regarded in the same vein. The problem was that whereas non-adopters in Western nations constituted a small minority of hold-outs, the Third World non-adopters were usually the vast majority. Curiously, this discrepancy alarmed nobody. The attitude seemed to be that most peasants were non-adopters, therefore, laggard, and so recalcitrant. They were, thus, to blame for failing to adopt perfectly good innovations.

Research based on these suspicions *confirmed* them. In 1969, Rogers drew upon the works of such development scholars as Lerner (1958), Hoselitz (1960), Hagen (1962), McClelland (1967), and Inkeles (1969) to abstract 10 in-the-head sociopsychological factors that were believed to constrain peasant adoption of innovations. He synthesized them into what he termed the *subculture of peasantry* (Rogers, 1969). Thus, a new bias: the in-the-head psychological constraint bias was

now added to the rest, suggesting a major modification to the formerly, fairly simple model of development.

The model implied that development of peasants would not ensue unless the psychological maladies afflicting them were first overcome. The burden that this orientation placed upon the powers of persuasion of change agents was onerous indeed. Changing peasants no longer consisted of simply convincing them of the superiority of Western innovations over their traditional ideas and practices; it now required the radical modification of a traditional mindset as a precondition of conversion.

Publication of the sociopsychological constraints had a chilling effect on devcom research. If the notion of a subculture of peasantry was true, then the prospect of producing change in such peasants was bleak indeed. To those concerned with designing strategies for bringing about peasant development, the variables in question: familism, fatalism, religiosity, and lack of deferred gratification, to mention a few of the in-the-head constraints, seemed essentially *non-manipulable* (Roling, 1973).

External Socioeconomic Constraints on Development

By the 1970s, US-trained Third World communication scholars began to assert themselves. They challenged the style and manner of US-dominated devcom research (Ascroft et al., 1973; Beltran, 1976; Diaz-Bordenave, 1976; Rahim, 1976). Some were skeptical of the in-the-head variable bias, which seemed to have led researchers into a cul de sac. They argued that the findings yielding the 10 factors of the subculture of peasantry were an artifact of the measurement instruments used. The factors seemed to be more in the eye of the beholders than in the reality of the peasants. This view led to an attempt to rethink diffusion research and implications for professional practice.

Researchers in Kenya found at least six factors, which they termed *bottlenecks*, and which together made it difficult, even impossible, for farmers to adopt recommended innovations (Ascroft et al., 1973): (a) lack of knowledge and skills about innovations; (b) lack of user participation in development planning; (c) lack of financial and material inputs necessary for adoption; (d) inadequate market development for sale/purchase of produce; (e) lack of infrastructure to facilitate distribution of information and material; and (f) lack of off-season

employment opportunities in rural areas. Of these six factors, the lack of knowledge and skills was arguably an in-the-head rather than an external variable. However, removal of this lack depended also upon receiving other external inputs listed above, and not just upon the individual changing long-held attitudes and beliefs. The Kenya-based researchers showed that the removal of the above constraint plus other deficits resulted in an accelerated adoption of innovations (Ascroft et al., 1973). To brand peasants as recalcitrant change-resisters without the prior removal of bottlenecks constraining adoption, therefore, seemed tantamount to indicting them for a crime they had yet to have an opportunity to commit. This created an alternative bias: the external constraints on adoption bias.

Similar conclusions about the prevalence of external constraints were being reached by development aid agencies. In 1973, Robert McNamara, then president of WB, delivered his now famous “New Directions in Development” speech in which he called for a reassessment of existing development strategies (World Bank, 1973). His contention was that, taken as a whole, development strategies had so far failed to produce the desired advancement of Third World countries. Indeed, the plight of their people seemed to have deteriorated during the 1960s, which ironically had been proclaimed the *First Development Decade* at a time of optimism and faith in mainstream values and strategies.

A major shortcoming of existing strategies, McNamara believed, was the piecemeal approach to removing constraints. Needed, he argued, was a multidisciplinary broad-fronted integrated rural development approach, which would seek, in one fell swoop, to remove all identifiable bottlenecks constraining adoption among peasants. McNamara additionally observed that the benefits of infrastructure development had not trickled down to the poor. Hence, he called for prioritizing basic needs, including food, shelter, education, and employment.

Countering Biases via Development Support Communication

The findings about the external constraints on adoption, while perhaps not negating the possibility of internal psychological factors militating against adoption, at least provided a way out of the research cul de sac. For example, one of the major external constraints on development

was the paucity of adequate, reliable, relevant, and timely information to overcome a lack of knowledge and skills about recommended innovations among potential peasant adopters. If peasants were not receiving information at all, or if they were receiving it in a form that they could not translate into useful knowledge and skills, researchers should subject the information sources and the messages constructed to greater scrutiny. Specifically, were the mass and interpersonal communications somehow at fault—encoded, structured, and treated in ways not useful to consumers? How and when were faulty communication strategies used? Did faulty communications at the outset fail to identify problems with the innovation(s) to be diffused? Were the channel linkages between sources and receivers too distant to encompass all receivers?

Some students of devcom began to focus on identifying factors that could presumably make development projects more relevant to the needs of disadvantaged groups. They realized that many of the earlier projects had not given enough attention to the communication constraint. Their efforts, therefore, resulted in the conceptualization of communication as a dynamic support to development projects and activities, termed DSC. The DSC specialist has the job of bridging the communication gap between the technical specialists with expertise in specific areas of knowledge (such as health, agriculture, literacy, etc.) and potential users who may need such knowledge and its specific applications to improve their performance, increase their productivity, or improve their health. The DSC expert is expected to translate technical language and ideas into messages comprehensible to users. The DSC function is also to help situate project goals in relation to historical, cultural, political, and geographical contexts of the local community. It is in this context that the first edition of this book was grounded.

In the second edition, we recognized more clearly that development takes place in complex global and local contexts with many intersecting constraints and that merely inserting DSC would not produce project success. Both in the second edition and in this volume, we do not reject the value of the DSC specialist as an aid in many development contexts, but neither do we endorse it in the same manner in every instance. Each intervention varies by historical, cultural, political, geographical, and economic context. To the extent that interventions are desirable, there are many ways of assessing

goals and proper approaches. As in the second edition, this volume continues the work of untangling this postmodern complexity, while critiquing prior approaches, and introducing new ideas and possibilities for development and communication.

Moreover, in the second edition, we argued that ideally the goal of outside aid and communication therein is to facilitate collective and individual *empowerment*—empowerment of all stakeholders to define, strategize, carry out, and evaluate projects and programs for social change. But, what type of social change? Or, is social change an entirely relative concept? In this volume, we retain our second edition emphasis on empowerment, but believe the more profound and overtly directional goal is development toward empowerment for *social justice*, as we elaborate in the remainder of this chapter.

COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Castells' (1996, 1997, 1998) three-volume series on the network logic of the information age describes a new global paradigm in which power

is no longer concentrated in institutions (the state), organizations (capitalist firms), or symbolic controllers (corporate media, churches). It is diffused in global networks of wealth, power, information and images, which circulate and transmute in a system of variable geometry and dematerialized geography. Yet it does not disappear. (Castells, 1997: 359)

Castells is right in observing power shifts that accompany the increased transcendence of time and space by information networks. However, to the extent that networks generate profits, these power shifts will not produce much change in the basic reward structure of the market, which assumes interrelated divisions of labor, power, knowledge, and wealth. In this global network/market system, the financial benefits will continue to go to those already at or capable of reaching the top, most of whom live in cities and/or in industrialized nations. Additionally, Castells concludes that the network society will continue to widen the gap between haves and have-nots, increasingly divided into those with access to cyberspace and other forms of mobility and those without access. Castells (1998) concedes that a *fourth world* that consists of

large parts of Africa, South America, and Asia may be excluded as irrelevant to the global network economy. Many scholars and other observers have referred to a digital divide that separates peoples and countries in terms of their access, use, and participation in the new electronic networks of information and communication.

It has been increasingly evident that the process of directed change is associated with greater inequality for the bulk of humanity (Braun, 2011; Gautney, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Milanovic, 2011a and 2011b; Munk, 2013; Navarro, 2002; Peet, 2007; Piketty, 2014; Rajan, 2010; Sainath, 1996; Sen, 2000; Sen and Dreze, 2013; Stiglitz, 2012; Weaver and Jameson, 1978). The premise has been that when countries develop, they always reduce poverty, inequality, and marginalization of their citizens. This has often not been the case, suggesting that it is the nature and method of development (as it has been conceptualized and carried out) and development policies that are associated with increasing inequality levels in health care and other socioeconomic indices (Navarro, 2002; Sen and Dreze, 2013). Rather than decreasing the poverty and inequality of the majority, the quest for development in directed change efforts have often served to increase the affluence and power of a few. Some countries and/or their individuals have benefited from the development process. Their standards of living and consumption levels have risen while their access to resources have increased. However, for the majority of nations or people, the outcomes have been greater income inequality, poverty, and marginalization¹² (Piketty, 2014; Stiglitz, 2012).

Critics have pointed out that more egalitarian societies almost always have better outcomes in directed social change processes (*Economist*, October 12, 2013; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). However, as we entered the 21st century, the challenge of unequal development in our communities and in our world continued to be intractable. What is the extent of deprivation and marginalization of millions of the poorest individuals and communities in the world today? Below, we list a few highlights of recent estimates of health-related challenges, global poverty, and deprivation (World Bank, 2011):

- There are more extremely poor people today. Millions of individuals worldwide, but especially in the developing countries, still earn less than US\$1.25 per day.

- In the developing countries, one out of four children under five years of age is underweight.
- In sub-Saharan Africa and parts of south Asia, rates of children completing primary schools are lower than 69 percent, in many cases under 50 percent.
- Thousands of children do not live to see their fifth birthday. The child mortality rate in much of Africa is over 100 per 1,000, and nearly 30,000 children (under five years of age) die each day in developing countries from preventable causes.
- Communicable diseases strike 30 million children often resulting in blindness or deafness and killing more than 600,000 a year.
- Ninety-nine percent of maternal deaths occur in developing countries. In many poor African countries, one mother dies for every 100 children born.
- Even today, tuberculosis kills about 1.8 million people per year.
- Nearly 1 billion people still lack access to reliable source of clean water and nearly 2.5 billion are still in need of improved sanitation services.

In addition to these grim statistics, there are other challenges that include lack of food security affecting millions of people including children, and environmental and habitat destruction or unsustainability. Why does the process of development often continue to produce great inequality, deprivation, and marginalization for millions of people and communities around the world? Two key and entwined sets of characteristics that shape modernization theory and practice and sustain this situation are ideological and political-economic processes, which we will briefly review.

Ideological Process

Blaming the victim, an extension of the *in-the-head psychological bias* previously discussed, is a subtle ideological process, an almost painless evasion among many policy makers, intellectuals, and professionals all over the world. It is a process of justifying inequality in society, by finding defects in the victims of inequality. As an ideology,

blaming the victim, unlike biological theories of the early 1900s or psychological theories of the 1950s and 1960s, did not put the spotlight on victims' genetically or psychologically inferior nature. Ryan (1976) commented that the ideology instead focused on the victims' social origins. The shortcoming, however, was still located inside the victim. The victim blamer could, thus, criticize the social stresses that produced such defects, but ignore the repeated onslaughts of the victimizing social forces on the individual.

Victim-blaming is further sustained by the endurance of *Social Darwinism*, stemming from Darwin's work on evolution, which provided material for social theorists such as Herbert Spencer and William Sumner. They interpreted, or rather distorted, Darwin's theories to explain the survival of the fittest communities and cultures.¹³ Social Darwinists believed that government interventions on behalf of the poor would have catastrophic results since they would interfere with the laws of natural selection.

Social Darwinism, though a product of the last three decades of the 19th century, has not been totally discredited or discarded. Today's victim blamers talk of cultural deprivation instead of the earlier notion of race and class differences in intellectual ability, and laziness is often replaced by a new term: culture of poverty. Victim-blaming is alive and well in the 21st century. The poor and the vulnerable who are the recipients of social welfare schemes are termed as *takers* and *moochers*.

A key quality of modernization and neoliberal policy regimes that is very difficult to overcome is its capitalist interest in sustaining class structures of inequality. Much of the work in social theory, policy planning, and action has served to maintain the present unequal social structures in societies. Victim blamers, social Darwinists, and the top-down development experts, among others, have aimed to change the individual, a specific subculture or community, but leave intact the larger structures of dependency and inequality within and between societies. Many intellectuals, policy makers, and planners have sought to legitimize the oppression and human misery caused by extreme inequality and deprivation through scientific and rational explanations of subcultures: groups of individuals who are doomed to be backward because of their cultural deficiencies. In other words, the effect of a focus on individual-level or community-level cultural deficiencies has been to sustain the status quo within and between unequal societies and, thus, delay progressive change.

Poverty can be viewed as lack of money and opportunities for betterment. Conceptualized thus, the strategy for overcoming poverty would be to create greater equality in the distribution of resources such as quality education, health care, and employment. However, in modernization and neoliberal theories, poverty has not been viewed as simply lack of money and opportunities, but rather the result of the lower-class culture of the poor and the marginalized or the traditional culture of the peasants. The solution, therefore, has not been a more equitable access to resources. Instead, the spotlight has been on how to transform the *way of life* of the poor, including deep-rooted cultural beliefs and lifestyles.

Political Economy of Globalization

Any useful discussion of development and its effects in directed change has to carefully examine the contemporary process of globalization and its outcomes. Our focus on rising inequality in income, wealth, and opportunities at the global, national, and local levels is positioned within the present context of globalization. Contemporary political-economic scenario is dominated by: global institutions such as multinational corporations; supranational bodies such as IMF, WB, and WTO; major banks and investment houses; and economically powerful nation states such as the US, the UK, and, increasingly, China. Globalization has created a globalized economy, which, according to Sparks (2007), has resulted in the following, among other things:

- A global domination by massive institutions that include corporations, banks, and nation states;
- Monitoring and control by big and powerful multilateral institutions such as the IMF, WB, WTO, which are in turn influenced by powerful nation states;
- Reduced regulation of financial markets, accelerated privatization of publicly owned enterprises and public lands, slashing of spending on development and other social welfare schemes, and increased environmental degradation;
- Lack of control by weaker nation states of their policies and resources;

- Lack of voice or control by local populations everywhere, including within the First World, in matters relating to their rights and access to resources.

Activists have resisted the neoliberal agenda dictated by powerful bodies, and, hence, counter-globalization efforts and movements have become prominent (Gautney, 2010). Therefore, throughout this book, we will inform our critique and discussions in the backdrop of an economic globalization that is exacerbating unequal power distributions at the macro and micro levels and concomitantly supporting inequality in income, wealth, and opportunities at the global, national, and local levels. Global capitalism has influenced global politics, which is creating distinct classes of winners and losers at the macro and micro levels (Hacker and Pierson, 2010; Stiglitz, 2012).

Reconceptualization of *Development* in the Epoch of Globalization

DSC, as an area of scholarship and practice, has been engaged in efforts to tackle the problems of underdevelopment through directed change. What should be the new mission of DSC in the face of contemporary realities and challenges, especially those brought on by neoliberal policy regimes that are marked by significant and widening inequality between people and between communities? What are the ways in which we can visualize and reconstruct the mission and role of media and communication to better meet contemporary challenges in directed change processes and outcomes? In this book, we will be exploring these issues.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), approved by the UN, and subsequently adopted by most countries in the year 2000, present us with a blueprint of the pressing priorities in development and social justice through the next decade. The MDGs constitute the centerpiece of the Millennium Declaration of the UN, and serve not only as an important milestone in the history of the development agenda for most countries, but also remind us of the formidable development-related challenges that lie ahead. The MDGs address and highlight the needs of the poorest and the most marginalized individuals and groups in the world, and provide basic guidelines on

eight development goals to be achieved by 2015. The eight goals are: eradication of extreme poverty; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women and girls; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other major diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability; and, developing global partnership (see UNDP, 2010). The MDGs constitute the benchmark and serve as signposts for decision makers in national governments, civil society, NGOs, and other significant groups concerned with unequal development and social injustice at the margins of most societies.

Today, the challenge is not just to achieve a certain level of development, but importantly, to identify the reasons for its unequal spread and suggest theories, models, programs, and strategies to eradicate—or at least minimize—the ravages of inequalities within and between societies worldwide. Many today would prefer to reconstruct the outcome of directed change; it is unconscionable to justify the present inequality between people on issues so basic as food security, clean drinking water, basic education, and health care. The foci of devcom should be to look at the present state of unequal and discriminatory development within and among global communities, document its negative consequences, and identify causes. Following this exercise in deconstruction, the scholarship of devcom should be better able to re-conceptualize and re-operationalize a better meaning and goal of development. This in turn would provide a better understanding of the real constraints to achieving development, thus, providing scholars with opportunities to incorporate theories and models that are most relevant and germane to the task of achieving equitable development.

The articulation of the MDGs by the UN is itself a testament to the social injustice and the stark differences among individuals and global communities in areas basic to human survival (World Bank, 2011). Over the last 70 years, since development was adopted as a goal by the UN, it has become increasingly evident that, while the process of development produced improved living conditions in many countries and communities, its spread has often left many individuals and communities behind. Some suggest that it is the nature and process of development (as it has been conceptualized and operationalized) that has resulted in inequalities on indicators basic to human survival and growth such as adequate food and nutrition, safe drinking water,

education, and health care. True, many individuals and communities have benefited from the development interventions; their standards of living and consumption have risen. However, for millions, the outcomes have been continued incapacity. People are unable to lead effective lives. The relative state of the countries today and the stratification of people within them are an indication of increasing inequality and marginalization around the world (*Economist*, 2012a; Milanovic, 2011a; Munk, 2013; Seager, 1997; Stiglitz, 2012; UNDP, 1997, 1998; World Bank, 1999, 2011).¹⁴

Development as Social Justice

Increasingly, the idea of development toward social justice outcomes is finding common ground among scholars and many professionals. We agree with this view and conceptualize development as a process of directed change with the establishment of social justice as its objective, though of course it is never fully reachable. The goal of social justice should serve as an anchor for devcom theory and propel social transformations in global communities. At the conceptual level, the term social justice helps to create a common platform for scholars and professionals from many different disciplines and professions that constitute development. While the term social justice connotes a fairly common understanding in the conceptual domain, its operationalization has been a challenge. The main reason why unequal and discriminatory development prevails around the world is because the practice of development has not captured important facets of social justice. In Table 2.1, we attempt to operationalize development in relation to social justice.

Societal Goals in Directed Change for Social Justice

The elimination of injustice should be the goal of directed social change. But, what is social justice in directed change and what are the ways in which it may be operationalized? We believe that achieving social justice would constitute the elimination of persistent and endemic deprivation of individuals and communities in areas basic

Table 2.1

Reappraisal of the Role of Development Support Communication for Social Justice

Desired Societal Outcomes toward Achieving Social Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish social justice: eliminate social–political–economic–cultural policies/laws/arrangements that foster/sustain inequity • Create/expand/sustain claims and access to resources and rights of all individuals including those at the margin • Create/expand/sustain choices, opportunities, capacity, and capability for individuals to lead effective and meaningful lives
Outcomes to be Achieved by DSC	<p>Social and political action for alternate desirable futures by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating/expanding/sustaining individual and group agency • Increasing countervailing power of victims of unequal development
DSC Actions	<p>Empowerment of individuals/communities through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social mobilization: expand/sustain public participation and discussion • Grassroots level participation • Participatory action/communication • Empowerment-oriented communication • Social movements

Source: Authors.

to human survival, and enhancing the capacity and capability of individuals and communities to live effective and meaningful lives. Elimination of social injustice should be central to the process of directed change, so media, communication processes, and other actors attempting to bring about social change must be committed to this goal. Therefore, any assessment of the contribution of DSC must be in terms of its success in eradicating egregious forms of injustice.

At the macro level, the state and civil society constitute the main agencies or avenues for change and, therefore, should share the primary responsibility for protecting and strengthening the welfare of their citizens. Specifically, these agencies would include governments

from the federal to the local levels; public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and courts; political parties; market structures; media systems; legal systems; professional associations; religious organizations; NGOs, social service organizations, cooperatives, and others. Together, these entities influence a society's social, political, economic, and cultural laws, policies, rules, arrangements, and conventions that have a bearing on individual opportunities, capabilities, capacities, and welfare. What should be the primary normative concerns in a society sensitive to the ravages of inequality in directed change? What are the facets of social justice that all people in a society must be guaranteed? At the most elementary level, everyone—regardless of gender, nation, class, age, race, and ethnicity—should have access to basic education, health care, and to land or sustainable and gainful employment opportunities. Individuals must have claims to social safety nets, especially during times of distress, and guarantees of individual safety at all times. In addition, there should be opportunities for people to participate in an equitable market to provide avenues for production, exchange, and consumption (Sen, 2000). Importantly, all citizens should have claims and access to the commons that include clean and safe environments in which to live, work, and raise families; individual rights; civil rights, which include free expression of speech, autonomous mass media, and transparency in all transactions that are open to public and media scrutiny. In other words, what is required is a pervasive need to establish and sustain social, political, economic, and media structures and policies that foster and sustain equity, including health and gender equity; and create, expand, and sustain choices, opportunities, capacity and capability for individuals to lead effective and meaningful lives.

The context of directed change efforts should not be confined to the countryside or the Third World (Hemer and Tufte, 2005). Today, the applicability and application of DSC is in all environments and contexts that are punctuated by social injustice. Thus, the location could be depressed urban communities in Detroit, USA, marginalized communities in Haiti or West Virginia in the US, the hinterlands of Bangladesh, Malawi, Argentina, or any other location where people and communities are victims of injustice.

Table 2.1 highlights the interconnections between the different outcomes. For example, the elimination of injustice could be instrumental in moving toward the achievement of progressive societal

outcomes and, in turn, progressive societal outcomes constitute a major step in facilitating social justice. In addition, there are linkages between the factors within expected outcomes. The learning of literacy and numeracy skills through education help improve a person's economic participation and productivity, while access to adequate health care will have a positive impact on individual productivity, which in turn supports economic growth. While a free and robust market is the engine of development, its beneficial effects on the larger society is contingent upon equitable social, economic, and political policies, laws, and arrangements. It has also been demonstrated repeatedly that access to education for females has a positive impact on other social outcomes such as lowering infant mortality rates, increasing female employment, ensuring family health, and economic well-being (Sen, 2000). These and other interconnections have been empirically verified and further reinforce the practical advantages that would accrue from the eradication of major sources of injustice in a society.

Next, we outline outcomes for DSC, including empowerment, and communicative actions necessary to achieve these outcomes.

Development Support Communication Outcomes

In Table 2.1, we examined the different roles and responsibilities of the state and civil society in protecting and strengthening individuals and communities from the ravages of social injustice. This does not imply that we visualize communities or individuals as passive recipients waiting for societal institutions to play the roles of benefactors and protectors. Individuals and the groups they belong to, or the communities of which they are members, should have the active task of making the social, political, and economic structures and policies in a society more appropriate and effective in establishing social justice through directed social change.

DSC outcomes, then, should create, expand, and sustain the agency of individuals, communities, and organizations in directed change, and help in increasing countervailing power of the victims of unequal development. Therefore, individuals and communities must have the opportunity and the capacity to play an active role in articulating and

shaping the kind of change they desire. This indicates a move from a passive *patient* to an active *agent* of change. The new avatar of DSC should be one that encourages and pursues an agent-oriented view for individuals and communities engaged in directed social change (Sen, 2000). Further, we envisage a dynamic process for directed change efforts and activities in which empowered stakeholders undertake social and political actions to sustain an on-going engagement, which is usually contestory, with global, nation state, local actors, institutions, and other power holders working toward alternate desirable futures defined by social justice outcomes described earlier.

However, the task of creating active agency at the larger societal, community, or individual levels will not be successful unless the lack of economic, political, and social power among individuals or communities in contemporary societies are addressed. The reality of the social and political situation in most societies is such that the urban and rural poor and other oppressed communities, women, and others at the grassroots are trapped in a dependency relationship in highly stratified and unequal socioeconomic structures that are also punctuated by sharp inequities in countervailing power and their continual reproduction through the agencies of the state and the private sectors (Navarro, 2002). Therefore, power inequities are posited as major impediments to creating active agency on the part of the marginalized people and communities.¹⁵

Development Support Communication Actions

As established above, we must address the unequal distribution of power in social change theory and practice. Thus far, we have argued that it is usually futile and may be unethical and impractical for communications and human service professionals to help solve minor and/or immediate problems, while ignoring the systemic barriers erected by societies that permit or perpetuate inequalities among citizens. Sustainable progressive change is not possible unless we deal with this crucial problem in human societies, that is, a lack of economic and social power among individuals at the grassroots. Presently, much of the academic work in DSC is premised on pluralistic and participatory approaches as opposed to the top-down

prescriptive transmission models of the past. However, even now, many of the frameworks offered for understanding social change in newer approaches do not differ significantly from the earlier models in the modernization paradigm as they do not aim to alter the structures and processes that maintain power inequities in societies, as we will discuss in detail later.

If directed social change is to have any relevance for the communities and people who need it most, it must start where the real needs and problems exist, for example, in remote rural areas, urban slums, and other depressed sectors of society. People and communities living in such peripheries must perceive their real needs and identify their real problems. To a large extent, these people and communities have lacked agency and opportunity for genuine participation in change strategies ostensibly set up to ameliorate their problems. The bottom line is the lack of power and voice for people in effecting the type of social change they need to live the kinds of life they desire. Therefore, the new task of development support communicators should be directly linked to the building and exercise of social power of individuals and communities that generally are regarded merely as *targets* by change agencies in directed social change programs. Individuals and communities affected by societal injustice should be able to craft what they want and can accept. This civil right should not be the prerogative of political, economic/business, or religious leaders alone.

Social Mobilization

DSC must then work to expand and sustain democratic public participation and debate. Public participation and discussion are necessary for creating transparency and for making responsible social choices, which are fundamental to sound policy making in the social arena. Public participation also can create shared norms on many social and cultural issues, which can then have a beneficial effect on public policies, arrangements, and conventions relating to these matters and concerns (Sen, 2000). Other desirable communication approaches include participatory action communication and the mobilization of public media to influence public opinion, raise awareness, and win public support for issues and projects that challenge systemic social injustice and promote human rights.

Grassroots Participation

Many scholars over the past five decades have favored active participation of the people in development, especially at the grassroots level. However, in many cases, the structures of elite domination have not been disturbed by participative approaches. Thus, marginalized people have been induced to participate in change efforts, while the agenda and the solutions to alleged problems have often remained under the control of external change agencies.

True participation should go beyond such tactics to involve the people and communities in social and political action. The participatory model that we envision would incorporate the framework of critical social change and involve social mobilization at the community level. The goal should be to facilitate conscientization of marginalized people and communities of the unequal social, political, economic, and spatial structures in their societies. It is through conscientization and collective action that people can perceive their needs, identify constraints to addressing the needs, and plan on overcoming problems and constraints.

Paulo Freire (1970) first introduced the concept of *conscientização* or conscientization, which translates from Portuguese to mean, “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire, 1970: 17; also see Chapters 7 and 10). He was disappointed with the educational systems in Brazil and Chile and advocated their replacement with a type of pedagogy that would be more receiver-centered and involve the experience of the people, especially of their existential situations via reflection and dialogue. Armed with the new knowledge, they then can create action plans to liberate themselves from their dependent and exploited status. This was truly empowerment pedagogy and contrasted sharply with the *banking* education practiced by the authorities wherein exogenous prescriptive information was *deposited* into the heads of passive recipients (Freire, 1970). Especially among the marginalized victims of societal injustice, Freire’s pedagogical process of action/experience and reflection led to a critical consciousness of inequality and set marginalized communities on a path to social change where they could serve as risk-taking agents and not merely as targets (Cadiz, 2005; Tufte, 2005; see also Chapters 7 and 8).

Community Empowerment

The participatory communication model provides a heuristic role for DSC. It represents a clean break from the role of communication in the modernization paradigm as merely a transmitter and disseminator of exogenous messages. However, the term participatory communication has been frequently misunderstood and misused, as noted previously. Participation has been defined and operationalized in many ways: from pseudo participation to genuine efforts to generate participatory decision-making (Alamgir, 1988; Ascroft and Masilela, 1989; Bamberger, 1988; Diaz-Bordenave, 1989; Freire, 1973; Melkote and Steeves, 2001; White, 1994). There has been a great deal of confusion about desired outcomes or goals. Plus, there are contradictions between exemplars (or best practices) and goals (or outcomes). While the practice of participatory communication has stressed collaboration between recipients and experts, and a co-equal knowledge-sharing among all involved (as appropriate to local context and culture), the outcome in most cases has not been true empowerment of the people, but rather the attainment of some indicator of development as articulated in the modernization paradigm. Thus, participatory approaches have been encouraged, though the design and control of messages and development agendas have usually remained with the experts. Also, issues of power and control by authorities, structures of dependency, and power inequities have not been addressed adequately (Wilkins, 1999). Thus, most participatory approaches have been essentially old wine in new bottles.

Ideally, however, development support communicators in the participatory model should serve as facilitators of empowered local communities, strengthening local knowledge, experiences, and narratives and encouraging active agency at the grassroots in the process of social change. Critical scholars have called for local culture-centered community or citizen media and processes of grassroots organizing that are directed toward changing structures that foster poverty and inequality (Airhehenbuwa and Dutta, 2012; Dutta, 2012). The empowerment framework, thus, privileges local actors, community media, alternative rationalities, and modes of organizing, which are influenced by lived experiences at the margins.¹⁶ We recognize that empowerment-related communicative media and actions can lead

to progressive grassroots change, which can improve people's lives and gradually create openings for broader macro-level changes.¹⁷

Social Movements

Throughout human history, social movements have always played an important role during times of great change. Many observers are now visualizing a new post-development phase in which social movements could serve as radical alternatives working on behalf of the marginalized and against dominant knowledge structures and ideologies (Escobar, 1995a; White, 2004; Wilkins, 2008). In contemporary post-industrial societies, social movements are seen as vehicles to craft political identities, challenge dominant social norms, and serve as channels of resistance (Atkinson, 2010; Porrás and Steeves, 2009; Steeves, 2003). Examples of social movements include those protesting environmental destruction, global capitalism, or big government, and advocating for greater human rights including women's rights (Wilkins, 2003). While social movements may desire outcomes in many different areas, of interest to scholars in DSC are those that sensitize people and the media to issues of unequal and unjust development structures and policies (Wilkins, 2012); they must challenge the power structures that desire to maintain the status quo, and work toward the attainment of basic human rights. This may be done in many ways, by collecting and sharing pertinent information, framing issues, building coalitions with allies, targeting mainstream-media attention, and generally acting as vehicles of social mobilization at the community, national, or transnational levels. Twenty-first century events in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, China, the US, Brazil, Turkey, India, and other places have also shown the efficacy of mobile digital technologies in *crowd sourcing* or creating *smart mobs* and bringing greater pressure to bear on authorities. Digital technologies have proven effective in creating global awareness of governments and other structures, laws, and policies that sustain systemic injustice.¹⁸ However, digital and mobile technologies still can be controlled and abused and, therefore, cannot be considered a magic bullet for social change, like any other technology or strategy. Additionally, unequal access constrains their use and value as development tools, as we will discuss in later chapters.

CONCLUSION

Social justice is a slippery concept. Certainly, it includes basic survival needs and the MDGs. However, it also means much more, including contextually important needs such as access to land for farming, unemployment benefits, political voice, and freedom from discrimination based on social intersections such as gender, ethnicity, race, age, or disability. Participatory communication that goes beyond lip service and incorporates social and political action that truly empowers recipients to name, analyze, and act on problems constitutes a central theme in this volume. Social injustice, characterized by stark inequalities, is evident everywhere; therefore, social justice is everybody's challenge and not exclusively a *Third World* problem. Hence, in this volume, we presume that participatory communication action for empowerment and social justice is an imperative everywhere, along with other ongoing work to better understand and challenge local, national, and global structures of power.

In sum, our objectives in this book are multifaceted. We strive to provide a clear and concise introduction to the field of DSC. Throughout this volume, we aim to provide an historical, theoretical, and descriptive account of devcom theory and practice. Our writing will be always laced with a critique of dominant discourses and their sanctioned research and practices. We will examine and critique ongoing conditions of development and social change and attempt to conceptualize a vision for DSC scholarship and practice that is grounded in the contexts of equality and social justice. We will infuse our writing with communication activism for progressive social change. Our methodology is triangulated between quantitative, interpretive, and critical paradigms, and our contexts are both the online and offline worlds of local, glocal, and global communities.

NOTES

1. Some portions of this section have been revised from a paper prepared with Professor Joseph Ascroft, Iowa city, USA.
2. For a list of members, see, for example, <http://www.un.org/members>
3. See the UN website with links to the many affiliated organizations: <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/structure/index.shtml>

4. See <http://www.itu.int/wsis/index.html>
5. The WB and the IMF are often confused, yet their goals are distinct. The WB is a development institution that provides loans to encourage development. The IMF does have a fund from which countries can borrow, but its main mission is to monitor monetary and exchange rate policies. In addition, the IMF serves all member nations, whereas WB only lends to developing nations (see Hoy, 1998: 76–79 for a discussion of areas of difference and overlap).
6. The GATT has been replaced by the WTO.
7. See <http://www.oecd.org/about/> (Consulted August 21, 2014).
8. Financial assistance is classified as Official Development Assistance only if private capital is unavailable and if there is a grant element of at least 25 percent, making the terms clearly more favorable than available in commercial markets. Additionally, it should not include military and security assistance. However, as Hoy notes, military assistance is usually included in countries' internal aid statistics, which confuses reports of aid (Hoy, 1998).
9. The USAID model, introduced to many countries in the two decades after World War II, was based on the US Department of Agriculture's Federal Extension Service and land grant colleges. According to Adams (1982: 53), "In its pure form it has rarely taken root because few countries in the Third World had universities with sufficient status and funds to link research with a dynamic extension service in the surrounding countryside."
10. See, for example, Blum (1986). Both authors of this book are familiar with agricultural extension systems in developing countries through travels and research.
11. Under this system, introduced by WB and still in use, master farmers embarked on a regular schedule of travel to fixed sites where they gave demonstrations. See Benor and Harrison (1977).
12. Refer to Chapters 5 and 11 for a more detailed discussion of inequality with statistics.
13. Darwin's work focused exclusively on the survival of species. The Social Darwinists, however, extended the theory to the survival of social systems.
14. For example, it is the poor, the marginalized, and the vulnerable who are worst affected by inadequacies in health care and the ravages of killer diseases. WHO reports that malaria, a killer disease that was thought to be eradicated by the 1960s, disproportionately affects poor people who are not in a position to pay for the treatment or have limited access to health care, thus, trapping families and communities in a downward spiral of poverty (WHO, 2011b). In a scathing report, WHO states that it is the poorest of the poor around the world who suffer from the worst health conditions. Within many countries, the data indicate that in general the lower an individual's socioeconomic position, the worse off is his/her health (WHO, 2011c).
15. The World Health Organization warns that the social determinants of health are crucial for the poor, oppressed, and marginalized populations. These determinants are influenced by the distribution of money, power, and resources at global, national, and local levels, which are themselves influenced by policy choices. The social determinants of health are mostly responsible for health

- inequities—the unfair and avoidable differences in health status seen within and between countries (WHO, 2011d).
16. Some critical observers have questioned whether development communication scholarship and practice should align itself only with the grassroots and local environments or if it should also focus on and contribute to the formation of enabling environments at the macro level that will likely shape situation-specific development initiatives? This question becomes more urgent given the vast numbers of people impacted currently by such macro, top-down processes (Boyd-Barrett, 2012; Waisbord, 2005). States such as Venezuela, Bolivia, and Brazil have challenged the global neoliberal order, and other states such as China, Russia, and India have through their development policies lifted hundreds of millions of people from abject poverty.
 17. This was an important addition to the development context that we explored in the previous edition and continue to elaborate upon in this book.
 18. However, digital and mobile technologies still can be controlled and cannot be considered a magic bullet for social change, like any other technology or strategy.

II

**DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE,
MODERNIZATION THEORY,
AND DEVCOM**



CHAPTER 3

MODERNIZATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

The ethnocentric imagination ... is only possible via a deliberate construction in relationship to other cultures, which are taken as the enhancing mirror of the dominant one.

Tomlinson (1999: 74)

Since the end of World War II, modernization has been among the most powerful paradigms invoked to develop societies in the Third World and elsewhere with enormous social, cultural, and economic consequences. This chapter narrates the historic origins and characteristics of modernization theory as a prelude to our discussion of globalization. In Chapter 4, we will extend our discussion and critique to the strategies of media and communication under modernization and globalization.

Modernization is based on neoclassical and neoliberal political theories and grounded in the grand project of Enlightenment, namely reasoning, rationality, objectivity, and other philosophical principles of Western science. Modernization approaches, including neoclassical and neoliberal economic theories, extol scientific rationality and individualism. Economic growth via the Western model of adopting a capitalist economic system, building up formal infrastructure, and acquiring technologies is prioritized. Implicit in the discourse of modernization is a theory of what constitutes societal development and a methodology of how it should be brought about.

The modernization paradigm presumes a set of interrelated processes: capitalism, industrialization, surveillance of society, and control

of the means of violence. Giddens (1990: 59–60) provides a condensed description of these institutional dimensions of modernity:

- Capital accumulation, which is insulated from the political dimension but set within the context of competitive labor and product markets.
- Surveillance set in the backdrop of the nation state, which aids in the control of information and social supervision and is closely intertwined with capitalism.
- The surveillance function of the state is coupled with military/police power to maintain full control and monopoly over means of violence. This is usually exercised through the internal hegemony of civil authority structures, which execute codes of criminal law and supervise individual *deviance* from the *normal* with the help of the military and other lethal forces lurking in the background.
- And importantly, industrialism, which constitutes the main axis of interaction between humans and nature. Unlike premodern societies, industrialism with the aid of modern science and technology transforms nature into built environments subject to control and coordination by humans.

The enterprise of modernization influenced a *dominant paradigm* of development, which has guided intellectual thinking and practice from the 1940s to the globalized present and has been influential in devcom theory and practice as well. Everett Rogers (1976b: 121) noted that “this concept of development grew out of certain historical events, such as the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the US, the colonial experience in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the quantitative empiricism of North American social science, and capitalistic economic/political philosophy.” He distilled four overlapping assumptions in this view of development (Rogers, 1976c: 49):

- Economic growth through industrialization and accompanying urbanization was considered the key to development. It was approximately equal to passing through the Industrial Revolution. It was also assumed that development performance could be measured quantitatively in economic terms.
- Western science would produce technological development solutions that were capital-intensive and labor-extensive.¹

- Planning would be centralized and controlled by economists and bankers in order to guide and speed up the process of development.
- Underdevelopment was mainly due to problems within developing nations rather than in their external relationships with other countries.

Clearly, economic growth and Western scientific values constituted key themes in *development* as a solution to *underdevelopment* under modernization. As Rogers (1976c) noted, economists were ultimately in charge of development plans, particularly in the earlier development decades. Five-year plans were launched in many countries to dovetail development activities and help bring about orderly economic progress. Bilateral and multilateral aid organizations were involved in these plans. Problems were identified and solutions offered at the higher levels of government; information and other inputs were then channeled down to local communities. Participatory or autonomous development by local communities was considered slow, inefficient, and, more often than not, unlikely.

In the dominant paradigm, *industrialization* was considered the main route to successful economic growth. At least, that was the means by which North America and Western Europe had developed in the late 19th century. So, Third World countries were encouraged to invest in a program of industrialization such as hydroelectric projects, steel industries, and various heavy manufacturing units. Development performance was and continues to be largely measured by *quantitative indicators* such as GNP and per capita income. These indicators are considered objective and straightforward to measure, especially when compared with alternative concepts such as freedom, justice, and human rights. They also relate to the quantitative and empirical bias of Western social sciences (Nordenstreng, 1968; Rogers, 1976c).

As a corollary to prioritizing economic growth and technological solutions, quantitative empirical science, a product of the Enlightenment in Europe, was uncritically accepted as the dominant scientific methodology. The aim of this science is to produce knowledge, and to understand, categorize, explain, and predict aspects of an external reality (Singleton et al., 1993). Some of the important characteristics that distinguish this method from other ways of knowing are positivism, empiricism, and scientific objectivity.

Positivism. Derived from the writings of Comte and Mill, positivism is the dominant feature of the Western social scientific method. This involves other concepts such as quantification, hypothesis testing, and objective measurement (Wimmer and Dominick, 2014). Major assumptions of positivistic science are (a) reality is objective and exists apart from the observer, and (b) it can be seen and experienced by all trained observers in essentially the same way. In this type of research, the measurement instruments exist independently of the researcher.

Empiricism. The scientist is concerned with an external world that is knowable and potentially measurable. Thus, nonempirical or metaphysical explanations are ruled out.

Scientific Objectivity. Clear rules and procedures are constructed to distance the researcher from the objects or phenomena being studied. This is done to control for the subjectivity of the researcher and maximize the trustworthiness of the results.²

Positivistic science had played a major role in the articulation of the colonial discourse (Adams, 1995) and was recommended for the development of the ex-colonies in the Third World (Kennedy, 1961). Science was the backbone of technologies that enabled the Industrial Revolution. In developing countries of the South, science-based technology was to increase manifold the per capita production of material goods (Ullrich, 1992). It constituted the core of the industrialization prescribed for developing countries. More often than not, capital- and machine-intensive technologies substituted for labor that was abundantly available in Third World nations. The badly needed capital for the new technologies was provided by national governments, and often supplemented by loans from bilateral/multilateral agencies and transnational corporations.

It is abundantly clear that the dominant paradigm of modernization supports a Western political-economic agenda and is consistent with the values of Western science, grounded in Enlightenment thought. However, in this chapter, we show that the origins and implications of modernization go well beyond economic theory and motives. Modernization also is a social and psychological theory, in that it suggests a social evolutionary path and has implications for individual values and priorities as well. Additionally, and very significant in our discussion, modernization is an ideology and a discourse. In fact, the discourse of modernization has invented a new way of thinking for

people of many countries of the South (Melkote and Kandath, 2001). Thus, modernization is not just one type of process, but a package of mutually reinforcing processes that suggest particular goals for change. Tipps (1973: 204) sums up the teleological bias of modernization process as

a transition, or rather a series of transitions from primitive, subsistence economies to technology-intensive, industrialized economies; from subject to participant political cultures; from closed, ascriptive status systems to open, achievement-oriented systems; from extended to nuclear kinship unites; from religious to secular ideologies; and so on. Thus conceived, modernization is not simply a process of change, but one which is defined in terms of the goals toward which it is moving.

These interwoven changes are motivated by a combination of altruistic, ideological, and political-economic motives, and all enable the West to manage, produce, and organize the Third World politically, economically, sociologically, psychologically, scientifically, militarily, and perhaps above all, imaginatively (Crush, 1995).

Next, we discuss modernization in four ways: as an economic model, as social evolution, as individual change, and as a form of discourse.

MODERNIZATION AS AN ECONOMIC MODEL

The dominant paradigm of development that has ruled the social sciences prescribes a particular economic path to modernization, that is, the neoclassical and neoliberal approaches. Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) originally proposed the neoclassical approach, which was later supported and enriched by other Western economists such as Ricardo, Schumpeter, Keynes, Hirschman, Nurkse, and others. The dominant paradigm encouraged macroeconomic planning and promoted a high degree of corporate and state intervention in the economy. The model was mainly concerned with rapid economic growth as measured by the rate of growth of output (GNP). Thus, an important goal of economists was to accelerate and maintain high rates of growth. There were two main factors that were important: productive resources a society had and economic institutions to guide their use (Weaver and Jameson, 1978).

Productive Resources

The quantity of output of goods and services of a system was a function of several inputs: capital, labor, land and other natural resources, technology, industries, and entrepreneurship. A brief discussion of the salient features of each input is useful.

Labor

The role and place of labor were defined by the dictates of the classical capitalistic model of private ownership of capital and the commodification of wage labor. The emphasis was on increasing the quality and quantity of output by specialization and division of labor. The quality of labor could be enhanced and adapted to the needs of modern industry by improving its physical and mental capacities (Weaver and Jameson, 1978). Developing nations were persuaded to invest in improving human resources mainly via upgrading skills and attitudes. These were to be brought about through institutional training programs (Schultz, 1963). Also, the model promoted the migration of labor from the traditional rural sectors into the urban, manufacturing arenas.

Industrialization and Capital

Capital formation occupied a very important place. Individuals and entire societies were required to defer consumption and save capital so that it could be invested to build physical capital in the form of heavy industries, steel factories, mills, dams, etc. (Weaver and Jameson, 1978). Development of heavy industry was significant since it was used to produce other goods and machinery. Thus, industrialization, particularly the capital-intensive variety, was given utmost importance (Hirschman, 1958; Nurkse, 1953). In fact, industrialization was synonymous with development. One important means of generating sufficient capital for industrialization was through redistribution of income and resources to capitalists and entrepreneurs, assuming that these groups would reinvest the capital in productive ways to generate more capital. The approach of creating inequality initially by redistributing income and resources to capitalists with the hope of a trickle-down of benefits to others in the population was a fond notion of postwar economists such as Arthur Lewis, Ragnar Nurkse,

Harvey Leibenstein, and others. It was articulated very well in the Harod-Domar and Mahalanobis planning models in India (Weaver and Jameson, 1978).

Land

Industrialization was dependent on efficient use of land. Many economists believed that industrial development had to be preceded by agricultural development (Eicher and Witt, 1964; Johnston and Mellor, 1961; Myrdal, 1968; Schultz, 1964). That was the way it had occurred in Western countries. Agriculture made several important contributions to an orderly and effective development of industry. It produced surplus food and labor that directly benefited the industrial sector. Also, the export of agricultural output provided resources for the import of physical capital such as machinery needed for local industry. Importantly, a developed agricultural sector provided an effective and efficient internal market for industrial output.

The key to greater productivity in the agricultural sector was to shift from human/animal labor-intensive techniques to a machine-intensive approach, as in the US and other developed countries. Technical and management-intensive schemes such as the Green Revolution were vigorously pursued in many countries in South and Southeast Asia. Farmers were encouraged to adopt high-yielding strains of staple crops such as rice, wheat, and maize (corn) along with a host of other production techniques. At least initially, this helped some of these countries to increase production for domestic (mainly urban) consumption and export to the international market.

Technology and Entrepreneurship

Technology was viewed as central to the growth of productive agricultural and industrial sectors (Abramovitz, 1956; Denison, 1962; Schumpeter, 1934; Veblen, 1966; Weaver and Jameson, 1978). Therefore, the hiring of foreign experts and transfer of technical knowhow from developed Western nations was considered extremely crucial for development in Third World nations. The entrepreneur was the catalyst in the process of economic development. Like Lerner's (1958) grocer in Balgat, Turkey, the entrepreneur was a risk-taker. He/she wanted to discard the traditional way of doing things and imitate or supplant new techniques, especially those practiced in the West.

Rogers (1962) and Schramm (1964) described the entrepreneur as an innovator who “destroys the old way and initiates a process which will replace the old way with an innovation which is organizationally more successful” (Weaver and Jameson, 1978: 15).

Economic Institutions

In addition to productive resources, the neoclassical economic model relies on a set of institutions to guide the use of resources. These include the Bretton Woods institutions such as IMF and WB, the UN agencies, private corporations, government ministries, and research universities. Following the requirements and assumptions of the capitalist paradigm, these were characterized by or promoted the following (Weaver and Jameson, 1978):

- Private ownership of all facets of production;
- An interrelated market system for means of production (labor, land, and capital) and for output;
- A private capitalist firm for production of output (a private organization with no direct control from any other authority except itself, functioning rationally to produce the optimum profit in an orderly market); and
- Free trade at the global, national, and local levels.

The development strategy emphasized was the principle of *laissez-faire*. In French, this means complete independence. Thus, in the orthodox paradigm, capitalists and entrepreneurs were to be left alone by the government and other authorities. To the extent possible, the role of the government was confined to maintaining law and order and providing the right climate for capitalists to engage in profitable production.

Unilinear Model of Economic Development

Among the proponents of the unilinear economic model of development, Walt Rostow deserves special mention. Rostow expounded his economic growth theory in *The Stages of Economic Growth*:

A Non-Communist Manifesto (1960), in which he constructed a five-stage model of transition: the traditional society, preconditions for takeoff, takeoff, drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption. He believed that every society would pass through these five stages of economic growth leading finally to the last phase: the age of high mass consumption. Therefore, Rostow's model stated explicitly that once key institutions and certain behavior patterns were established, development was more or less sustained. The changes were irreversible and the process of development moved in a common universal direction.

In sum, these concepts and processes that had worked successfully in the US, Canada, and countries of Western Europe were, therefore, prescribed for the development of Third World nations. As we will show later, the concepts, processes, and models did not always transfer readily to developing nations. Additionally, they were frequently insensitive to the needs of certain demographic and minority groups, and they resulted in much environmental degradation. Nonetheless, the modernization model remains dominant today, adapting to rapid political, economic, and technological changes. This is abundantly evident in development policies and projects emphasizing private sector development, entrepreneurship, and technological advancement. It is also evident in international agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement of 1994 (NAFTA) and the GATT.³ As the goals of economic development have increasingly been framed globally, within transnational structures and networks that transcend space, time or nation states (e.g., WTO, and the ITU-initiated WSIS in 2003 and 2006), modernization has taken new forms (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1996, 1997, 1998; Roberts and Hite, 2000, 2007). Yet, the basic assumptive framework emphasizing profit, privatization, and technological growth remains intact.

MODERNIZATION AS SOCIAL EVOLUTION

The idea of development was quite old even before US President Truman's invocation in 1949 (Cowen and Shenton, 1995: 29). In Europe, more than a century earlier, the idea of development was used to create order out of the social anarchy of poverty, unemployment,

and rapid urbanization. The notion of development was used to craft managerial strategies and interventions to cope with the social disorder in 19th century Europe and later in the colonies. However, with the creation of the Third World in the post-Bretton Woods period, theories and concepts that recapitulated the unique West European and North American transition from a traditional to a modern society were used to prescribe processes and goals of development elsewhere. An important concern among industrialized nations was how to develop the societies in the so-called Third World, just emancipated from centuries of colonial rule, and help them to become more like the West.

The sociological theory of development extrapolated concepts generated from the West European and North American development to an analysis of development in the Third World, as we explain below.

Theories in the Sociology of Development

The transition of European societies from a traditional and feudal structure toward more advanced social stages has been an important concern of social theorists from the classical to the modern age. Considerable literature is available on the forces and relationships that propelled Europe from the largely agricultural–feudal order to the complex, highly differentiated, capitalist–industrial society. In fact, “the issue of European transformation has given rise to what is, without doubt, the core of classic and of most modern sociological theory” (Portes, 1976: 56). Social theorists were concerned with the upheaval of existing societies and the new social forms arising from industrialization, urbanization, and modernization, resulting in various theories on social evolution. Prominent sociologists such as Morgan, Comte, Spencer, Kidd, and Ward were the proponents of the evolutionary perspective in the development of human societies. Their theories compared the transformation of cultures to the evolution of organisms as articulated in the biological sciences. In other words, these theorists saw very little difference between the phylogeny of biological species and the growth of human societies. As in the growth of organisms, the development of cultures was inextricably tied to a series of inevitable and irreversible stages. In these

teleological theories of social evolution, the development of societies followed a unilinear path and the major stages of growth were universal as they raced toward a predetermined end. However, it was quite transparent that these social theorists were preoccupied with lessons from the historical transformation of Western countries (Fjes, 1976). In their models, the terminal stage of development or evolution was represented by advanced European countries of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the process of development closely mimicked the transformation of Western countries from agricultural communities to modern, industrial complexes.

Charles Darwin's classic, *On the Origin of Species* (1859), was the inspiration for the evolutionary view of social change. Darwin's thesis was intended to explain the phylogeny of species, not social systems. Darwin theorized that all organisms had evolved from simpler forms and that the general direction of biological evolution was unilinear, that is, toward more complex forms. The early social theorists of the *evolutionist school* applied Darwin's ideas to the process of modernization of human societies. The more prominent of these theorists were Herbert Spencer and William Sumner. Spencer even applied Darwin's famous principle of *the survival of the fittest* to human cultures. This school of thought, termed *Social Darwinism*, won acceptance among intellectuals in the late 19th century, as also noted in Chapter 2 (Berger, 1974; Robertson, 1977; Ryan, 1976). Spencer claimed that Western societies were superior to others, and excelled because they were better adapted to face the changing conditions in the process of modernization. Thus, these societies served as models for the rest of the world to emulate.

Theories of social evolution influenced and gave rise to significant concepts in the sociology of development. However, while the earlier theories were explanatory of the historical transformation of the West, the later theories in the 20th century were used to compare the development of Third World nations with those in Europe and North America, often in an overly simplistic bipolar fashion. The dominant paradigm vis-à-vis Third World development, therefore, was based on an application of the evolutionary concept of Darwin to social change (Schramm, 1976). These later ideas emerged not just from social evolutionary theory, but also from the larger context of Enlightenment thought, which encouraged dualistic thinking and concepts.

Tradition versus Modernity

The earlier models were based on a dichotomous conception of tradition versus modernity (Eisenstadt, 1976). As noted earlier, these theories were essentially bipolar, where the universal stages in the earlier theories of social evolution were reduced to ideal–typical typologies. These ideal–typical extremes, however, were descriptive of the assumed beginning and end of the social transformation of the nations in Europe and North America. Portes (1976: 62) noted that “theorists in this tradition were less concerned with encompassing the entire history of mankind than with apprehending that moment of European transition from a feudal–agricultural to a capitalist–industrial order.” This is not surprising, as it clearly reflected Enlightenment thought, including assumptions about dualistic values, one half of which were considered important for scientific progress in society and the other half unimportant to progress.⁴

In these bipolar theories (see Table 3.1), the earlier stage was the traditional society, which was conceptualized as a small, mostly rural community where everybody knew each other, where interpersonal relations were close with strong group solidarity and kinship ties. The end stage, on the other hand, was a large, mostly urban society where relations were impersonal, where there was little group solidarity or close kinship ties, and where tradition, shared norms, and values no longer had a dominant influence. Also, in these theories, as articulated cogently in Durkheim’s analysis, the two ideal types differed

Table 3.1
Dualisms between Traditionalism and Modernity

Maine (1907)	Status versus Contract
Durkheim (1933)	Mechanic versus Organic Solidarity
Toennies (1957)	<i>Gemeinschaft versus Gesellschaft</i>
Lerner (1958)	Traditional versus Modern Society
Cooley (1962)	Primary versus Secondary Social Attachments
Redfield (1965)	Folk versus Urban Societies
Said (1985)	Oriental versus Occidental
Castells (1996, 1997, 1998)	Fourth World versus Network Society

Source: Authors.

based on the type of social bond—*organic* in the traditional setup and *mechanistic* in the modern society. The transformation from the traditional to the modern society required greater functional specialization and structural differentiation. These structural changes brought about value shifts in the direction of individualism, secularism, universalism, and rationalism. In the development discourse of the 1950s and 1960s, however, these discursive constructions represented non-Western societies (on the left) as the binary opposite of European and North American cultures and practices (on the right) as exhibited in Table 3.1. Bipolar theories and models continue to the present as exemplified in Castells' dichotomy of a Fourth World versus Network Society.

Pattern Variables Scheme

The pattern variables scheme was a contribution of Talcott Parsons (1964a) to general social theory. However, this scheme served as an extension of the classic bipolar theories and was used by the functionalist theorists as a tool for diagnosing and comparing social change in different societies, particularly between the Western societies and those in the Third World (Portes, 1976: 62). Hoselitz (1960) used the pattern variables scheme as a model of the sociological aspects of economic growth. In this scheme, traditional societies had certain common characteristics such as ascribed roles that are functionally diffuse and oriented toward narrow particularistic goals. Modern societies, on the other hand, had roles assigned or acquired through achievement rather than birth, and they are oriented toward broad, secular, and universal norms (Levy, 1966; Portes, 1976). When attempts were made to transform the pattern variables scheme into a theory of societal development, the consequence was a set of generalizations extrapolating concepts from the European and North American historical experience to describe and prescribe modernization in Third World countries (Hoselitz, 1960).

Development as Social Differentiation

This notion of development was a direct extension of the 19th century social evolutionary theories, which assumed that societies modernize through greater differentiation in their institutions. In simpler societies, there is little institutional differentiation. A single institution may perform several functions. For example, the family may not

only serve the function of reproduction but also take care of socialization, education, and even economic production. However, it was believed that human societies, like organisms in biological theory, pass through evolutionary stages to reach higher levels of complexity, which are exhibited through greater specialization. A process of differentiation takes place where many specialized institutions take over the functions that were hitherto undifferentiated and performed by one or a couple of institutions. The process of differentiation is then followed by the concomitant process of integration. Again, this theory of social differentiation was employed for the comparative diagnosis of development in developed and underdeveloped societies (Smelser, 1973).

Evolutionary Universals

In another contribution to social theory, Parsons (1964b) identified and described structural features of Western systems that enabled them to survive the process of societal development: bureaucratic organization, money, markets, democratic association, and a common legal system. These universals were prescribed as essential for modernization of underdeveloped societies as well. In sum, Western countries were treated as models of political, economic, social, and cultural modernization that Third World nations needed to emulate. The advanced Western nations had considerable systemic autonomy, that is, capacity to cope with a range of social, cultural, technological, and economic issues in the process of social change (Eisenstadt, 1976). The Third World nations, on the other hand, lacking the higher differentiation of roles and institutions, the evolutionary universals, and other qualitative characteristics of industrial societies, were limited in their capacity to cope with problems or master their environment.

Unilinear Model of Social Evolution

Just as Rostow (1960) articulated a universal path for economic development, Daniel Lerner's (1958) model occupies a special place in modernization theory. Lerner saw the dynamic of social development as a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting personalities; a growing mass media system to spread the ideas and attitudes of social mobility and change; the interaction of urbanization, literacy, and

industrialization; higher per capita income; and political participation. Lerner believed that these institutional developments (modeling Western nations) would lead to a takeoff toward modernization. Like other social theorists, Lerner saw systemic interconnections between the various institutional developments and regarded the process as universal. Lerner also suggested a psychological prerequisite among all individuals called *empathy*, which we will discuss in the next section.

MODERNIZATION AS INDIVIDUAL CHANGE

Modernization theories emphasizing evolutionary change were not necessarily at the macro level only. While social and institutional evolution were considered necessary for modernization, some argued that these could not occur unless individuals changed first (Weiner, 1966). Weiner believed that attitudinal and value changes among individuals were prerequisites for a modern, socioeconomic polity. However, the cause–effect relationship was hard to establish, and there was no categorical answer to whether attitudes or institutions change first. Nevertheless, all scholars in this disciplinary area believed that neither modern science and technology nor modern institutions could help succeed if the people therein remained traditional, uneducated, self-centered, or unscientific in their thinking and attitudes (Weiner, 1966).

McClelland (1966), Inkeles (1966), Hagen (1962), Lerner (1958), and Rogers (1969) were among those who emphasized individual values and attitudes as prerequisites for modernization. The intellectual source for this school of thought was Weber's (1958) thesis on the *Protestant Ethic* and the general trend in North American sociology toward value-normative complexes. However, Portes (1976) commented that while these scholars borrowed Weber's conceptualization, they did not necessarily use it within a proper historical–structural context. Weber's thesis on the *Protestant Ethic*⁵ was firmly anchored within the power relationships, structural constraints, and political–economic interests of Catholic Europe. Such was not the case with these writings regarding the value-normative complexes of individuals in Third World countries.

David McClelland (1966) was interested in identifying and measuring the variable that might be the impulse to modernize. Several questions interested him: Why did some nations *take off* into rapid economic growth while others stood still or declined? Why were the Greeks of 6th century BC very enterprising? Why did North America, inhabited by the English, develop faster than South America, occupied by Spaniards at about the same time? In other words, McClelland was interested in what impulse produced economic growth and modernization. What was this impulse and where did it originate?

McClelland (1966) hypothesized a *mental virus* that made people behave in a particularly energetic way. This virus received the name “n.Ach” or need for achievement. It was identified in a sample of a person’s thoughts, by examining whether or not the thoughts were about doing things better than they had been done before, that is, doing things more efficiently and faster with less labor. When the popular literature of a country was coded for the presence of n.Ach over long periods of time, it was found that there was a direct relation between the virus and economic growth. For example, the literature of the Greeks in 6th century BC had higher content of n.Ach than in later Greek literature. Similarly, the English literature of the 16th century had more n.Ach content than the Spanish literature of the same period. Could it be that the n.Ach virus might be a part of the impulse to economic growth? McClelland (1966) found that this became more apparent when a nation’s *infection level* with the virus was estimated by first coding the imaginative stories a country used to teach its very young children and then correlated with a spurt in economic activity a few years later. McClelland conducted an experiment in the city of Hyderabad, India, where a group of businessmen were *injected* with the virus via a 10-day self-development course (McClelland, 1966). Later, these men took their work more seriously, became innovative, and acquired a genuine desire to excel.

McClelland cautioned that n.Ach by itself was not enough. The other equally important input was social consciousness, that is, working for the common good. In sum, the impulse to modernize, according to McClelland, was partially personal, the n.Ach variable, and partially a social virtue, that is, interest in the welfare of others (McClelland, 1966).

Everett Hagen (1962) attempted to empirically determine measures that influenced entrepreneurial activity. He introduced the concept of

withdrawal of status respect, a complex psychoanalytic variable. Portes summarized Hagen's concept thus:

Humiliations resulting from status withdrawal 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' finally matures and is ready to do its work in society. (Portes, 1976: 70)

Thus, according to Hagen, creative individuals rejected traditional values, took on new roles, and became innovative. He provided examples of Soviet Russia, Japan, and Germany where economic development was sustained by creative individuals whose ancestors had suffered *withdrawal of status respect*. Clearly, according to Hagen, the impetus for socioeconomic development was provided by a psychological characteristic present in certain groups of people.

Daniel Lerner (1958) based a substantial part of his elaborate theory of modernization on social-psychological variables. At the heart of his model was a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting individuals. These individuals could be distinguished by their high capacity for identification with new aspects of their environment via a high level of participation in many facets of society and public life. Lerner called this attribute *empathy* which signified the capacity of a person to put himself/herself in another person's shoes. For example, he hypothesized that a Turkish goatherd would exhibit empathy if he could imagine himself as the president of his country or the editor of a newspaper. Lerner suggested the development of empathy as an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings. According to Lerner, "High empathic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate and *participant*" (1958: 50, emphasis in original).

Alex Inkeles (1966) developed his conceptual model of individual modernity based on research in six developing countries. He argued that the transformation of individuals was both a means to an end and an end in itself. Inkeles used nine attitude items to construct standard scales of modernity, which he later used to identify the character of the modern person: (a) readiness for new experiences and openness to innovation, (b) disposition to form and hold opinions, (c) democratic orientation, (d) planning habits, (e) belief in human and personal efficacy, (f) belief that the world is calculable, (g) stress on personal and

human dignity, (h) faith in science and technology, and (i) belief in distributive justice (Inkeles, 1969). These psychological characteristics delineated Inkeles' concept of the spirit of modernity, which he considered an essential prerequisite for economic growth.

Other scholars concerned with the role of value-normative complexes in modernization prepared exhaustive lists of the social-psychological attributes of modernity. Some of these were: mobility, high participation in organizations and the electoral process, interest articulation, interest aggregation, high ambitions for self and children, institutionalized political competition, secularism, appetite for national and international information, achievement motivation, desire for consumption of new goods and technology, preference for urban areas, new attitudes about wealth, work, savings, and possibility of change, desire for geographical mobility, socioeconomic and political discipline, and deferral of gratifications (Horowitz, 1970; Kahl, 1968; Portes, 1974; Schaiberg, 1970). It must be reiterated that all these social-psychological attributes came from observation and analysis of development and change in wealthier Western countries.

Everett Rogers (1969) studied peasants and subsistence farmers in India, Nigeria, and Colombia. He assumed that modernization could not occur unless peasants were individually and collectively persuaded to change their traditional life ways. Rogers' research indicated a *subculture of peasantry* that was characterized by 10 elements:

1. *Mutual distrust in interpersonal relations*: In general, peasants were suspicious, evasive, and distrustful of others in the community and noncooperative in interpersonal relations with peers.
2. *Perceived limited good*: Peasants believed that all good things in life are available in limited quantities. Thus, one could improve one's position only at somebody else's expense.
3. *Dependence and hostility toward government authority*: Peasants had an ambivalent attitude toward government officials. On the one hand, they depended upon them for solving many of their problems. However, there was a general distrust of government leaders.
4. *Familism*: The family played an important role in the life of the peasant. Peasants were prepared to subordinate their personal goals to those of the family.
5. *Lack of innovativeness*: Peasants were reluctant to adopt modern innovations, had a negative attitude toward change, and their

- behavior was not fully oriented toward rational economic considerations.
6. *Fatalism*: Peasants believed that their well-being was controlled by a supernatural fate. This had a dysfunctional consequence on directed social change.
 7. *Limited aspirations*: Peasants exhibited low aspirations for advancement. Also, they had low levels of achievement motivation and suffered from inconspicuous consumption.
 8. *Lack of deferred gratifications*: Peasants lacked the ability to postpone satisfaction of immediate needs in anticipation of better future rewards.
 9. *Limited view of the world*: Peasants were not time-conscious. Plus, they were localites.⁶ They were oriented within their communities and had no orientation to the world beyond their narrow group. Consequently, they had very limited geographic mobility.
 10. *Low empathy*: Peasants exhibited mental inertness. They could not imagine themselves in new situations or places.

Hence, like the others—Lerner, McClelland, Inkeles, and Hagen—Rogers' work argued that individuals must change before development could truly *take off*. The work also revealed an *individual blame* bias. This negative stereotype of traditional individuals, as unresponsive to calls for modernization, and hence in need of fundamental change in attitudes and lifeways, was the overwhelming perspective of the dominant paradigm, as espoused by these earlier theorists.

While few—if any—scholars today would promote individualistic, psychological theories of underdevelopment, more subtle forms of individual blame or related stereotypes are evident in much of the literature, including on women's roles in development. In her landmark review of Western scholarship on WID, Chandra Mohanty (1991b) argues that Western feminists “discursively colonize” the lives of women in developing countries and assume a “composite, singular ‘third world women’” (ibid.: 53). This monolithic woman is victimized by a “monolithic notion of patriarchy” as well (ibid.: 53–54). Mohanty discusses several areas of victim status commonly assumed by feminist scholars: of male violence, of the colonial process, of family systems, of the development process, and of religion and other facets of culture. Women also are assumed to be universal dependents. In general, feminist scholars globally have increasingly

critiqued the assumptions and conclusions of much Western scholarship as ethnocentric, even racist, and irrelevant to their concerns (Minh-ha, 1986–1987; Mohanty, 1991a, 1991b, 2003; Spivak, 1988). Hence, while explicit theories of individual inferiority are no longer promoted, the discourse of development often reveals ethnocentric and patriarchal beliefs about the disempowered status of people in developing countries and of demographic groups therein. As we will discuss next, this discourse has also helped create or reinforce internalized forms of oppression, which has further functioned to sustain underdevelopment.

MODERNIZATION AS DISCOURSE

Beyond models of economics and of social evolution, modernization is culture, ideology, and discourse. These concepts are difficult to define and are closely entwined. All involve nonmaterial symbols and representations, as well as the institutions that produce and influence these symbols and representations. *Culture* is arguably the broadest of the three terms, encompassing the other two. Raymond Williams (1976) calls culture “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (ibid.: 76).⁷ Anthropologist Edward Hall (1976) describes three major characteristics of culture: that culture is shared by members of groups, and helps define them, that culture is learned, not innate, and that this learning is interrelated (ibid.: 16).⁸ Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 1, culture is inseparable from communication, to the extent that communication is defined as shared meaning (see Carey, 1989).

Ideology, a theoretical concept from Marxian thought, usually refers to the social relations of signification or representation, in that these relations are connected to social location and economic class. In his landmark essay, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” Louis Althusser (1971) assumes an important role for ideological expression (e.g., in popular culture and in everyday language) in shaping and reinforcing human experience. To the extent that culture is class-based, ideology plays a major role in creating and sustaining culture.

Finally, the concept of *discourse*, as used in this book, has emerged largely from post-structuralism. While discourse may be defined simply as “verbal utterances of greater magnitude than the sentence”

(O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 92), post-structuralist thought assumes a key role for discourse in actively constructing meaning. In contrast to ideology theory, which usually assumes that economic and social structures are crucial in shaping meaning, post-structuralism (e.g., from Foucault, Saussure, and Derrida) assumes that material structures are meaningless except to the extent that they are given meaning by discourse. We do not take sides in this book on the relative importance of *things* versus *words*, nor is this the place for a detailed conceptual argument.⁹ Rather, we assume that discourse does contribute to ideology, to culture, and to all facets of society, and that modernization is importantly reflected in—and reflective of—discourse, ideology, and culture.

Role of Discourse in Modernization

Scholars offer an important critique of the modernity discourse, which has attempted to describe the process of modernization as the *universalizing* of Enlightenment principles (Gray, 1997; Tomlinson, 1999). Gray describes universalism as "...the metaphysical faith that local Western values are authoritative for all cultures and peoples" (Gray, 1997: 158). He goes on to argue that many elements of Westernization, for example, the capitalistic free market, were specific to the Western historical context and should not be seen as the inevitable destiny for all other economies. The teleological bias in such theories is what may have led Fukuyama (1992) to declare the *end of history*. It is the ethnocentrism embedded in such discourse that has led to a discursive manipulation bias, which is represented and sustained by the bipolar theories of modernization (see Table 3.1). Developing country societies are viewed as preconditions and the West presented as the end stage of development. This dualism "thus becomes the single, universal story of human development, thereby placing the West in the van of history...modernity seen as the cultural property of the West, and tradition as the defining cultural deficit of the rest" (Tomlinson, 1999: 64). The previously described models put forth by McClelland, Rostow, Lerner, and others echo this ethnocentric, universalizing, and teleological bias of modernization discourse. The discourse has created an "imaginary geography of the Orient as the binary opposite of core European cultural values and practices" (Said, 1985; Tomlinson, 1999: 74).

An examination of modernization discourse historically reveals the goal of replacing non-Western ideological, cultural, and even language systems with Western systems. In the decades that followed World War II, attempts were made to gradually replace or alter knowledge systems and existential realities of the people in the Third World by the concepts of progress and development imported from the West. Scholars consider US President Harry Truman's 1949 inaugural address as the symbolic watershed separating the earlier era of fascism and colonialism from the neocolonialism of the post-World War II period. While the earlier eras were painted discursively with a negative brush, the post-World War II era was associated with the mantra of *development* and a *fair deal* for the underdeveloped areas of the world (Truman, 1949).

Truman's policy provided the official framework to channel Western ideas of modernization and development to the newly constituted Third World nations. As previously discussed, this included Western concepts of science, technical knowledge, industrial production, and a capitalist–democratic form of government. As Escobar comments,

Third World countries thus became the target of new mechanisms of power embodied in endless programmes and “strategies.” Their economies, societies and cultures were offered up as new objects of knowledge that, in turn, created new possibilities for [acquiring] power. The creation of an enormous institutional network (from international organizations and universities to local development agencies) ensured the efficient functioning of the modernization apparatus. Once consolidated, it determined what could be said, thought, imagined; in short, it defined a perceptual domain, the space of development. (Escobar, 1995b: 214)

The modern and *developed* First World, the socialist Second World, and the *underdeveloped* Third World were conceived, in part, in this discourse, as discussed in Chapter 1. The diverse societies in the South, with different cultures, geographies, and histories were lumped into the overarching concept of the Third World; what held this group together was the imagined concept of *underdevelopment*. Thus, putting a twist on Edward Said's (1978) definition of the Orient, this development discourse enabled the West to manage the Third World, not just economically, politically, and socially, but also discursively and imaginatively (Crush, 1995).

Spatial Reach of Discursive Power

The new developmentalism facilitated institutional interventions in Third World countries, giving rise to greater mechanisms of control. In exchange for developing these countries and their economies, the everyday realities of people were transacted and translated into objects for scientific pursuit. Escobar (1984–1985: 387–390) identified the strategies that extended the power of centralized agencies and government departments to penetrate, organize, manage, and control Third World populations:

- The progressive incorporation of more and more issues into the framework of development problems consequently led to the emergence of new fields of intervention for development experts.
- The professionalization of development into new fields of knowledge, disciplines, and careers resulted in establishing the nature of the Third World, and in formulating policies for a future designed within the logic of Western economic rationality.
- The institutionalization of development on global, national, regional, and local levels with the respective development institutions as implementers of centrally devised development policies had the effect of creating a tight network and system of regulatory controls down to village level in the South.

The discursive practice of development articulated knowledge and power through the ideological construction of social problems (Wilkins, 1999). According to Braidotti et al. (1994: 23), “Birth rates and infant mortality were identified as too high, literacy rates as too low and so on, with the effect that the objects of the development discourse came to see themselves along the lines set out for them by Western development experts.”

Soon, individuals in so-called underdeveloped countries started imagining their *underdevelopment*. Their physical and social realities were produced and reproduced in the dialectic of development and underdevelopment, “marginalizing or precluding other ways of seeing and doing” (Escobar, 1992: 22). Apparently, a space was created and constantly produced and reproduced through the representative knowledge derived from the scientific control or neocolonization

of these countries and their people (Escobar, 1992). Thus, development was reduced to “mapping and making, (it was) about the spatial reach of power and the control and management of other peoples, territories, environments and places” (Crush, 1995: 7). The discursive and spatial reality of development was present in all countries of the South: governments and institutions devising five-year plans for development, foreign and domestic experts defining and analyzing development problems in cities and rural areas, and generous international loans to facilitate development projects. In short, one could not escape *development* in the Third World.

Through every possible mechanism—economic, political, social, discursive, and spatial—modernization aimed to replace nearly everything indigenous with imports from the West, both material and nonmaterial. This meant a dismantling of traditional culture, including religion, which often was regarded as the greatest impediment to progress. It also included indigenous gender roles, to be replaced by Western norms. And, it included indigenous views on environment and land use, also to be replaced by Western values. Hence, we conclude this section with a very brief discussion of modernization discourse in three areas: religion, gender, and environment.

Religious Bias in Modernization Discourse

Oriental values and religions were seen as a bulwark of traditionalism and a repository of ideas that were incompatible with modernity (Weber, 1964). Islam was criticized for its tradition-bound rigidity, Hinduism for its asceticism, and Buddhism for its other-worldly emphasis. Following Max Weber’s thesis in *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, several generations of sociologists sought to identify a set of cultural values in Third World nations that inhibited modernization. In general, Asian—and other non-Christian (especially non-Protestant)—religions were seen as obstacles to progress (Bellah, 1965; Rose, 1970). Commenting on Weber’s interpretation of Asian religions, Singer noted:

In his studies of India, China, and Asia generally, where he did not see anything resembling the development of European industrial capitalism, Weber reasoned that the religions of those countries must lack the counterparts of a *Protestant Ethic* that would provide the characterological

foundation for the economic motivation required, as one among several factors, to spark and foster a development of industrial capitalism. (Singer, 1972: 275–276)

For example, Weber identified the theological ideas of *samsara* (rebirth) and *karma* (fate) as the dogmatic foundation of Hinduism. When combined with caste ritualism, they made it impossible to rationalize the economy and inhibited the capacity for progress or modernization. The encouragement of asceticism was also perceived as a major problem. Shankara's philosophy of *advaita*, which called for the renunciation of this world for an otherworldly asceticism, was considered synonymous with Hindu theology. Shankara's concept of Hinduism was, therefore, criticized as life-negating and pessimistic by evangelizing Christians who sought to prove the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism (Srinivas, 1973).

Weber's ideas were extended to provide a recipe for the modernization of India. This called for the jettisoning of the caste system, the joint family, ritualism, and almost all other cultural arrangements, practices, institutions, and beliefs characteristic of Hinduism (Singer, 1972). In fact, Rose contended that it is these practices and institutions that kept India economically backward. The joint family system, according to Rose, fostered dependency and submissiveness, whereas casteism hampered occupational mobility. Beliefs in superstitions and magic were rampant even among educated Indians. Related to these *irrational* behaviors were others that were just as uneconomical. It was (and remains) common in Asia to spend extravagant amounts of money for occasions such as marriage celebrations and religious festivals (Rose, 1970). Most of these expenditures did not contribute to a rationalized economy.

In general, the materialist assumptions of modernization have been incompatible with religious and spiritual dimensions of society and culture. As we will discuss later in Chapters 7 and 8, religion and spirituality have generally been overlooked as positive resources for development. Instead, they have been viewed as areas of resistance that need to be overcome through creative strategizing.

Gender Bias in Development Discourse

Western views of gender roles in relation to the public–private sphere distinction also have greatly influenced development discourses.

Modernization exported a Western capitalist model in which the male breadwinner headed the family unit while the woman raised children and managed the household. Western conceptions of Third World women as victims of religion and culture, previously noted, meant that the combination of gender and religion further marginalized women in the development process. These overlapping views helped guide institutional practices and interventions. Young (1993: 19) posits:

When women were explicitly considered, it was virtually always as mothers and childbearers. It was further assumed that everyone's interest would be best served by helping women improve the way in which they cared for their children and catered for the family's needs. As a result, family welfare programmes were devised which gave women instruction in home economics, in improved nutrition, health, and hygiene.

The restricted role for WID influenced initiatives that rendered them virtually invisible in most development projects. Males were assumed to be engaged in income-generating economic initiatives. The modernization bias toward production for the market, thus, ignored women's economic roles and female-dominated ventures in agriculture, industry, marketing, and the service sectors (Boserup, 1970). Since women were perceived as playing an insignificant role in the marketplace, their position in development discourse was reduced to that of a welfare recipient (Kabeer, 1994). This notion was directly influenced by the 19th century European Poor Laws (Moser, 1989). Under the Poor Laws, anyone who did not perform a productive role in the marketplace was viewed as a failure and his/her basic needs then became the responsibility of welfare/charity organizations. Thus, in the discourse of development, women were relegated to the social welfare sector that was of marginal utility to development.

Development discourse, then, created an imaginary Third World woman who was passive, dependent, and ignorant, that is, a victim of underdeveloped societies (de Groot, 1991; Mohanty, 1991b). This discourse was accepted uncritically by most government officials and development workers in the Third World. In short, women were seen as an impediment to the modernization of societies in the South. "Consequently, development theory and practice in the first two postcolonial decades (the 1950s and 1960s) ignored women on the assumption that they would eventually be forced to adopt a more

'progressive' stance toward development once the modernization process had been set in motion" (Parpart, 1995: 257).

Beginning in the 1970s, however, women globally began organizing for change, incorporating their agendas into global conferences and treaties and new WID and gender-and-development branches of aid agencies. These critiques and areas of activism are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Androcentric View of Nature in Development Discourse

The early views about nature may be described as androcentric. Western scientific method, with its roots in Enlightenment philosophy and the experiments of Bacon in the early 17th century, regarded nature as an object that was to be subjugated and exploited for instrumental purposes. The logic of scientific rationality in development discourse vis-à-vis environment and nature has been to regard the natural world as a dead and brute matter waiting for man to shape and exploit it for his own needs. "The discipline of scientific knowledge, and the mechanical inventions it leads to, do not merely exert a gentle guidance over nature's course; they have the power to conquer and subdue her, to shake her to her foundations" (Fox-Keller, 1985: 38–39).

With the ushering in of industrialization and its concomitant processes of commodity production, nature evolved from being a brute matter to a natural resource. Thus, the value of nature was its singular capacity to feed the voracious appetite of the development machine. Devoid of logic or intelligence of its own, it was the *knowing* scientist who possessed the rationality, competence, and power to understand the opaque structure of nature and exploit it for instrumental ends. In this way, the scientific method in development discourse revealed its colonizing approach over nature (Braidotti et al., 1994; Fox-Keller, 1985).

In the latter part of the 20th century, the degradation of nature and resource depletion due to its rapacious exploitation for development became obvious. Nature is, after all, a complex ecological system capable of breakdown with disastrous consequences to humankind. The institutional discourse then moved from mere exploitation to responsible management. Today, *sustainable development* or *sustainable environment* is the key phrase to describe the relationship of the

development machine with environment. The discourse of sustainable development adopted by mainstream organizations is couched in the technical language of systems theory and is defined, analyzed, managed, and controlled by development experts who claim an epistemologically superior position in the debate on scarcity of natural resources and sustainability of the natural environment.

The vulnerability of nature has thrown open a new area for institutions of development to intervene, manage, regulate, and govern. As Sachs (1992: 33) explains,

[T]o carry out these formidable objectives, the state has to install the necessary institutions like monitoring systems, regulatory mechanisms and executive agencies. A new class of professionals is required to perform these tasks, while ecoscience is supposed to provide the epistemology of intervention. In short, the experts who used to look after economic growth now claim to be presiding over survival itself.

A good example is the discourse of population control and management, an area where the discourse of gender and the discourse of environment merge. Neo-Malthusians such as Paul Ehrlich (1968) and the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* (Meadows, 1972) explained the problem of underdevelopment and endemic poverty in the countries of the South in terms of the reckless growth in population, especially among the poor. Malthus (1766–1834) wrote about the limits to population growth in Europe imposed by agriculture. He postulated that while agricultural output increased in arithmetic progression, population would increase in geometric progression, thus, leading to a vicious cycle of underdevelopment. In the modernization discourse following World War II, economists using the Malthusian hypothesis blamed the sluggish development in the Third World on the explosion in population growth, which encouraged a spate of antenatal programs in the South (Braidotti et al., 1994). Thus, the articulation of high fertility rates in the South was defined as a problem of crisis proportions in the countries of the South and the prime reason for the overexploitation of the environment. As it is women who bear children, women's fertility was discursively blamed for overpopulation and all resulting problems (e.g., environmental degradation and unemployment). Women became the *targets* of innumerable projects to technologically control their fertility (Jaquette and Staudt, 1985).

Toward the end of the 20th century, the new aggressive role of the state, development institutions, and private industry to carefully husband natural resources for development opened an era of neo-developmentalism. “Today, survival of the planet is well on its way to becoming the wholesale justification for a new wave of state intervention in people’s lives all over the world” (Sachs, 1992: 33). These interventions and their accompanying discourses must be continuously examined and challenged. The dominant paradigm remains dominant in part by appropriating, transforming, minimizing, or otherwise manipulating and neutralizing its critics. This is an issue we will discuss further in Chapter 5.

GLOBALIZATION

You can’t “go” “home” again. (McLuhan and Fiore, 1967: 16)

Modernity today is not well understood, and the social sciences have been of little help as they have been largely stuck in functionalistic, nationalistic, evolutionary, teleological, and Western perspectives on social development and change. Sociology, political science, and economics have been criticized for their embedded statism, which some critics contend characterizes the scholarship of mainstream social sciences (Taylor, 1996; Tomlinson, 1999). Embedded statism or nation-state-centric bias describes a conceptualization that focuses on one type of spatiality (i.e., nation state), which “has marginalized alternative spatial conceptions of the social world” (Tomlinson, 1999: 104). The imaginary concept of a nation has been reified to the extent that it is viewed similarly to natural spatial phenomena such as river basins, mountains, or deserts (Beck, 2002; Chalaby, 2005; Robins and Aksoy, 2005; Taylor 1996; Tomlinson, 1999).

Today, modernity under globalization has been unhinged from the locus of the nation state. It is characterized by extreme connectivity, which has been greatly influenced and fostered by modern institutions. While processes of globalization arguably have been going on for many decades, the concept of globalization remained obscure well into the mid-1980s. In classical sociological theory, the connotation of a society was that of a *bounded system*, a system with

its own inner unity (Giddens, 1990). In these descriptions, the effects of the ontological characteristics of time and space were inadequately analyzed. Since the 1990s, scholarly analyses of globalization and an explication of its dynamic features and effects have been prolific. Problematizing time and space factors and examining how societies bind them and situate themselves within these characteristics has given rise to a deeper identification, analysis, and understanding of many of the distinctive features of globalization (ibid.). Some of the more prominent social science and culture studies scholars who have provided us with ideas and critiques of globalization include Harvey (1989), Giddens (1990), Appadurai (1990), Robertson (1992), Beck (1992, 2002), Waters (1995), Tomlinson (1999), Robins and Aksoy (2005), Wimmer and Schiller (2002), and Chalaby (2005).

In this section, we will first define globalization and describe its dynamic features in a historic context. These include its relation with time and space, disembedding character, and reflexivity. Second, we focus on the ways in which globalization has changed our views on connectivity and proximity. Finally, we discuss globalization's rejection of reductivism. Our discussion of reductivism requires attention to critical perspectives on globalization, including postcolonial critiques.

Theories and Concepts in Globalization

Definitions of Globalization

Definitions of globalization extend McLuhan's and Innis's prophetic vision, which we introduced in Chapter 1. Waters (1995: 3) defines globalization as "a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding." Giddens (1990: 64) in his seminal essay on globalization defines it as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." Tomlinson (1999: 2) refers to globalization as "the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life." Robertson (1992: 8) provides the following definition, "Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and

the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” In sum, these descriptions reference globalization as complex connections among people, communities, institutions, and places, and an intensification of relations around the globe by networks of communication, transport, and influence. Therefore, in attempting to articulate globalization theory, an important objective is to begin by identifying and understanding the sources of these complex connections and networks and discuss their influence on social, cultural, economic, and political relations around the globe.

Dynamic Features of Globalization

Giddens (1990) distinguishes three important and interconnected sources of the dynamism of globalization that drive and reinforce its complex connections and relationships: separation of time from place, development of disembedding mechanisms, and the reflexivity inherent in globalization.

Time, Place, and Space. Similar to McLuhan’s ideas that we discussed in Chapter 1, globalization derives its dynamic character from the transformation of the relationship between the social and ontological categories of time and place. In premodern cultures, time was intrinsically related to a place or an activity. For example, morning was when one went to work in the fields and evening was when one returned home from the fields. It was difficult to tell time without connecting it with some local geographic markers or social activity. Naturally, time calculation was imprecise. A modern statement such as: “I will meet you at 5 minutes past 3:00 p.m.” would have been meaningless in premodern communities. In fact, the measurement of time in intervals of minutes would have been incomprehensible and alien to social life. Time, then, was a rich concept since it was tied to a local place, cultural or social activity, and conveyed a certain quality of experience with reality.

The invention of the mechanical clock and its diffusion and adoption in society drained the richness of the concept of time. It was now measured in uniform units on a scale; it became *empty* time as it was no longer connected to the particularities of a place or social activity. The separation of time from place freed one from the particularities of a local area and ushered further transformations in the relationship between time and place. Soon, times across large

geographical regions within a nation state were made uniform and later standardized globally. The Greenwich Mean Time was recognized as the standard for the worldwide system. Eventually, calendars were standardized too. The separation of time from local events and particularities hastened forms of coordination at the global level, laying the groundwork for modes of transport and communication such as the passenger railways and the telegraph. Importantly, the global standardization of time allowed “the stable organization of human activity across vast temporal and spatial distances...a prerequisite for globalization” (Waters, 1995: 49). Giddens (1990) and Tomlinson (1999) argue that the coordination of time across large spaces soon led to the control of space and new forms of domination.

Giddens (1990) extends the phenomenon of *empty time* to the concept of *empty space*. Essentially, empty space refers to the separation of space from place. Unlike mere space, place is a geographically located physical setting, a site for social interactions (usually face-to-face) in premodern settings, termed *relations of presence*. Globalization “tears space away from place by fostering relations between ‘absent’ others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction” (Giddens, 1990: 18). An important point is that spaces can accommodate relations between the *absent* (i.e., people not in their physical embodiment) as well as the *present* (i.e., people in flesh and blood). Giddens explains as follows:

... place becomes increasingly phantasmagoric, that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the “visible form” of the locale conceals the distanced relations which determines its nature. (1990: 19)

In a nutshell, the idea of globalization encapsulates the feeling of being *in here* and *out there* at the same time (Giddens, 1990). A good example is the modern-day home. Homes are equipped with the usual mailbox to receive postal mail, possibly (though decreasingly) a daily newspaper, a landline, and/or cellular telephone, radio, television (usually connected to a satellite dish or cable), and computers connected to the Internet and the World Wide Web through fast broadband. Homes today are, thus, sites for local as well as distant relations (Morley, 1992). Digital ICTs such as smartphones and social networking websites connect people and institutions globally

in a web of real-time interactions and transactions, thus, seamlessly facilitating relations across vast spaces with *absent* others.

The separation of time from place acts as a solvent for the globalizing dynamic in other important ways. Giddens (1990: 20) delineates three mechanisms:

- The separation of time and place cut through the connections between social interactions and their embedding in a particular place, thus, resulting in disembedded social systems in which all social activities or interactions do not emanate from particularities of *real* physical contexts. In globalization, disembedded systems have the potential to significantly extend the scope of time-space distanced relations depending on how time and space are coordinated and recombined through the agency of modern organizations and modern nation states.
- In the present epoch of globalization, modern institutions have the capacity to combine and coordinate time and space. In this way, they can connect local places with each other and connect local with the global in myriad ways, thus, having a profound effect on the lives and livelihoods of people around the globe. A good example is the 2008 economic crisis that started in the US due to irregularities in the housing mortgage market that soon engulfed the country and spread its toxic effects to banks and economies of several countries around the world. Though the problem started in the US, the negative effects were felt worldwide almost immediately.
- Other phenomena include the modes available to intrude into the ontological categories of time and space. We have previously noted standardization of calendars and geographic spaces, which give modern institutions the ability to appropriate a unitary past. “[T]he unitary past is one which is worldwide; time and space are recombined to form a genuinely world-historical framework of action and experience” (Giddens, 1990: 21).

Disembedding of Social Systems. Earlier, we referenced the concept of *disembedding*. Borrowing from Giddens (1990), we now define it as “the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space.” Tomlinson (1999: 55) asserts that “this is an important idea for understanding the inherently globalizing nature of modernity

and more broadly for grasping the cultural experience of globalization.” In essence, this means that our day-to-day experiences are affected by events, products, interactions, and processes that occur remotely. From a cultural point of view, this constitutes a paradigmatic shift in the context of meaning construction that can include identity, as well as one’s relationship and experience with local places (Tomlinson, 1999).

Let us examine a hypothetical case of an imaginary North American person described in Box 3.1. This example highlights the nature of disembedding and deterritorialization in an almost mundane manner and shows the difficulty of maintaining a *local* identity “as our daily lives become more and more interwoven with, and penetrated by, influences and experiences that have their origins far away” (ibid.: 113). In contemporary times, the disembedding of people from their immediate local contexts is exponentially accelerated by digital media and the global economy. Round the clock, global news contributes significantly, affecting the average citizen in at least two ways:

First, some of them will have direct effects on people’s immediate material conditions and environments.... But, more broadly, such events may add to the extension of the individual’s “phenomenal world:” people probably come to include distant events and processes more routinely in their perceptions of what is significant for their own personal lives. (ibid.: 114–115)

Box 3.1

Mundane Deterritorialization

Our solid American citizen awakens in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East but which was modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. He throws back covers made from cotton, domesticated in India, or linen domesticated in the Near East, or silk, the use which was discovered in China. All of these materials have been spun and woven by processes invented in the Near East. He slips into his moccasins, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands, and goes to the bathroom, whose fixtures are a mixture of European and American inventions, both of recent date. He takes off his pajamas,

(Box 3.1 contd.)

(Box 3.1 contd.)

a garment invented in India, and washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. He then shaves, a masochistic rite, which seems to have been derived from either Sumer or ancient Egypt. Returning to the bedroom, he removes his clothes from a chair of southern European type and proceeds to dress. He puts on garments whose form originally derived from the skin clothing of the nomads of the Asiatic steppes, puts on shoes made from skins tanned by a process invented in ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern derived from the classic civilizations of the Mediterranean, and ties around his neck a strip of bright-colored cloth which is a vestigial survival of the shoulder shawls worn by the seventeenth-century Croats. Before going out to breakfast, he glances through the window, made of glass invented in Egypt, and if it is raining, puts on overshoes made of rubber discovered by the Central American Indians and takes an umbrella, invented in southeastern Asia. Upon his head he puts a hat made of felt, a material invented in the Asiatic steppes. On his way to breakfast, he stops to buy a paper, paying for it with coins, an ancient Lydian invention. At the restaurant, a whole new series of borrowed elements confronts him. His plate is made of a form of pottery invented in China. His knife is of steel, an alloy first made in southern India, his fork a medieval Italian invention, and his spoon a derivative of a Roman original. He begins breakfast with an orange, from the eastern Mediterranean, a cantaloupe from Persia, or perhaps a piece of African watermelon. With this he has coffee, an Abyssinian plant, with cream and sugar. Both the domestication of cows and the idea of milking them originated in the Near East, while sugar was first made in India. When our friend has finished eating, he settles back to smoke, an American Indian habit, consuming a plant domesticated in Brazil in either a pipe, derived from the Indians of Virginia, or a cigarette, derived from Mexico. While smoking, he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles, he will, if he is a good, conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 percent American (Linton, 1936: 326–327).

Source: Compiled from Linton, 1936.

Globalization effects are seen as universal and essentially placeless. Critics argue that the valorization of concepts such as deterritorialization and disembedding have led to an erasure of place in the political economy of globalization. The de-emphasis on the importance of the local place is seen by some as progress, but others see it as a double-edged issue: "In globalization discourses, finally, an asymmetry exists between the global and the local, in which the global becomes associated with capital, space, history, agency, and the capacity to transform and change, while the local becomes associated with place, labor, and stagnation" (Escobar, 2000: 167).

Giddens (1990) identifies two disembedding mechanisms that serve to lift social relations from particularities of a local context and stretch them out across great spaces and time: symbolic tokens and expert systems. Symbolic tokens constitute mechanisms of exchange that can be moved around independently of specific individual or spatial characteristics at any given time. An easy example is money. "Money permits the exchange of anything for anything, regardless of whether the goods involved share any substantive qualities in common with one another" (*ibid.*: 22). Thus, agents can use money to make transactions across space and time. In the epoch of globalization, money is no more just paper currency or coins but increasingly lodged as zeros and ones in a digital code. As such, it takes on a new character. The pure digital information lodged in smart machines does not move around physically through time or space like the conventional paper currency or coins. Its movement can be nearly instantaneous, given the speed of sending digital information without regard to spatial location. Money, then, is a powerful disembedding mechanism, lifting out social transactions from any place and stretching it out globally. Nation states play a vital role in this disembedding process, since they are usually the guarantors of the value of money. In globalization, an important form of disembedding is the vast and ubiquitous market, usually of the capitalistic variety, and global in its reach and influence. Tomlinson (1999: 57) summarizes it well by describing "global modernity as the increasing structuring of social existence in relation to webs of rationalized organizations, inevitably opening our local lifeworlds up to distant—ultimately global—influences."

The second disembedding mechanism is institutionalized expertise. Today, almost everything around us is governed by institutional

and/or technical expertise. For example, the electricity that flows from the grids to our homes, the construction of our homes or the appliances we use, and the software and hardware of the ubiquitous computer or smartphone, are designed and governed by expert systems. They have validity that is independent of the producer or the user. They work more or less reliably regardless of place. In globalization, we interact with expert systems in similar ways, thus, lifting out social relations from the particularities of context. For example, repairing a Sony or Samsung television set would be the same whether in Kingston, Jamaica, or in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. “An expert system disembeds in the same way as symbolic tokens, by providing ‘guarantees’ of expectations across distanced time–space” (Giddens, 1990: 28). Taken together, symbolic tokens and expert systems now penetrate places by others who may not share the local place but are a part of the global space.

Giddens’ account of the disembedding phenomena puts symbolic tokens and expert systems into two watertight categories. This creates some confusion when one attempts to categorize television, which could “count as a symbolic token on account of the generalizable ‘currency’ of its formal representations, or as an expert system on account of its technology and institutional organization” (Tomlinson, 1999: 59). As a cultural medium though, television through its news, talk, entertainment, and information programs certainly globalizes our experience. This process has accelerated through mediated experiences via ICTs ranging from the ubiquitous television to the Internet and other smart gadgets. Giddens defines mediated experience as “the involvement of temporally/spatially distant influences with human sensory experience” (Giddens, 1990: 243). The media, therefore, act as symbolic tokens for knitting time and space together through their generalized representations of global news and culture. “The media convert the contents of human relationships into symbols or tokens that can connect people across great distances. So effective can this process become that communities of interest or value commitment can develop between people who have never met” (Waters, 1995: 150).

Waters (1995) calls these blocs *simulated communities*. Later, we will discuss the potential of such simulated power blocs to indulge in cosmopolitan politics and struggle.

Reflexivity in Globalization. Scholars such as Beck (1992) and Giddens (1990) introduced the importance of reflexivity in the global epoch. Giddens describes the reflexivity of humans as the “capacity we all have to be constantly aware of ourselves as acting in the process of acting” (Tomlinson, 1999: 25). In global society, we are constantly seeking *expert* opinion on matters ranging from the mundane to the esoteric. Child rearing, the quantity and variety of foods to eat to stay healthy, and frequency and duration of physical exercise are just a few topics that we constantly learn and relearn by reading books, browsing the web, using social media, mimesis, watching television, or via specialized education.

In the epoch of globalization, the defining character of rational organizations is one of incessant institutional reflexivity. Tomlinson (1999) argues that it is this reflexive mechanism of institutions vis-à-vis the “inputs from human agents that marks the peculiar dynamism of modern social life” (ibid.: 25). It connects myriad individual actions in different local contexts with global structures and processes at all levels. The cost of gasoline (petrol) in the US may be dependent on the political tensions in the Middle East, while the value of stocks in Singapore is affected by an economic crisis in Europe, an oil spill in the Pacific Ocean leads to a social movement against drilling in another part of the globe, and so on. This describes the local–global dialectic, which is a defining characteristic of globalization. Thus, it takes us back to the definition of globalization that we started with, which is a complex set of connections between people, communities, institutions, and places and an intensification of relations around the globe by networks of communication, transport, and influence.

Many have used the term *glocal* to reference the localization of global products and influences, via the localized adaptations of globally standardized products and ideas or even the construction of new products and ideas drawing on outside constructs (see Robertson, 1995; Straubhaar, 2007). Others have proposed more nuanced concepts and analyses, such as *translocalism* (Kraidy and Murphy, 2008), which draws on Geertz (1973) to go further in accounting for power as well as the possibility of resistance: “The local needs to be understood as the space where global forces become recognizable in form and practice as they are enmeshed in local human subjectivity and social agency” (Kraidy and Murphy, 2008: 339).

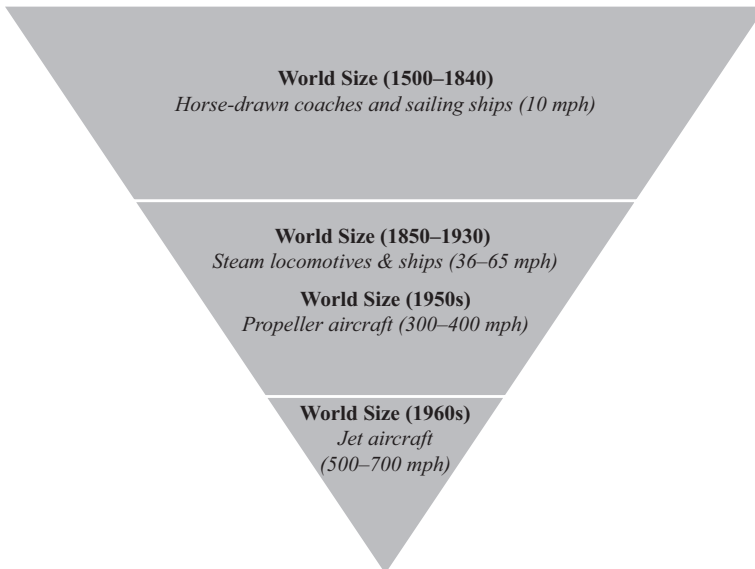
Connectivity and Proximity in Globalization

Aside from the dynamic features of globalization, many scholars have observed greatly enhanced spatial proximity or compression under globalization. Others have referred to this phenomenon as the *annihilation of space by time* or as *time-space compression* (Harvey, 1989). Figure 3.1 shows the annihilation of space by time through innovations in transport. The notion of global proximity is, thus, an important construct in the discourse of globalization. While Harvey has used innovations in transportation to show the shrinking of space by time, digital technologies in the 21st century have annihilated space altogether with their instantaneous delivery of data across the globe.

Many students of globalization prefer Harvey's (1989) concept of space compression by time over the idea of time-space distancing as articulated by Giddens (1990). New communication and information

Figure 3.1

Representation of Harvey's (1989) *Shrinking of Space by Time* by Speedier Transportation



Source: Authors.

technologies and online social networks that totally annihilate spatial distances due to instantaneous communication capabilities present a more phenomenologically accurate picture of the global trend compared with the stretching of relationships across vast spaces.¹⁰

Globalization's Rejection of Reductivism

Scholars contend that the complexity of globalization does not lend itself well to reductivism or monocausal explanations of change. "Global phenomena are, of their essence, complex and multidimensional, putting pressure on the conceptual frameworks by which we have traditionally grasped the social world" (Tomlinson, 1999: 14). Thus, a distinctive feature of globalization as conceptualized by many scholars is the rejection of reductivism, which has been a dominant characteristic of other paradigms (Appadurai, 1990; Beck, 2000). For example, in Marxism, the central object of explanatory critique is capitalism, and in sociology, for many years, it was industrialization (for Durkheim) and bureaucracy (for Weber). Such single-factor causal hypotheses misrepresent and dilute the complexity of globalization. "The various autonomous logics of globalization—the logics of ecology, culture, economics, politics and civil society—exist side by side and cannot be reduced or collapsed one into another" (Beck, 2000: 11). In the area of global media studies, this renders naïve many of Schiller's (1970, 1976) and others' claims about the impact of Western imperialism on developing countries, a theory that was popular in the second half of the 20th century.

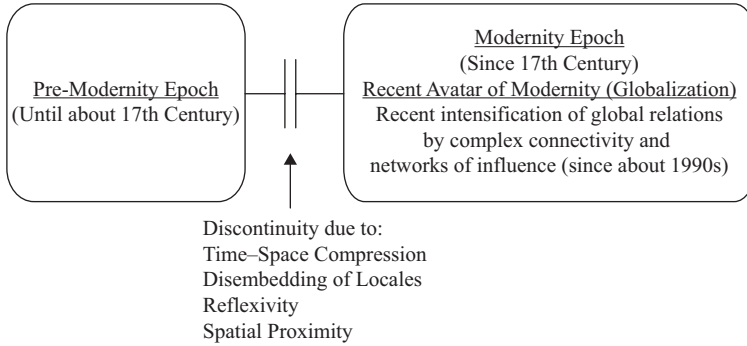
However, the trajectories that the processes of globalization have taken in the last few decades and their outcomes have attracted trenchant criticism (Ellwood, 2002; Gautney, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Peet, 2007; Sparks, 2007; Stiglitz, 2012; Tabb, 2002; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Many writers posit that the rejection of reductivism in globalization theories is inaccurate. On the contrary, critics contend that contemporary globalization is driven primarily by economic factors, which are controlled or influenced by powerful institutions and nation states. "Indeed, we might argue that, a priori, the dependence of cultural upon economic factors has accelerated in the present epoch because of the increasing incorporation of areas of human life directly into the world market" (Sparks, 2007: 154). In many respects, the economic and political inequalities brought by modernization have continued and even accelerated under globalization.

The interdisciplinary field of postcolonial scholarship likewise addresses continued and exacerbated asymmetrical power dynamics under globalization, while avoiding a monocausal critique. Specifically, postcolonial studies aim to critically and empirically examine and theorize “the problematics of colonization and decolonization” within an “emancipatory political stance” (Shome and Hegde, 2002: 250). Colonization in the 18th century greatly increased intercultural and interracial contact that had begun in the eras of exploration and missionary ventures much earlier. Said (1978) was pivotal in introducing the concept of *orientalism*, which drew on Gramsci’s hegemony and Foucault’s theory of discourse and power, to expose a discourse of postcolonial oppression that constructed the East as inferior to the West. While the orientalism concept worked well prior to globalization with clearer East–West and North–South divides, it was inadequate to conceptualize the complexities of globalization characterized by factors we have discussed, including the rise of global markets, media privatization, shrinking space due to global mobility, technological expansion, and social media, alongside many other global dynamics, including expressions of extreme resistance via religious polarization and terrorism (Garcia, 1995; Shome and Hegde, 2002; Steeves, 2008). Postcolonial scholars today aim to contribute by carefully historicizing their empirical and ethnography work with attention to both local and global contexts and by drawing on perspectives from multiple critical traditions, including—but by no means limited to—neo-Marxian traditions (see Garcia, 1995; Kraidy, 2007; Kraidy and Murphy, 2008; Parameswaran, 2002; Shome and Hegde, 2002; Steeves, 2008).

Modernity and Globalization

We present in Figure 3.2 a representation of the historical context of globalization. The structural transitions facilitated by modernity such as the social organization of time–space, the disembedding of social systems, and the extreme reflexivity of modern institutions and individuals set it apart from premodernity. Without claiming any evolutionary and predetermined causal tenets for the processes of change, globalization represents a recent avatar of modernity (Giddens, 1990; Tomlinson, 1999). It is characterized by intensification of the factors mentioned above by new ICTs and speedier transportation

Figure 3.2
Historical Context of Globalization



Source: Authors.

mechanisms, leading to an intensification of global relationships by networks of information and influence. Yet, it is not separate and distinct from modernity. However, some argue that accounts viewing globalization as a phenomenon beyond and distinct from modernity are guilty of the same error made by social evolutionists who subscribed to a Social Darwinist grand narrative explanation of social change (Albrow, 1997; Bauman, 1998).

We, however, do not subscribe to the view that globalization is a distinct stage beyond modernity because under globalization, we do not see new and unique types of social institutions that are fundamentally different from those of the modernization epoch. The major institutions or solvents of modernity such as the capitalistic nation state, industrialism, and military order are still around and dominant. The ways of social life and types of social organization today are still influenced by modern institutions (Giddens, 1990). We are still very much in the period of modernity but witnessing a phase of its radicalization. We see globalization as a radical version of modernity.

CONCLUSION

Globalization has profoundly altered the role of the nation state in development and changed our perspectives on how we relate to one another and do our work. A critical understanding of development

under the new modernity of globalization ideally requires a multi-disciplinary, empirical, context-based approach that accounts for the complex dynamics of local and global power. This reality sets the stage for a critical examination of globalization and media for development, as well as its potentialities within the process of directed change. We will follow up with these concerns in the final chapters, particularly in terms of empowerment and social justice. We will describe and evaluate ideas and strategies for empowering marginalized groups and consequently the need for DSC to identify and examine communicative actions for social justice outcomes at the local, national, and global levels.

NOTES

1. This is defined as a strategy where little importance is paid to the use of human labor in development.
2. This biases the researcher to positivistic methods. According to this classification, an activist research scholar who adopts an interpretive methodology is biased and fails to maintain his/her distance from the phenomenon under examination.
3. GATT has been replaced by the WTO.
4. Dualisms of the Enlightenment include: objectivity versus subjectivity, reason versus emotion, public sphere versus private sphere, technology versus nature, and activity versus passivity. In each case, the left half is considered superior and also associated with the world of science and with men and masculinity. The right half is associated with the world of nature and with femininity.
5. Some scholars claim that this term was taken out of context from Weber's writings and became essentially a front for anti-Catholic prejudice (Fernandez-Armesto, 2014).
6. These are individuals who are oriented within their communities and not the outside world.
7. Williams assumes a web of significance among many facets of nonmaterial and material culture, including lifestyles, modes, and processes of intellectual, spiritual, and artistic work, and the concrete products of all this work.
8. We thank Christine Kellow (1998: 26) for suggesting this synopsis in Hall.
9. For an excellent conceptual discussion of these issues, see Michèle Barrett's chapter "Words and Things," in Barrett (1999).
10. The shrinking of space is phenomenological rather than the literal truth. The world has not shrunk literally but since we measure distance by time taken to travel between two points, it appears as if space has shrunk.

CHAPTER 4

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION IN MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

The present era is certainly one of directed contact change caused by outsiders who, on their own or as representatives of programs of planned change, seek to introduce new ideas in order to achieve definite goals.

Rogers (1969: 6)

This chapter is devoted to studying the various communication approaches used for development in the early development decades under the modernization paradigm. The chapter additionally examines media in today's globalized world, as globalization has raised new challenges and opportunities for devcom.

Historically, most media and communication practice and scholarship in devcom has been consistent with the modernization theory, discussed in Chapter 3. At both the macro and micro levels, media and communication have been viewed as products and reinforcers of economic growth and development. At the macro level, communication scholars aligned with this perspective support global and national policies that facilitate so-called *free flows* of media and information technology (IT), content (news, advertising, entertainment, messages, data), and hardware, as they view these products as crucial for Third World development and participation in the global economy. At the micro level, they support persuasive marketing campaigns (in areas such as agriculture, population, and health) as the most efficient means to transform traditional individuals and societies.

Four interrelated conceptual as well as operational areas that have contributed greatly to an understanding of the social–scientific foundations of mass communication in general and devcom in particular, and their historic role in modernization theory and practice, may

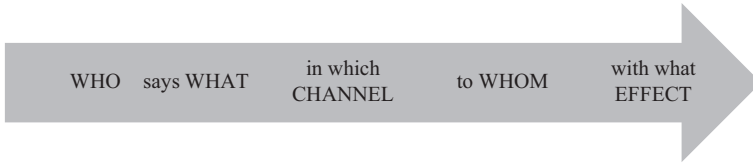
be described as: (a) communication effects approach, (b) media and modernization approach, (c) the diffusion of innovations approach, and (d) social marketing approach. All four areas or approaches are grounded in the Enlightenment philosophy, on which the modernization paradigm is also based, as discussed in Chapter 3. The scholarship of communication effects helped lay the foundation for uses of mass media in support of modernization. Diffusion of innovations research provided a model for communication interventions in local-level projects. As the diffusion model proved increasingly inadequate, project planners turned to social marketing to guide project communications. Social marketing remains the predominant model used for large and complex projects funded by bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. Infotainment, or entertainment–education (EE), is also used and follows a consistent model. Often, social marketing and EE campaigns are used together in a complementary fashion. EE campaigns are increasingly making use of ICTs such as mobile phones and tablets. Following our review of the above four approaches, we discuss the ways in which perspectives on media effects, behavior change, and social marketing have been deployed in health campaigns such as in family planning and prevention of HIV/AIDS.

COMMUNICATION EFFECTS APPROACH

World War I could be considered a watershed in mass communication theory and research. The libertarian theory of public communication, which assumed that individuals were by nature rational, proved to be increasingly unworkable with the advent of the War. In the West, audiences were bombarded with war-inspired propaganda, and leaders were concerned about its apparent power to mobilize people to fight as well as to maintain their morale in adverse conditions. Harold Lasswell conceptualized mass media effects during this period. His model, which was strongly influenced by Freudian theory, directly contradicted libertarian philosophy (Davis and Baran, 1981). His verbal model, depicted in Figure 4.1, suggested the following question (Lasswell, 1948): “WHO says WHAT in which CHANNEL to WHOM and with what EFFECT?” While the libertarian school emphasized the latent rationality of men and women,

Figure 4.1

Graphic Presentation of Lasswell's Formula

**Source:** Authors.

Lasswell assumed from Freudian theory that human behavior is essentially irrational. Based on this conceptualization, a framework emerged that has been called the *hypodermic needle* model of mass communication effects (Berlo, 1960). This theory is also known by several other names: *Bullet Theory* (Schramm, 1971); and *Stimulus–Response Theory* (DeFleur et al., 1975). This model predicted that mass media were powerful vehicles and had dominant effects on a passive and defenseless audience.

Mass Society

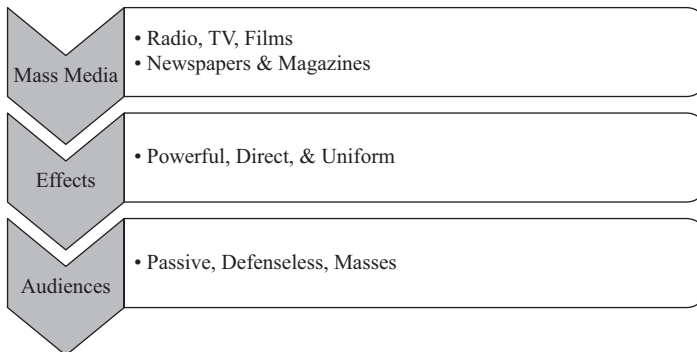
Several assumptions grounded the Bullet theory of mass media effects. Scholars have noted that a starting point for understanding the earliest theoretical models used to study mass communication effects was the concept of *mass society*: a description of modern Western societies in the 19th century (Lowery and DeFleur 1988, 1995; Sparks, 2012). Most scholars agree that there was a close tie between the concept of Western countries as mass societies and the growth of the earlier theories of mass communication effects.

Since the mid-18th century, three trends occurred that transformed Western societies from feudal, agricultural, and preindustrial communities to military–industrial complexes. These trends—identified broadly as industrialization, urbanization, and modernization—transformed social relationships, norms, values, and material culture drastically. For example, the Industrial Revolution that changed the workplace, including work ethics and relationships, also led to a factory system, migration into urban areas, and the introduction of large-scale bureaucracy. Urbanization led to a profound change in the

social order, such as new institutions, norms, values, and beliefs, while modernization led to further stratification of people via adoption of innovations and greater consumption of material goods (Lowery and DeFleur, 1988, 1995; Sparks, 2012). Thus, as a consequence of these trends, traditional loyalties, norms, and values were eroded. There was widespread *anomie* among the inhabitants of the big cities, greater differentiation, distrust, and stratification. The strong interpersonal bonds between people that characterized preindustrial communities were replaced by the impersonal and tedious life in the newly industrialized societies. Sociologists, historians, and other scholars termed the new communities *mass society*. This was “an image of a modern society as consisting of an aggregate of relatively ‘atomized’ individuals acting according to their personal interests and little constrained by social ties and constraints” (McQuail and Windahl, 1981: 42). In this society, the new mass media were perceived to have immense power because their impact would not be constrained by other competing social and psychological influences. In other words, people in *mass society* were more susceptible to the powerful influences of the mass media.

Thus, the earliest theoretical models on media effects conceptualized the impact of mass media on individuals as direct, powerful, and uniform (see Figure 4.2). The apparent success of propaganda during the Spanish–American War at the turn of the 19th century (which historians point out was a consequence of exaggerated reports from

Figure 4.2
Models Denoting Powerful Effects of Mass Media



Source: Authors.

the newspapers owned by Pulitzer and Hearst) and during World War I reinforced the view of powerful media effects. The *Bullet theory* and *Hypodermic Needle* theory, noted earlier, were colorful terms used to describe the concept of powerful mass media. The *Stimulus–Response* model also explained the same kind of effect. Every stimulus **S** (or message) was thought to produce a definite response **R** in the receiver (**O**) (McQuail and Windahl, 1981: 42). With the addition of new media of mass communication, that is, film and the radio in the 1920s, and the growth of advertising in the US, the study of strong and uniform effects gained additional momentum. During the period between the two World Wars, the mass media were viewed as powerful instruments that could quickly manipulate people’s opinions and attitudes, and thereby their behaviors. Katz (1963: 80) notes, “The model in the minds of the early researchers seems to have consisted of: (i) the all-powerful media, able to impress ideas on defenseless minds; and (ii) the atomized mass audience, connected to the mass media but not to each other.”

The predominance of interest in media effects led to other formulations as communication increasingly became the object of scientific study. For instance, the *telephone model* was developed by Shannon and Weaver (1949). Diaz-Bordenave (1977) has noted that several concepts such as signal, code, message, channel, source, destination, encoding, and decoding were first described in the Shannon and Weaver model. While this model was developed in the area of information theory, it was used analogically by behavioral and communication scientists.

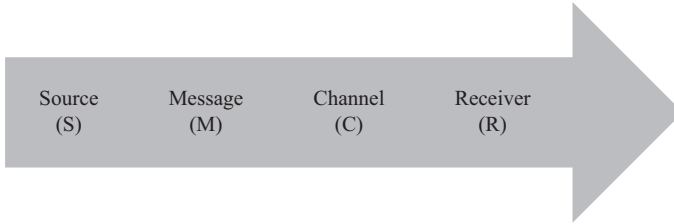
Other early models in communication developed by Schramm, Berlo, and others conceptualized communication as a linear and one-way process always flowing from an active communication source to a passive receiver (see Figure 4.3). Schramm and Berlo’s SMCR

Figure 4.3
One-way, Linear Model of Communication



Source: Authors.

Figure 4.4
Berlo's Formula for the Process of Communication



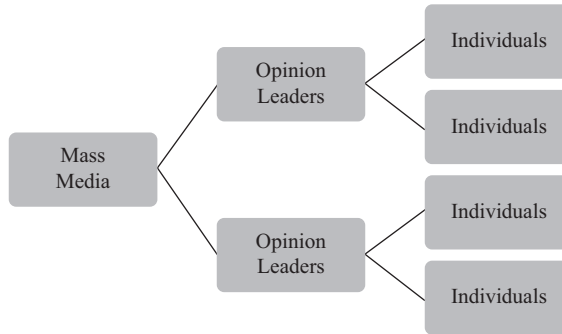
Source: Authors.

model, shown in Figure 4.4, conceptualized the communication flow as a simple, mechanistic process of message transmission. In the post-World War II period, the SMCR model became popular with *communication for development* professionals. All the models described above reinforced the *omnipotent source* and the *passive receiver* assumption.

Minimal Effects Theory of the Mass Media

The study of propaganda and the powerful effects of mass media engaged some of the best minds in sociology, psychology, and political science. However, new areas of inquiry began to emerge. Some of the newer questions were: What specific effects do mass media have on individuals and the general community? What is the process by which these effects occur? (Severin and Tankard, 1987 [1979]). Lazarsfeld et al.'s work (1948) on political decision-making in the 1940 US presidential election campaign re-conceptualized the process and effects of mass media from dominant effects to limited effects. Also called the *voter study*, this was an example of administrative research applied to critical questions.¹ The researchers discovered that individuals were much more influenced in their political decisions by members of their primary and peer groups than the combined mass media. The mass media seemed to have relatively little influence on people's political decisions. Also, overall exposure to mass media was quite low, though toward election day the majority were somewhat exposed. These findings, therefore, rejected the Bullet theory of uniform and powerful media effects.

Figure 4.5
Two-step Flow Model of Communication Effects



Source: Authors.

The researchers identified one segment of people more exposed to the mass media than other individuals, called influentials or opinion leaders. These opinion leaders then influenced others in the community. Thus, the effects of mass media were indirect. This observation was described in the two-step flow model (see Figure 4.5). This model suggested that the first step of influence was from the mass media to opinion leaders, while the second step was from these leaders to others in the community (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). The two-step flow model was tested and confirmed in Decatur, Illinois, in the US. Using a snowball sample, the researchers also discovered that opinion leadership was not confined to the elite but found at all levels of society (ibid.). Essentially, these studies suggested the relative weakness of mass media in directly influencing individual personal decisions.

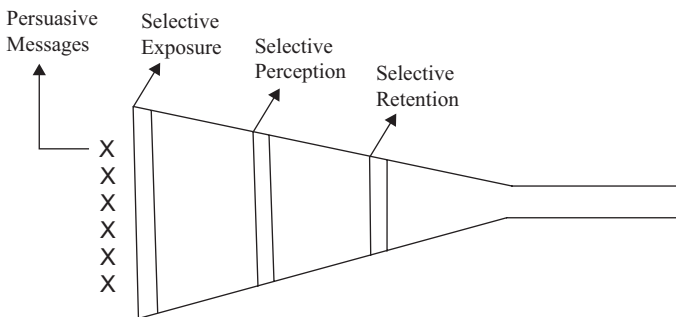
The work of other social scientists (Hovland et al., 1949, 1953; Klapper, 1960) further undermined the great power of mass media in bringing about direct and lasting effects on the audience. For example, Carl Hovland and colleagues (1949) did pioneering work on war propaganda films, examining how and why individuals respond to persuasive messages, and showing that the mass media were ineffective in improving attitudes of soldiers toward their allies or in increasing their motivation to fight. Rather, social categories (e.g., educational level) and individual differences were more predictive of certain effects than mass media exposure. People defended themselves against persuasive messages in three ways: *selective exposure*, *selective perception*, and *selective retention*.

Klapper (1960) suggested that people expose themselves to messages selectively. There is a tendency for individuals to expose themselves relatively more to those items of communication that are consonant with their beliefs, ideas, and values. Further, regardless of exposure to communication, an individual's *perception* of a certain event, issue, person, or place could be influenced by his/her latent beliefs, attitudes, wants, needs, or other factors. Thus, two individuals exposed to the same message could walk away with diametrically different perceptions about it. Additionally, research showed that even *recall* of information is influenced by factors such as an individual's needs, wants, moods, and perceptions (Allport and Postman, 1947; Jones and Kohler, 1958; Levine and Murphy, 1958).

Thus, what we learn from these selective processes is that the individual is not a defenseless target for persuasive communication. He/she is very active in receiving, processing, and interpreting information. The three selective processes outlined above could function as rings of defenses for the receiver (see Figure 4.6) with selective exposure constituting the outermost shield, followed by selective perception and selective retention (Severin and Tankard, 1979, 1987).

In fact, Klapper (1960) suggested that the mass media are more agents of reinforcement than causal agents of behavioral or attitudinal change in individuals. The demographic categories to which people belong, their individual characteristics, and their social relationships have a far greater influence than the combined mass media (Lowery and DeFleur, 1988). These research findings contradicted the earlier

Figure 4.6
Rings of Defense of Receivers



Source: Authors.

notion of powerful mass media that could effectively convert nearly anybody. Under most conditions, people are not passive or defenseless against the onslaught of persuasive messages.

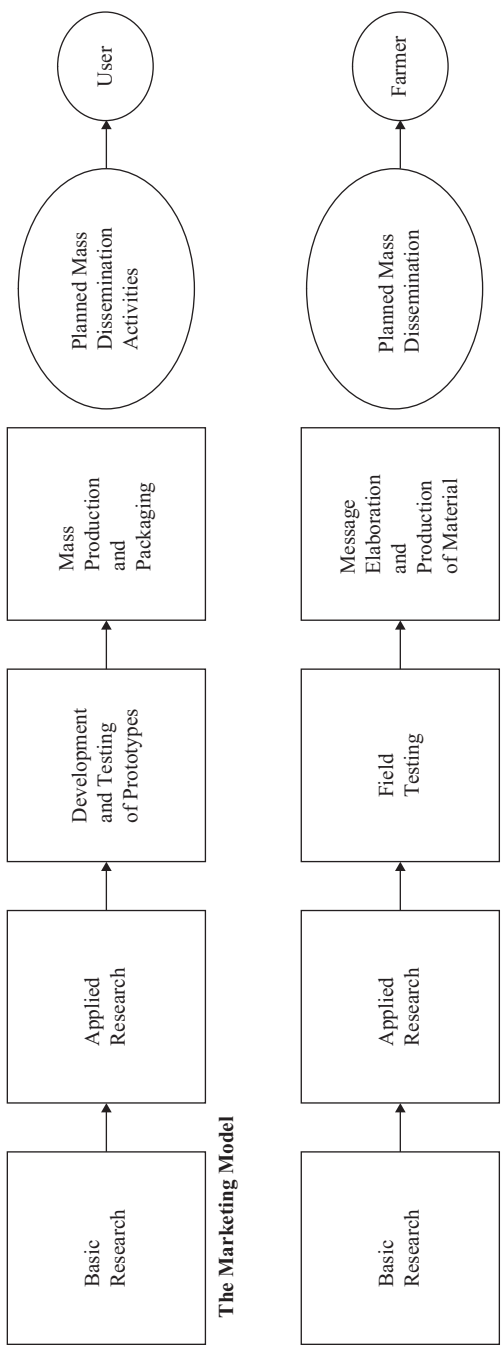
The theory of minimal mass media effects contributed to the refinement of theories and methods in media and communication studies.² The survey sampling designs of Lazarsfeld and colleagues at Columbia University, the experimental designs of Hovland and colleagues at Yale, the functionalistic and middle-range theories of Merton, Klapper, and others have made significant contributions to our understanding of communication effects. With greater refinement in theoretical concepts and methodological designs, the *minimal-effects* researchers were able to move away from the simplistic *Bullet theory* and *Hypodermic Needle* concepts of mass media effects. They were able to discover and explain more adequately the role of interpersonal influences and other social-psychological variables on media diffusion and impact.

While the research after World War II clearly showed the rather limited capacity of mass media to affect important behavioral and attitudinal changes, this did not mean that media were discarded as agents of directed social change. For example, Davis and Baran (1981: 37) noted that in the US, Hovland's study (which indicated that the mass media were not very effective in changing people's attitudes and morale) was "accepted for its *administrative* rather than *critical* research value. It was concerned with making communication more effective for immediate, short-term persuasion."

The findings of the minimal effects research aside, mass media were still used for short-term information delivery, persuasion, and change. Particularly during the Cold War of the 1950s, mass media were used as propaganda tools for the US and the Soviet Union. In the Third World, diverse fields such as agricultural extension and health education began using mass media for the *transmission* of information and for *persuasion* (Diaz-Bordenave, 1977). The emphasis was on particular communication effects: creating awareness of new ideas and practices and eventually bringing about attitude and behavioral changes in individuals.

The marketing and agricultural extension models illustrated in Figure 4.7, used in many Third World countries after World War II, operationalized the effects orientation described earlier. The mass media were widely perceived by administrators and policy makers in

Figure 4.7
Marketing and Agricultural Extension Models



The Agricultural Extension Model

Source: Diaz-Bordenave (1977: 13).

Third World nations as important vehicles for bringing about speedy behavioral change among their peoples, particularly in favor of the modernizing objectives of the state and the challenges of reaching large and dispersed populations (Diaz-Bordenave, 1977).

The preoccupation with effects suggests that the mechanistic Stimulus–Response model has not entirely vanished. It still underlies much thinking about the nature and role of media and communication in development. For some, the process of persuasion has remained synonymous with the process of mass communication. This is evident in all the approaches guiding communication to support modernization, approaches followed at both the macro and micro levels.

MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION APPROACH

The dominant paradigm prescribed a unique model for the modernization of the developing nations—a model that was tested in Western nations and found to be successful, as we described in Chapter 3. This model of development underlined the importance of economic growth through industrialization, capital-intensive and machine-intensive technology, a top-down structure of authority with economists in charge, and a certain attitude and mindset among individuals. It was natural that questions would be raised about the role of mass media in speeding up the modernization process.

Thus, while rural sociologists were busy studying the modernizing role of communication in rural communities, political scientists, economists, and social psychologists in the 1950s were identifying the functions of mass media and measuring their influence in the modernization of developing countries. In the research and writing on modernization, communication was more than just an interplay between the source and receiver. It served as a complex system fulfilling certain social functions (Hellman, 1980). Thus, the mass media came to serve as agents and indices of modernization in developing countries. Besides this macro-level analysis of the role of mass media, researchers also drew on communication effects research reviewed above and on models describing social–psychological characteristics of individuals (see Chapter 3) that were considered necessary for a successful transition from a traditional to a modern society.

Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of the Traditional Society* (1958) illustrates the major ideas of the early mass media and modernization approach. Modernization, according to Lerner, was essentially Westernization. Lerner's model recapitulated the development of Western Europe and North America from a feudal and traditional stage to modern, military-industrial societies. His social development model consisted of the following components: (a) A core of mobile individuals whose psychological orientation made it easier to accept rapid changes in their personal lives and the overall social system; (b) an omnipotent mass media system that reinforced and accelerated societal and individual change by disseminating the new ideas and attitudes conducive to modernization; and (c) the correlations between the important indices of urbanization, literacy, media exposure, and economic/political participation to establish a modern, Western-type society.

Mass media constitute an important element in Lerner's model. By exposing individuals to new people, ideas, and attitudes, they accelerate the process of modernization. Lerner posited that in the West, particularly in the US, psychic mobility began with the expansion of physical travel. The expansion of physical or geographical mobility meant that more people commanded greater skill in imagining themselves as new persons, living in new situations. The development of mass media accelerated this process even more. According to Lerner, the earlier increase of psychic experience through transportation was multiplied by the exposure to mediated experience. Thus, the mass media were important agents of modernization. People in the Third World could expand their empathy by exposure to the mass media, which show them new places, behaviors, and cultures. In short, the mass media have the potential to blow the winds of modernization into isolated traditional communities and replace traditional structures of life, values, and behavior with modern forms.

In Lerner's model, the mass media are both an index and an agent of modernization. Social change occurs in three phases. First and most crucial is urbanization. In the second phase, literacy rates begin to rise. With increasing urbanization, literacy, and industrial development in the third phase, there is a great spurt in the growth of the modern media. Thus, the mass media function as important indices of modernization. In Lerner's model, there is a close reciprocal

relationship between literacy and media exposure. The literate influenced and were influenced by the media, which in turn accelerated the spread of literacy. All of these developments triggered a rise in political participation. While all of these generalizations came out of the data collected in the Middle East, Lerner suggested that the historical sequence of these changes is universal.

Lakshmana Rao (1963) likewise suggested that communication is a prime mover in the development process. He selected two villages in India for his study, *Kothooru*, a village just about to modernize itself, and *Pathooru*, a village isolated and steeped in traditional customs and beliefs. Rao suggested that the laying of a new road to *Kothooru* from a nearby city started the process of modernization by bringing new people, ideas, and the mass media, while at the same time allowing the villagers to visit urban centers. All of this new information opened up people's minds. The new ideas and innovations were first available to the elite and then trickled down to others. It was the quantity and quality of information that triggered change in *Kothooru*, while *Pathooru* remained unchanged. The new road and the mass media brought in modern ideas and values from outside. Traditional ideas and modes of behavior were gradually dislodged. Education levels increased. Importantly, the new developments led to new jobs and higher productivity.

While Lerner observed the role of communication as the harbinger of new ideas from outside, Rao concluded that new communication helped to smooth out the transition from a traditional to a modern community. The availability of new information to people at the top and its trickle down to others in the lower reaches of the hierarchy increases empathy, opens up new opportunities, and leads to a general breakdown of traditional society.

Role of Mass Media in Modernization: Optimism of the Early Decades

The mass media occupied a central position in the modernization paradigm. For example, Wilbur Schramm (1964) reiterated that the modernization of industrial or agricultural sectors in developing nations required the mobilization of human resources. Education

and mass media were vested with crucial responsibility in the process of mobilization of human resources. He noted:

[T]he task of the mass media of information and the “new media” of education is to speed and ease the long, slow social transformation required for economic development, and, in particular, to speed and smooth the task of mobilizing human resources behind the national effort. (Schramm, 1964: 27)

Some scholars went further to state that the major problem in developing countries was not a shortage of natural resources but the underdevelopment of human resources. Thus, education and mass media had the enormous task of building human capital. The powerful role of the mass media in modernization was clearly implied in Lerner’s and Rao’s research and other studies in the 1950s through the 1970s. These studies complemented the postulates of the dominant paradigm of development. Mass media were the vehicles for transferring new ideas and models from the West to the Third World and from urban to rural areas. Schramm echoed the dominant thinking during this historical period in his influential book *Mass Media and National Development* (1964). He noted that in the Third World, “villages are drowning in their traditional patterns of life...the urge to develop economically and socially usually comes from seeing how the well-developed countries or the more fortunate people live” (Schramm, 1964: 41–42). The mass media, thus, functioned as a gateway to a modern world. Importantly, they were entrusted with the task of preparing individuals in developing nations for a rapid social change by establishing a *climate of modernization* (Rogers, 1976c). On a macro level, the modern mass media were used in one-way and top-down communication models by leaders to disseminate modern innovations to the public.

The mass media were thought to have a powerful and direct influence. Thus, the bullet theory model of mass media effects seemed to hold in Third World countries in the 1950s and 1960s, even though this model had been discarded earlier in North America. The strength of the mass media lay in their one-way, top-down, simultaneous, and wide dissemination. Influential research at this time such as Lerner’s (1958) Middle East study, Rao’s Indian study (1963), Pye’s (1963) work on communication and political development, and Schramm’s



Photograph 4.1: Village Loudspeakers. For decades, the village loudspeaker has played a central role in summoning groups to gather and conveying news briefs. Loudspeakers such as the one in rural Ghana are common in the developing world.

Source: Authors.

(1964) study on mass media and national development generated high expectations of the mass media. They were considered as *magic multipliers* of development benefits in Third World nations. Administrators, researchers, and field workers sincerely believed in the great power of mass media as harbingers of modernizing influences.

This period in development history was, therefore, characterized by a spirit of optimism. There was a spate of research activity to demonstrate the correlation between exposure to the mass media and modernity. Surveys conducted by Frey (1966) in Turkey, Rogers (1965, 1969) in Colombia, Inkeles and Smith (1974) in six developing nations, and Paul Neurath's field experiments in India (1962) on the effectiveness of radio forums provided impressive evidence for the impact of mass media on modernization. Also, Rogers' (1969) survey of peasants in Colombia, India, Kenya, and Brazil showed the role of mass media as an intervening variable between functional literacy and

various measures of modernization, such as: empathy, agricultural innovativeness, political knowledge, and educational aspirations for children. Both Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964) likewise showed a high correlation between the indices of modernity and availability of mass media: the more developed the nation, the higher the availability of mass media outlets. The converse was also true. As Schramm (1964: 112) notes, "The less-developed countries have less-developed mass communication systems also, and less development in the services that support the growth of mass communication."

Researchers already had demonstrated a strong and statistically significant positive correlation between the development of the mass media and important development-related indices in the economic, social, and political spheres. Therefore, the establishment of a critical minimum of mass media outlets was strongly encouraged if developing nations were to achieve national development. In an attempt to reduce the gap between nations labeled as mass media *haves* and *have-nots*, UNESCO suggested a minimum standard for mass media availability in the Third World (Schramm, 1964; see also Chapter 6). Therefore, information was considered the missing link in the development chain. The quality of information available and its wide dissemination were key factors in the speed and smoothness of development. Adequate mass media outlets and information would act as a spur to education, commerce, and a chain of other related development activities.

DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS RESEARCH

While scholars and policy makers were making macro-level arguments and funding experiments on the role of media in supporting modernization, diffusion of innovations theory gradually evolved as the local-level framework to guide communications planning for modernization. Diffusion of innovations also has important theoretical links with communication effects research. As pointed out earlier, the emphasis is on particular communication effects, that is, the ability of media messages and opinion leaders to create knowledge of new practices and ideas and persuade the target to adopt the exogenously introduced innovations.

History of Diffusion Studies

Until the early 1900s, there was disagreement on whether ideas were independently developed in different cultures, or whether they were invented in one culture and borrowed or diffused into another. The dominant position initially was that of cultural evolutionists who hypothesized that each major culture develops autonomously (Frey, 1973). These ideas culminated in the 19th century into the *evolutionist school* of anthropology. Around 1890, there was reaction in Europe and North America against the inconsistencies of evolutionist thought (Heine-Geldern, 1968). Evidence indicated that most cultures had a predominance of borrowed or diffused elements over those that developed from within (Herskovits, 1969; Kroeber, 1944; Linton, 1936). Three principal figures, Franz Boas in the US, Gabriel Tarde in France, and Friedrich Ratzel in Germany, were the proponents of *diffusionist theory* (Heine-Geldern, 1968). Gabriel Tarde (1903), a French sociologist, was one of the first to propose the S-shaped curve of diffusion and also to write about the important role of opinion leaders or change agents in the diffusion or *imitation* process. However, it was the new awareness of the nature and role of mass communication effects (i.e., minimal effects of mass media) in the 1940s that led to a renewed interest and need for theoretical and methodological reformulations in media and communication studies.

An important development was the increased overlap between mass communication and small group research, as both were recognizing the validity and complexity of the two-step-flow idea. Katz (1963) noted that this led to a convergence of interest among mass communication researchers and rural sociologists who were studying the diffusion and acceptance of new farm practices. Mass communication researchers too gradually shifted their focus to a broader understanding of interpersonal networks of communication through which influence and innovations disseminated through society. Early studies in the US that helped conceptualize the process of diffusion of innovations were the Ryan and Gross (1943) hybrid corn study in Iowa and the sociometric studies on physicians (Coleman et al., 1957).

The diffusion of innovations approach was rooted in the postulates and implicit assumptions of exogenous change theory. This approach, as Golding pointed out (1974), suggested that Third World societies

could only change through influences from more advanced countries. Rogers summed it up aptly:

[S]ince invention within a closed system like a peasant village is a rare event, until there is communication of ideas from sources external to the village, little change can occur in peasant knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. Communication is, therefore, central to modernization in such circumstances. (Rogers, 1969: 48)

The notion of exogenously induced change permeated diffusion research. The earliest definition of development was “a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization” (ibid.: 18). The necessary route for this change was understood as the communication and acceptance of new ideas from sources external to a social system (Fjes, 1976).

Everett Rogers, whose work has been central in this area, identified the following main elements in any analysis of diffusion of an idea or innovation: (a) the *innovation*, which is any idea considered new by the recipient, (b) its *communication* through certain *channels*, (c) among members of a *social system*, (d) and over *time* (Rogers with Shoemaker, 1971). Katz provided a similar definition of diffusion (Katz, 1963). The year 1960 may be considered a watershed in the export of diffusion studies from the West to developing nations. Rogers noted that by the mid-1970s nearly half of all diffusion studies were being conducted in Third World countries. The number of studies increased from a mere 54 in 1960 to over 800 by 1975 (Rogers, 1976a: 208).

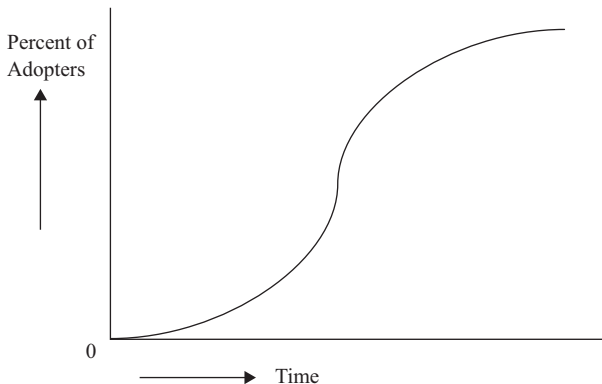
Model of Diffusion

Diffusion studies conceptualized, elaborated, and confirmed five stages in the adoption process of the individual decision maker (Frey, 1973; Lionberger, 1960; Rogers, 1962). Adoption was defined as the process through which the individual arrived at the decision to adopt or reject the innovation from the time he/she first became aware of it. The five stages were: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial,

and adoption.³ At the awareness stage, the recipient was exposed to the innovation but lacked complete information. At the interest stage, the recipient sought more information on the innovation. At the evaluation stage, the individual mentally decided whether the innovation was compatible with present and future needs. At the trial stage, the individual made the decision to try it on a limited scale. At the adoption stage, the individual decided to continue full use of the innovation. Early diffusion studies also indicated that at the awareness stage the mass media and cosmopolite information sources were influential, while at the evaluation and adoption stages, interpersonal and localite⁴ sources of information were the dominant modes of influence (Rogers, 1962).

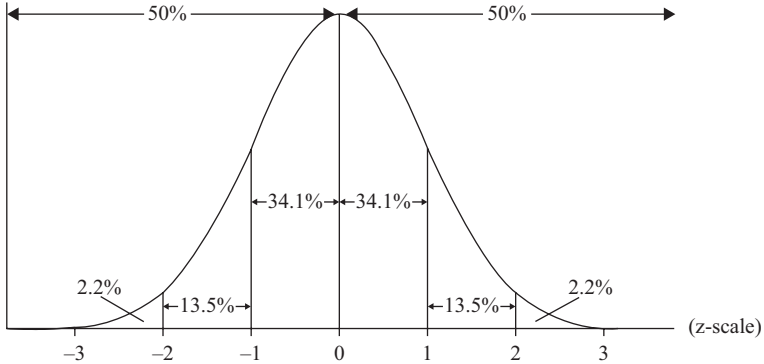
The starting point for diffusion research was the collection of reports depicting the relative speed with which an innovation was adopted by members of a social system, such as farmers living in small, well-defined communities (Frey, 1973). These data exhibited a consistent pattern across different communities for different kinds of innovations. When the cumulative percentage of adoptions were graphically plotted against time, the variables formed the classic S-shaped curve (see Figure 4.8). The adoption rate had a rather slow start; then, as the early adopters started to influence the rate, there was a fairly rapid rise, slackening again at the top asymptotically, forming the S-shape.

Figure 4.8
Cumulative S-shaped Curve of Diffusion



Source: Authors.

Figure 4.9
Bell-shaped Normal Curve



Source: Authors.

When the absolute number of adoptions were plotted for a distinct time period, a bell-shaped, normal frequency curve⁵ was obtained, as shown in Figure 4.9. In this curve, the majority of adoptions was found to occur near the mean (i.e., middle of the curve). The adopters were classified into five categories on the basis of the two measures of the normal curve, the mean and the standard deviation. The categories were: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The *innovators*, or the individuals who were the earliest to adopt innovations, constituted nearly 2.5 percent and lay at a distance of 2 units of standard deviation to the left of the mean. The next 13.5 percent of adopters lay between 1 and 2 standard deviations from the mean on the left and were called the *early adopters*. The *early majority* who comprised nearly 34 percent of adopters lay between the mean and 1 standard deviation to the left. The next group of adopters (about 34%) were labeled *late majority* and they were located between the mean and 1 standard deviation to its right, while the last (nearly 16%) adopters were called *laggards* and were placed at a distance of 1 standard deviation to the right of the mean (Rogers, 1969).

The diffusion studies indicated differences among the adopter groups in terms of their personal characteristics, media behavior, and position in the social structure. The relatively early adopters were usually younger, had a higher social status, had more favorable financial status, engaged in more specialized operations, and were equipped

with greater mental abilities than later adopters. In terms of communication behavior, earlier adopters used more mass media and cosmopolite information sources. Also, the social relations of earlier adopters were more cosmopolite than for later categories, and the earlier adopters had more opinion leadership characteristics (Rogers, 1969).

An important element of the diffusion and adoption process was the innovation itself. The characteristics of an innovation, as perceived by individuals in a social system, affected its rate of adoption. Five attributes were identified that would affect its rate of adoption: (a) relative advantage, or the degree to which an innovation was superior to the ideas it superseded; (b) compatibility, or the degree to which an innovation was consistent with existing values and past experiences; (c) complexity, or the degree to which an innovation was relatively difficult to understand and use; (d) divisibility, or the degree to which an innovation could be tried on a limited basis; and (e) communicability, or the degree to which the results could be disseminated to others (Rogers, 1962).

Diffusion research revealed findings on the underlying power-influence structure in the rural communities. In a study of modern and traditional villages in Colombia, Rogers discovered that innovators were opinion leaders in the more modern villages, whereas in traditional villages, since their distance from fellow villagers was very great, they were accorded little opinion leadership (Rogers, 1969).

In sum, the diffusion of innovations research established the importance of communication in the modernization process at the local level. In the dominant paradigm, communication was visualized as the link through which exogenous ideas entered local communities. Diffusion of innovations then emphasized the nature and role of communication in facilitating further dissemination within local communities and helping them change from a traditional to a modern way of life.

SOCIAL MARKETING

Over time, diffusion theory alone proved inadequate as a guide to communications planning in development campaigns. The diffusion concepts are imprecise, and the diffusion model does not sufficiently account for recipient feedback, which is crucial to campaign success.

Communication efforts in both First and Third World contexts have increasingly turned to science-based commercial marketing strategies to promote social causes, a process called *social marketing*. Examples of social marketing campaigns range across many areas. Some examples are: to discourage tobacco smoking, encourage use of auto seat belts, discourage driving after consuming alcohol, promote healthful diets, discourage teen sex (or encourage safe sex), and prevent HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Characteristics of Social Marketing

Until the early 1970s, communication models in family planning and other health-related areas reinforced the active source and passive receiver stereotypes. Communication campaigns used one-way, top-down, source-to-receiver transmission models with the belief that effects would occur autonomously once the target received the message (Rogers, 1973). Opinion leaders, change agents, and mass media outlets such as the radio were used to transmit persuasive messages. The assumption in these strategies was that knowledge was the missing link in the adoption and use of the service or product.

The incorporation of social marketing techniques in the 1970s systematically emphasized the challenges of changing the values and knowledge as well as behavior patterns of the receivers. The concept of social marketing was first introduced in 1971 and was defined as “the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product, planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research” (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971: 5). Later, definitions broadened it as reflected in the following definition: “The application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society” (Andreasen, 1995: 7). Synthesizing multiple definitions, Kotler and Lee (2008: 8) note the general agreement “that social marketing is about influencing behavior, that it utilizes a systematic planning process and applies traditional marketing principles and techniques, and that its intent is to deliver a positive benefit for society.”

Social marketing has introduced several new concepts in the dissemination and promotion of ideas and services: *market research*, *audience segmentation*, *product development*, *incentives*, and *facilitation* to maximize the target group's response (Kotler, 1984). *Market research* is a detailed investigation of the market for the specific product, the segments within the broad audience group, behavioral and knowledge characteristics of the audience segments, and the cost-benefit analysis of reaching and influencing the different groups via communication campaigns. *Product development* involves the development of not just one product but a host of others that will appeal to the different market segments in terms of their varied needs. The use of *incentives* offers the target audience monetary or psychological reasons to increase the level of motivation in the adoption and use of the product or service. Finally, *facilitation* makes it easier to adopt the innovation by reducing the effort or time required on the part of the user.

Social marketers take a holistic view of the process by emphasizing the four Ps in the marketing chain: Product, Pricing, Placement, and Promotion. For each targeted market group, the appropriate strategy and mix involving the four Ps is devised. Additionally, and drawing on lessons from diffusion research, social marketers recognize the importance of targeting individuals who have the power to influence others, that is, opinion leaders in areas such as education, health, agriculture, public policy, etc. Each social marketing expert tends to divide the steps in slightly different ways.⁶ Ten commonly accepted steps are (Kotler and Lee, 2008: 10–11): Establish the plan background and purpose; conduct a situation analysis; select target markets; set objectives and goals; identify the competition and target market barriers, or resistance points, and motivators; craft a desired positioning; develop a strategic marketing mix (the four Ps, as noted above); outline a monitoring and evaluation plan; establish budgets and identify funding sources; and devise an implementation plan.

Entertainment–Education

In the 1970s, the idea of using television as an instructional/development medium appealed to both administrators and development experts because of its immense potential in propagating useful ideas and practices. The Satellite Instructional Television Experiment

(SITE) launched in India in the mid-1970s broadcast instructional television programs to remote villages in India. However, research studies later showed that most viewers prefer television entertainment shows to educational programs.⁷ Meanwhile, in mass communication theory, the *minimal effects* (of mass media) *hypothesis* was gradually losing its appeal by the early 1970s (Lowery and Defleur, 1995). New research in the area of agenda-setting effects of media showed that the mass media were effective in increasing the cognition levels of audiences of salient events, and, thus, serving as important agents of surveillance (Shaw and McCombs, 1974). Another area of research, labeled The Uses and Gratifications Perspective (Blumer and Katz, 1974), put the focus on active audience members as opposed to the passive receiver stereotype depicted in the minimal effects theories. The uses and gratifications model showed that audience members are active, selecting media products to satisfy a range of needs: new information, entertainment, news, relaxation, and more. Studies showed that audiences were actively selecting radio and television programs to gratify their perceived needs. Another dramatic change has been the rapid increase in radio and television receivers globally since the early 1970s, with radio sets increasing tenfold between 1965 and 1995 and television sets even more so (Piotrow et al., 1997: 11). Today, of course, radio is available on most mobile phones, which have a near-universal penetration, and within the industrialized and developing world, household television penetration is at least 98 percent and 73 percent, respectively (Ahonen, 2011).⁸ A parallel development globally has been the trend toward increasing commercialization and privatization of television and radio channels. All of the earlier mentioned developments have provided a fertile ground for the growth and popularity of EE programs via mass and digital media.

EE programs represent a unique strategy of promotion where pro-social ideas are embedded in entertaining media products, usually as a part of a larger social marketing campaign. In this approach, educational content is embedded in programs in media such as the radio, television, music, videos, and folk theater. Tufte (2005: 162) provides the following definition:

Entertainment–education is the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more

narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviors to the liberating and citizen driven articulation of social change agendas.

Singhal and Rogers (1999) point out that EE programs either directly or indirectly facilitate social change. At the individual level, they influence awareness, attention, and behavior toward a socially desirable objective, and at the larger community level, they serve as an agenda setter, or influence public and policy initiatives in a socially desirable direction. EE strategies have been used to disseminate persuasive messages for a number of health-related issues such as family planning, high blood pressure, tobacco smoking, vaccine promotion, and HIV/AIDS prevention messages. More recently, EE strategies have found use in areas such as the environment, conflict and peace issues, rural development, social mobilization, and empowerment of marginalized groups (Tufté, 2005, 2012).

Combining entertainment with education is not a new phenomenon in most cultures around the world. However, the concept of deliberately using an EE theme, such as, for example, the *telenovela* to further social objectives set by a community, is relatively new. The idea of a *telenovela* with a pro-social theme originated in Peru in 1969 with the show *Simplemente Maria*, which told the rags-to-riches story of a single mother who achieved financial success through her proficiency and hard work on her Singer sewing machine (Singhal and Rogers, 1988, 1999; Singhal et al., 2004). Inspired by the success of the Peruvian soap opera, the Mexican commercial television network *Televisa* under the leadership of Miguel Sabido, a writer–producer, produced four programs on Mexican cultural history and pride between 1967 and 1970 (Singhal et al., 1993). Sabido then made several more with other themes, some of which ran over a year. One of the shows, called *Ven Conmigo*, dealt with adult literacy, while another, called *Accompaname*, stressed family planning (Singhal and Rogers, 1988).⁹ Following the example of Mexico and spurred by the efforts of Population Communications International, the Indian television authority experimented with *Hum Log* (1984–1985), a soap opera dealing with social problems in contemporary Indian society. This show too became very popular with viewers, leading to sentimental protests when it was finally pulled off the air in 1985 after running 156 episodes (Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

The success of both Mexico and India with their pro-development soap operas prompted other developing countries (such as Kenya,

Nigeria, Egypt, Brazil, Jamaica, Bangladesh, Turkey, Thailand, Indonesia, and Tanzania) to adopt this entertainment strategy to their specific needs (Bhasin, 2012; Singhal and Rogers, 1988, 1999; Tufte, 2005). Examples of popular programs include: *Thinka Thinka Sukh* (India), *Tushauriane* (Kenya), *Ushikwapo Shikamana* (Kenya), and *Twende Na Wakati* (Tanzania). Table 4.1 lists popular and researched EE programs along with their themes and effects.

Table 4.1
Popular Entertainment–Education Programs in the Third World

Country	EE Program	Themes	Effects
Peru	<i>Simplemente Maria</i> (TV)	Adult literacy; Self-employment	Established <i>telenovela</i> as a dominant genre of TV broadcasting
Mexico	<i>Ven Conmigo</i> (TV)	Adult education	Facilitated increased enrollment in adult education programs
Mexico	<i>Acompaname</i> (TV)	Family planning; Family harmony; Gender equality	Increased awareness and adoption of family planning products and services
India	<i>Hum Log</i> (TV)	Family Planning; Family Harmony; Gender equality; National Integration	Improved awareness, attitude and behaviors toward the projected themes
India	<i>Kalyani</i> (TV)	Community mobilization, Empowerment	Improved awareness, attitude, behaviors toward community-related health issues; empowered community
Mexico and Latin America	<i>Cuando Estemos Juntos</i> and <i>Détente</i> (Rock music videos)	Teenage sexual responsibility	Disseminated information on contraceptives and encouraged sexual restraint among teenagers
Philippines	<i>That Situation; I Still Believe</i> (Popular music albums)	Sexual responsibility	Influenced knowledge, attitudes, and behavior related to sexual responsibility

(Table 4.1 contd.)

(Table 4.1 contd.)

Country	EE Program	Themes	Effects
Nigeria	Choices; Wait for Me (Music videos)	Sexual responsibility; Family planning	Increased awareness and adoption of family planning products and services
Jamaica	Naseberry Street (Radio)	Family planning	Increased awareness and adoption of family planning products and services
Kenya	<i>Ushikwapo Shikamana</i> (Radio)	Family planning	Increased awareness of family planning and importance of spousal relationship
Tanzania	<i>Twende Na Wakati</i> (Radio)	HIV prevention	Increased adoption of condom use; Decreased sharing of razors and needles; Encouraged monogamous relationships
India	<i>Thinka Thinka Sukh</i> (Radio)	Women's empowerment; Family harmony; Gender equality; HIV prevention	Improved awareness, attitudes and behaviors toward the projected themes
Nicaragua	<i>Sexto Sentido</i>	Gender relations; Sexuality; Teen pregnancy; Homophobia	Increased awareness of domestic violence and violence against women
South Africa	Soul City's (NGO) media programs and outputs	Advocacy for the marginalized at the community and national level	Effectuated changes in individual behaviors and influenced social change processes at the societal level

Source: Compiled from Bhasin (2012); Rodriguez (2005); Singhal and Rogers (1999); Tufte (2005).

A central idea underlying the EE strategy is that people learn from positive role models with whom they can identify (from social learning theory). Therefore, it is important to ensure that positive role models support all of the values important to the message. Other kinds of role models may also be included, for instance, negative

role models that reject the values promoted. There may be yet others (doubters) who are in between and eventually see the light and become believers. Scholars claim that storytelling is a powerful communicative strategy putting the focus on the principles of empathy, dialogue, and diversity inherent in the communication model that anchors storytelling methodology. Tufte (2012) posits that storytelling forms such as the EE model, which embody the above principles, can prove beneficial in building trust and awareness. They can facilitate social mobilization and provide a space for the disempowered to articulate their voices. Thus, it is possible for storytelling forms to contribute positively to creating agency among the marginalized and, therefore, can develop supportive and nurturing social and communicative environments.

In the digital age, soap operas and telenovelas have become even more significant for their educational and cultural value, as well as their political-economic power. They have adapted with technological and other local and global changes, making good use of new opportunities to extend their global reach. As Rios and Castañeda (2011a: x) write, “Increased technological innovations (for instance, YouTube, Web fan sites, DVDs, mobile communication devices), programming hybridizations, population migrations, and historical tastes are some elements that have fueled the persistence and transformation of these serialized melodramas.” Most EE evaluation research uses surveys or focus groups. Some evaluations rely on data collected at infrastructure access points, such as family planning clinics and adult education centers. Evaluations usually aim to find out whether people are exposed to programs, whether they recalled the messages, whether they liked the characters, and whether they acted (or intended to act) on the messages. Results show primarily cognitive changes though some behavior and value shifts have been documented. Modeling theory, self-efficacy, and para-social interaction models have been used to predict and explain the hierarchy of effects produced by these media programs.

The evaluation data are vulnerable to several criticisms. First, it is often difficult to validate self-reports of effects. Second, as EE usually takes place within the context of a larger social marketing campaign plus myriad other external messages and stimuli, it is often difficult or impossible to sort out the effects of these programs from other influences. Finally, media audiences, for example, those with regular

access to television and the time to watch it, frequently constitute only small segments of the target population. The most at-risk populations may not be reached by EE, populations that may disproportionately include women (Luthra, 1991; Worthington, 1992). Hence, these programs may be preaching to more elite economic groups or the already converted.

Despite the above inherent challenges in successfully operationalizing EE programs, their popularity in many contexts and their effectiveness in creating awareness and spreading information are well established. They are most effective when used as a part of larger campaigns that involve systematic research and varieties of message and media strategies (including interpersonal and group communication) alongside the EE programs. Even in terms of conceptual clarification, EE approaches have progressed beyond the earlier strategies that were based on treating information merely as a missing link for people to gain knowledge of important issues. The predominant focus on social marketing of individual behaviors has now moved to a more user/receiver participative perspective. Further, the unit of analysis has moved from the individual to the larger society. More recently, EE approaches have addressed social issues such as power inequalities in a society and advocated collective action and system-level changes (Tufté, 2005). “Critical social theory has been increasingly incorporated into the theoretical debates about EE, challenging more behaviorist cause-and-effect understandings of communication” (ibid.: 164). Thus, EE approaches have bridged the divide between the diffusion perspectives and the more radical participatory models of directed change.

Further, EE has moved beyond the legacy media to include digital and mobile media, greatly extending its reach. The trend began as early as the mid-1990s with Super Nintendo video games, such as *Bronkie the Bronchiasaurus*, in which players had to make decisions to control their dinosaurs’ asthma while also saving earth from dust pollution (Kotler and Lee, 2008). A recent and high-profile example is the NGO, *Games for Change*, that was founded in 2004. It held its first conference in New York City in 2005 and “facilitates the creation and distribution of social impact games that serve as critical tools in humanitarian and educational efforts.”¹⁰ In other words, *Games for Change* promotes education via entertainment on digital gaming platforms. Projects include a collaboration with *Half the Sky*

movement, which was initiated as a result of the bestselling book on women's oppression globally, *Half the Sky*, by Kristof and WuDunn (2009).¹¹ Games designed for Facebook and mobile phone apps aim to raise consciousness about gender oppression and promote economic development. The *Half the Sky* website touts the mobile phone games as a way for the organization's development projects to reach *the hardest to reach* millions of low-end mobile phone users in developing countries. This movement is now distributing its three mobile phone games in Kenya and India. Games include "Nine Minutes," which teaches women and girls how to manage a healthy pregnancy, "Worm Attack," which tasks young children with "keeping a growing number of boys and girls healthy by defeating the worms inside their tummies," and an interactive *soap opera* game titled "Family Values," which aims to enhance the status of women within families.¹² Funders of the Half the Sky/Games for Change mobile media projects are numerous, including the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Ford Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Rockefeller Foundation, all from the US.

FAMILY PLANNING AND HIV/AIDS COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

Next, we focus more specifically on family planning and HIV/AIDS campaigns to show how theories and models of media effects, diffusion, and social marketing have been evident in these campaigns. Additionally, numerous other overlapping models and theories of behavior change have been used to ground these campaigns.

Family Planning Communication

In the early development decades of the 1950s and 1960s, communication efforts in family planning relied on the *clinic approach*. In this approach, contraceptive services and products were advertised through the mass media and made available in family planning clinics (Rogers, 1973). The positive social and health value of these services and products were considered adequate for their successful

distribution and use by the intended beneficiaries. This passive communication approach was gradually replaced by an active strategy in the 1970s. Trained health extension agents took the message of family planning to the communities and homes of prospective clients. A supporting cadre of agents such as medical doctors, midwives, and even barbers brought the message of family planning to ever greater number of people. To a large extent, this approach in the *field era* was influenced by earlier work in agricultural extension. Extension agents were supplemented by social advertising such as radio shows, posters, folk media performances, mobile film vans, etc., to bridge the knowledge gap between audience segments and also to publicize the availability of contraceptive products and services (Rogers, 1973).

The field approach to family planning in the 1970s was successful. Awareness of and favorable attitudes toward family planning services and contraceptives reached high levels. However, there was relatively little adoption of these services or products (*ibid.*). Two major reviews of communication projects in family planning (*ibid.*; Schramm, 1971) published in the early 1970s, painted a bleak picture. They revealed that communication efforts lacked a coherent and systematic strategy (Piotrow et al., 1997):

- Limited evidence of coherent communication planning and strategic design;
- Lack of multimedia communication campaigns and poor service delivery;
- Lack of attention to different communication needs of varied audience segments;
- Naïve assumption that knowledge and awareness will automatically lead to behavior change;
- Lack of systematic pretesting of messages;
- Lack of a clear understanding of the relationship between communication strategies and behavior change; and
- Lack of formative and summative evaluations of communication campaigns.

Since the 1990s, Population Communication Services (PCS) aided by USAID, has adopted a strategic communication framework

to overcome weaknesses. Strategic communication describes an operational framework that incorporates the previously reviewed concepts of social marketing and additional behavior change models in the design, execution, and evaluation of strategies intended to influence adoption. The concepts of audience research, market segmentation, product development, incentives, and promotion are contributions from social marketing research applied to strategic family planning communication. In addition, the communication process itself has evolved into a convergence model where participants create and share information in order to reach a mutual understanding (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981). This orientation, then, pulls in formative research procedures such as focus groups, audience surveys, and pretesting of messages into communication research in family planning (Piotrow et al., 1997).

Storey and Figueroa (2012) reported that as a result of international personnel and researchers learning from their global project experiences, agencies such as the PCS have made advances in effecting behavioral changes among individuals. One example of this is the concept of *ideation*. Storey and Figueroa (2012: 73) define ideation

as a set of knowledge, attitudinal, social support and social interaction variables (all of which could be influenced by communication) that together predicted the use of contraception and CPR across a variety of national settings, resulting in a reliable model of global fertility change based on psychosocial and cultural factors, rather than just on levels of education or economic development.

Storey and Figueroa (2012) offer the example of Nepal, the Philippines, Tanzania, Honduras, and Egypt, where ideation significantly increased the use of contraception, thus, advancing the goals of family planning by 20–30 percent (also see Kincaid et al., 2007). Further advances in theoretical conceptualizations have included community-level participatory processes and their positive impact on a variety of health outcomes (Airhehenbuwa and Dutta, 2012; Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009).

Stage models in several disciplines such as social psychology, marketing, rural sociology, and psychotherapy have identified the series of steps that an individual would typically pass through from first awareness to adoption. This hierarchy of effects in behavior change

Table 4.2
Stage Models in Behavior Change

<i>Stage Models</i>	<i>Hierarchy of Effects</i>	<i>Source</i>
Social Psychology	Cognition–Attitude–Behavior change	Hovland et al. (1949)
Diffusion of Innovations	Awareness–Interest–Evaluation–Trial–Adoption	Rogers (1962)
	Knowledge–Persuasion–Decision–Implementation–Confirmation	Rogers (1983, 1995)
Marketing and Advertising	Attention–Interest–Comprehension–Impact–Attitude–Sales	Palda (1966)
Social Marketing	Cognition–Action–Behavior–Values	Kotler (1984)
Psychotherapy	Precontemplation–Contemplation–Preparation–Action–Maintenance	Prochaska et al. (1992)
Family Planning and Reproductive Health	Knowledge–Approval–Intention–Practice–Advocacy	Piotrow et al. (1997)

Source: Authors.

indicated a similar process in family planning communication. Some of the most frequently used stage models of behavior change are listed in Table 4.2. They represent behavior change as a sequence of steps with intermediate goals. These models indicate that communication interventions should also be a stage process needing different messages and approaches at each step.

Communications in HIV/AIDS Prevention

In the absence of pharmacological, immunological, and medical interventions for a cure for HIV/AIDS, changing behavior has been recognized as the best way to contain and prevent transmission of this disease (Edgar et al., 1992; Freimuth et al., 1990; Maibach et al., 1993; WHO, 1988). Although the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the etiological agent causing AIDS, transmission of this virus depends largely on human behavior related to sex and drug use. Communication plays an important role in this process because it disseminates information that may prevent risk behaviors and

spread awareness leading to reduction of social stigma (Melkote and Muppidi, 1999). AIDS-prevention programs, disseminated through media or community awareness campaigns, are directed toward changing sexual practices and use of intravenous needles. However, not all of these programs are successful and sometimes have failed to bring about appropriate behavior change.

Communication/Education Interventions in HIV Risk Reduction

Communication and education campaigns have been chiefly used to increase awareness of AIDS, increase behaviors associated with preventing HIV/AIDS infection, promote safe sex behavior, and prevent discrimination against people with AIDS by reducing the social stigma attached to the disease. Social marketing techniques have been used to address these goals and to increase the sales of products and services to prevent sexually transmitted diseases. The channels used for mass education have included targeted media, electronic and print media, peer education, use of social networks, peer counseling, and school-based interventions. Increasingly, digital social and mobile media are being used as well (UNAIDS, 1999, 2013). HIV/AIDS education is a major focus of mobile phone apps being developed by the NGO Games for Change. The website claims that many millions of people are reached by messages via these apps.¹³

Social marketing techniques have especially been used among at-risk populations globally to promote the distribution, sales, and use of condoms. The four Ps of social marketing—Product, Price, Place, and Promotion—have been researched in relation to the characteristics of specific populations. Commercial advertising and packaging of condoms, appropriate price, and convenient locations (truck stops, bars, hotels) for sale/distribution have resulted in dramatic increases in condom sales in countries such as Ivory Coast, Uganda, and Malaysia where condoms were practically unavailable prior to social marketing campaigns (UNAIDS, 1999, 2013; World Bank, 1997). Other countries where there has been some success in increasing condom use include India, Zambia, and Pakistan (UNAIDS, 1999). Other concepts such as ideation have significantly increased contraception levels in Nepal, the Philippines, Tanzania, Honduras, and Egypt (Kincaid et al., 2007).

Psychosocial Theories in HIV/AIDS Communication

In order to minimize the chances of failure, an array of psychosocial theories have been used to drive communication campaigns and to predict the consequences of interventions (Maibach et al., 1993; Storey and Figueroa, 2012; UNAIDS, 1999). Health communication scholars have tried to understand how individuals process information and have identified factors that contribute to appropriate behavior change. Some of these theorists have implicitly or explicitly assumed that if individuals were provided with the *right* information, they would adopt the recommended behavior. Others have endorsed the need to teach and directly mentor behavioral skills along with information so that individuals are able to carry out the desired behaviors (WHO, 2013).

Psychosocial models of high-risk behaviors may be divided into three streams: those that focus on predicting risky behavior, those that deal with behavior change, and models that predict maintenance of safe behavior (UNAIDS, 1999, 2012). Psychological theories and models frequently used in HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns are briefly reviewed below. These models do not consider the interaction of social, cultural, and environmental factors as occurring independently of individual behavioral variables (Airhehenbuwa and Dutta, 2012; Auerbach et al., 1994; Obregon and Waisbord, 2012). As in the case of family planning behavioral change models described earlier, they focus on the stages that individuals are assumed to pass through in the process of behavior change. Of the theories discussed below, only the *AIDS Risk Reduction and Management (ARRM) Model* was developed exclusively for AIDS.

Health Belief Model. Since the 1950s, the Health Belief Model (HBM) has been extensively employed in social science research to explain health-related behavior. The HBM grew out of research by social scientists in the US Public Health Services to explain people's reluctance to participate in disease risk-reduction programs. The HBM is based on value-expectancy theory. Behavior is seen as a function of the subjective desire to avoid illness and as an outcome of the subjective probability or expectation that a remedial or preventive action will ward off the illness. These basic components are expanded to form the framework for the model. The model assumes that individuals will take preventive actions (risk reduction behaviors) when

they believe that: they are susceptible to a disease (self-perception of risk) and that the consequences will be severe otherwise; taking preventive actions will be beneficial in reducing the threat of contracting the disease (e.g., condoms are effective against HIV infection); and that this perceived benefit will be sufficient to overcome perceived barriers such as costs or the inconvenience of undertaking the actions (e.g., using condoms). They also must perceive and respond to a stimulus, either internal, such as pain, or external, such as mass media campaigns, newspaper articles, or personal involvement that serve as cues for action (Rosenstock et al., 1994; UNAIDS, 1999).

Theory of Reasoned Action. The Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) is an extension of the HBM (Kashima and Gallois, 1993) and is based on the idea that the immediate determinant of a person's behavior is his/her behavioral intention—what he or she intends to do. Influencing behavior, then, is to be accomplished through influencing a person's intentions. Intention in turn is a joint function of one's positive or negative feeling toward performing the behavior, and one's perception of social pressure to perform or not to perform that behavior. This theory guides interventions by focusing on attitudes toward risk reduction, response to social norms, and behavioral intentions vis-à-vis risky behavior (UNAIDS, 1999).

Social Cognitive Theory. HBM as well as the Theory of Reasoned Action assume that cognitive determinants bring about behavior change, that is, perception of susceptibility, severity of effects, benefits of action, intention to perform behavior, and actual behavior change. But, Bandura (1994: 25) cautions that “to achieve self-directed change, people need to be given not only reasons to alter risky habits but also the behavioral means, resources, and social supports to do so. It will require certain skills in self-motivation and self-guidance.”

Self-efficacy and social modeling are two elements of Bandura's theory that have been widely used in HIV/AIDS campaigns (Freimuth, 1992). Self-efficacy refers to a person's belief in his/her personal ability to effect change, which determines what course of action that person will choose, how long it will be sustained in the face of resistance, and his/her resiliency to bounce back following setbacks. Social modeling is based on the principle that people learn vicariously by observing the actions of others. And further, people are likely to judge their own capabilities, in part, by how well those whom they regard as similar

to themselves exercise control over situations. If people see models solving problems successfully, they will develop a stronger belief in their abilities. This ties in with self-efficacy, since only actors who are confident of their ability can act effectively. Social modeling has been used extensively in HIV/AIDS television campaigns (including EE campaigns) in order to provide information, as well as strategies to cope with stressful situations in interpersonal sexual encounters. Research additionally shows that the most successful role models are demographically and attitudinally related to the audience (Michal-Johnson and Bowen, 1993). The dual variables, self-efficacy, and modeling have been used widely in campaigns on HIV/AIDS because of their holistic approach that provides the knowledge, the skill, and the confidence to undertake preventive measures against AIDS.

AIDS Risk Reduction and Management. The ARRM model (Catania et al., 1990) combines elements from the HBM and Social Cognitive theory to describe the process through which individuals change their behavior. It tries to understand why individuals fail to make the behavioral transition. ARRM has been specifically designed to understand and predict AIDS-related behaviors. Hence, the analytical framework that it offers could be considered most relevant in studying high-risk sexual practices and how and why individuals adopt preventive behaviors. ARRM is ideally suited for longitudinal studies in order to understand why people fail to progress through the various stages. This understanding would allow for effective intervention since it would be possible to identify the position of the person in the change process and address the particular needs for that stage.

According to Auerbach et al. (1994), stage models, such as ARRM, are useful diagnostic tools to determine at which stage a target group is situated, and, therefore, the most appropriate interventions. They contrast gay men in the US as a group highly knowledgeable about the risks of unprotected sex to Hispanic/Latino women, which is much less aware of the risk. Obviously, campaigns directed at providing AIDS information to a community that is already knowledgeable lead to wasted expenditure (Catania et al., 1990). Unlike other models and theories that concentrate on changing high-risk behavior, the ARRM approach takes cognizance of the fact that change is a process and may not be achieved by a one-shot campaign.

The theories listed in Table 4.3 present an overview of the most frequently used theories of human behavior at the individual, social, and community levels, and offer pointers to communication campaigns and public health programs that attempt to affect health behavior changes in individuals and societies (Piotrow et al., 1997).

All the concepts and strategies discussed thus far in this chapter have been taking place within the context of rapid globalization and, therefore, imply change in the possibilities for, constraints on, and dilemmas involved in devising meaningful and ethical campaigns for directed change with the twin goals of empowerment and social justice. Next, we will examine media in today's globalized world, as globalization has raised new challenges and opportunities for media and communication.

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION UNDER GLOBALIZATION

After long being on the margins of social theory, the media are today everywhere accepted as constitutive of social reality in contemporary society. (Sparks, 2007: 133)

The pace of globalization, as we discussed at length in Chapter 3, is altering the nature and meaning of development. Here, we focus more specifically on media and communication in globalization and some of its features and controversies that must be considered. These include the changing character of media and media concentration, processes of cultural imperialism and commodification, the reduced role of the state, global media formats and content, and, in general, new avenues to resist excess or unwanted Western influence in development and other interventions.

Media and Cultural Imperialism

The media and cultural imperialism thesis, an earlier critical theory of culture-centered globalization, was popular in the 1970s through the late 1980s. Media and cultural imperialism theory posited a world in which cultures situated at the periphery of world affairs

Table 4.3
Frequently Used Theories of Human Behavior

<i>Level</i>	<i>Theory or Model</i>	<i>Behavioral Determinants</i>	<i>Examples of Program Application</i>
Individual Level	Health Belief Model	Perceived susceptibility	Increase level of risk perception
		Perceived severity	Influence beliefs of severity
		Perceived benefits and barriers	Assess and influence beliefs about benefits/barriers of changing behavior
Theory of Reasoned Action	Theory of Reasoned Action	Cues to action	Assess and influence attitudes
		Attitudes	Assess and influence norms in the social group
		Subjective norms	Assess and influence behavioral intentions
		Behavioral intentions	Sexual communication, need for social support to reinforce behavior change
Social Cognitive Theory	Social Cognitive Theory	Outcome expectancies	Modeling of safer behaviors
		Self-efficacy	Assess and influence outcome expectations and norms, perceived risk
Social Learning Theory	Stages of Change	Precontemplative	Assess and influence self-efficacy, intention
		Contemplative Preparation	Assess and influence self-efficacy, intentions and outcome expectations
		Action	Assess and influence outcome expectations and norms
		Maintenance	Assess and influence norms, self-efficacy

AIDS Risk Reduction Model	Labeling	Assess and influence risk perception, aversive emotions and knowledge
	Commitment	Assess and influence perceptions of enjoyment self-efficacy and risk reduction
Social and Community Level	Enactment and maintenance	Assess and influence communication, informal networking, formal help-seeking
	Change agent	Who are the influential people in the community
	Communication channels	Most effective means to spread information including community leaders
Social Influences	Context	Assess type of social networks in community
	Context of social interactions	Equip young people with social skills including peer pressure resistance skills
Social Network Theory	Social norms	Assess and influence social norms
	Social rewards and punishments	
	Social networks	Assess composition of social network
	Social support	Assess, build up social support
Theory of Gender and Power	Social sexual norms and power dynamics	Address social structure of gender relations
	Empowerment	Assess community priorities
	Community building	Assess key activities of the community and facilitate alliance-building

(Table 4.3 contd.)

(Table 4.3 contd.)

Level	Theory or Model	Behavioral Determinants	Examples of Program Application
	Social Ecological Model for Health Promotion	Intra-personal (knowledge, attitudes, perception of risk) Social, organizational, cultural (social networks)	Increase in knowledge, skills development, influence risk perception Community organizing, mass media
	Socio-economic and Environmental Factors	Political factors (regulation) Policy Resources; living conditions Access to prevention	Advocacy Advocacy; community organizing Social services Increasing access to prevention (condoms)

Source: UNAIDS (1999: 47); also see Obregon and Waisbord (2012) and Storey and Figueroa (2012).

are overwhelmed by media structures, formats, and content of a few dominant cultures. Often, the central dominant cultures have been associated with the US and a few West European countries.

Schiller (1970, 1976, 1979) wrote prolifically on this subject from a political economy approach, exemplifying a neo-Marxian perspective. He saw a partnership between the US government and big media corporations. The US had adopted a commercial advertiser-supported model to support its broadcasting networks from the very early years of radio broadcasting. The allocation of broadcast licenses favored big players over smaller ones such as educational media (e.g., universities) and media serving small communities (Pavlik and McIntosh, 2011). Schiller and others contended that this biased the nature of the medium to favor commercial interests and marginalized others such as rural communities, public service content providers, and educational content services. Schiller (1970) also documented the increased ownership and control of big media outlets by large corporations, a phenomenon corroborated many times over by contemporary scholars who have extended the argument to the digital media (e.g., Herman and McChesney, 1997; McChesney, 2013; Sparks, 2007). The global dissemination of the US commercial media model and its media products has extended and reinforced American values, chiefly corporate capitalism and consumerism (Schiller, 1979). Schiller, thus, documented the export of capitalist monoculture through the distribution of US media products and other cultural artifacts by transnational corporate players. Sparks (2007: 89) posits that “mass communication had thus become central to the survival of capitalism and the survival of American capitalism depended on the spread of the model of commercial communication around the world.”

Early in this book we asked, “How do media, information, and communication products and actions in one context or locale have consequences for meaning construction in other contexts or locales?” Schiller posited that the vast reach of US-based multinational corporate players, including media conglomerates, allowed them to articulate a type of cultural reality around the globe that closely resembled American culture. Extending this argument, Herman and McChesney (1997: 35) contend that Western and US media corporations deeply influence *basic assumptions and modes of thought* of their viewers and consumers around the world. The economic system dictated by the powerful media

corporations “has organized and structured much of modern cultural life within certain rather narrow commercial parameters” (Tomlinson, 1999: 83). Thus, cultural experience is often commodified, straight-jacketed, and standardized to the buying and selling, possession, or exposure to cultural artifacts such as, for example, Hollywood movies, Nike shoes, Coca-Cola, Marlboro cigarettes, McDonald hamburgers, and so on, leading to cultural homogenization around the globe (Hamelink, 1983; Tomlinson, 1999).

Critical scholars take the idea of cultural commodification further by tying it to certain types of cultural experience. One such ubiquitous contemporary experience is the phenomenon of consumerism (Baudrillard, 1988; Jhally, 2006; Tomlinson, 1999; Urry, 1995). In *The Communist Manifesto*, written in 1848, Marx and Engels observed that virtually anything could be converted to exchange value and predicted that commodification and consumerism would spread globally. Today, even activities such as work and leisure, and concepts such as masculinity and femininity, have been commodified to support consumption of products, lifestyles, medical cures, and so on. Therefore, it is possible to conclude, as Schiller



Photograph 4.2: Nike Fishing Boat. The Nike swoosh hand-painted on the fishing boat in Elmina, Ghana, illustrates the ubiquity of popular Western brands.

Source: Authors.

argued, that commercial media and advertising from the West have contributed to a form of cultural globalization that is characterized by increased cultural commodification practices and consumerism,¹⁴ and many observers see this as a significant narrowing of cultural experience (Tomlinson, 1999).

As many scholars observe, it is within this context of expanded, increasingly commercialized, and Westernized global markets that contemporary development campaigns take place. At the same time, globalization has created numerous examples and possibilities for resistance and *glocalization*. We will expand on these current and accelerating realities here and in the final chapter.

Globalization, Media, and Culture

Scholars increasingly agree that “the concept of globalization has replaced the imperialism paradigm as the main way of thinking about the international media” (Sparks, 2007: 126), as globalization theories better account for the complex realities of today’s highly interconnected world. These theories present a vastly different worldview for understanding the place, role, and effects of media and communication, as discussed thus far. We will elaborate on a few of the key ideas and points in the following sections.

First, we reiterate that the very concept of culture as commonly understood in the past has undergone significant change. As discussed previously under the globalization framework, culture has been unmoored from a physical territory, a phenomenon termed as deterritorialization. Certainly, the advent of ICTs such as satellite-based communication and the World Wide Web have contributed to the weakening ties between cultures and their immediate physical surroundings. The lived cultures of communities in day-to-day transactions and their connection to physical places where people live and work have either been weakened or supplemented by other ways of conceptualizing culture. One problematic construct is the *nation state*, which has been representative of one culture for all the people in a country. Critics have referred to this as a methodological nationalism bias. Globalization scholars agree that the nation state is an inadequate frame for understanding all aspects of globally mediated social and cultural life. Yet, much scholarship on culture still uses a

national framework by invoking concepts such as diasporas, linguistic or ethnic minorities, etc., within nationalistic frames and creating an *us versus them* mentality, even though such notions make little sense in a global context (Chalaby, 2005; Robins and Aksoy, 2005).

Plural and Multicultural Media Flows

Globalization scholars assert that the Western cultural imperialism thesis is dated; it is inadequate to comprehensively address the flow of the present global television shows or the effects of digital media networks. While the US still dominates in trade of many media products, the situation is changing. Straubhaar and Duarte (2005: 217), for instance, argue that “domestic media conglomerates have grown in Third World countries like Mexico and Brazil to compete with American media in the international market, making the relationship more interdependent and the flow less asymmetric.” By the early 1980s, US television exports to many Latin American countries were on the decline, and in Brazil, the audiences were watching significantly fewer hours of American programs (Rogers and Antola, 1985; Straubhaar, 2005). These empirical accounts were among the earliest in contesting the Western cultural imperialism thesis and the concomitant cultural power of the US media industry.

Communication satellites, which were the bane of Schiller’s thesis in terms of their potential to carry Western programs and culture to Asian, African, and Latin American countries, are now employed by former colonies such as Brazil and Mexico to penetrate and influence the television program choices in Portugal and Spain, respectively. Examples of television networks such as *Globo* (Brazil) and *Televisa* (Mexico) that influence program choices and business models in Portugal and Spain introduce a new argument of reverse cultural flows from the so-called periphery to the center (Sinclair, 2005).¹⁵ As early as 2002, the India-based television network Zee was broadcasting its shows in more than 80 countries with access to nearly 225 million viewers. Indian television channels are now available in Canada, US, UK, Southeast and South Asia, East Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and Australia, bringing Indian news, entertainment, sports, and game shows (Thussu, 2005).¹⁶

Schiller and like-minded scholars did not examine the phenomenon of language and other forms of cultural imperialism that occur

within national borders. In multilingual and multicultural countries, this could be a significant issue. Take the example of India. It offers a unique opportunity to observe and document the arrival, the meteoric rise, and the impact of Indian, American, and British satellite/cable channels on the second most populous country with the second largest middle class. India provides us with a setting to test theories and notions about Western cultural imperialism, globalization, regional contestations, commercialism, and devcom. The arrival in 1992 of Hong Kong-based STAR TV through satellite telecasting shattered the monopoly held by the state-owned television channel *Doordarshan*. Until then, Doordarshan was the only television channel in a country of over a billion people and the size of a subcontinent. Doordarshan provided more than just news, sports, and entertainment. It pursued the national project of creating one identity for all Indians and favored the Hindi language over all other Indian languages in its prime-time programming. Until the entry of STAR TV, primetime national programming on the state-owned channel Doordarshan had been mostly in Hindi and some English. Acting as the cultural arm of the state, Doordarshan was vested with the responsibility of showcasing Hindi as India's dominant language, thus, fostering national integration in a multilingual country. In a country with many ancient languages and cultures, television broadcasting predominantly in Hindi during prime time alienated a large section of the population (Singhal and Rogers, 1989).

However, since 1993, the proliferation of television channels, cable networks, and the fragmentation of audiences by language has been truly remarkable. What quickly followed were the introduction and immediate popularity of independent television channels in several Indian languages such as Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu. Indian television went from one channel to dozens of channels in several regional languages within a few years and the programming content also diversified immeasurably. Thus, while STAR TV initially challenged Doordarshan's monopoly in India, a serendipitous outcome has been the creation of a space for non-Hindi Indian languages.

The above facts and arguments illustrate gaps in the cultural imperialism thesis, which had implicitly accepted the methodological nationalism bias and focused on the negative effects of Western transnational programs on non-Western nation states viewed as culturally homogenous units. As such, local differences within national

boundaries based on culture, language, and practices and the ensuing contestations between various intra-national forces were either ignored or not legitimated (Morley and Robbins, 1995; Samarajiva and Shields, 1990; Shields and Muppidi, 1996; Tomlinson, 1991). The rise of global satellite broadcasting led to the unshackling of Indian television from the monopoly control of state-owned Doordarshan and provided legitimate exposure to India's local languages and cultures that had previously been suppressed, thus, paving the way to a more multicultural and plural television landscape in India (Skinner et al., 1998). It led to "the opening of new channels in regional languages and has provided a genuinely new and welcome element of choice, catering for substantial audiences that were barely noticed before" (Page and Crawley, 2005: 129). After the initial dominance of Hindi, many non-Hindi languages saw vibrant growth on the private television channels with a strong audience base, which had been pre-established by the regional movie industries in these languages (Sanjay, 2001). Paradoxically, the communication satellites that were feared to spread American and Western cultural influences in India have instead provided a fillip to strong multiculturalism as evidenced by local and regional specialization in languages and interests (Page and Crawley, 2001). A similar argument may be made in the case of the television channel Al Jazeera that has opened many closed and closely monitored television markets in the Arab world.

Geo-cultural Media

Transnational television has accelerated the process of delinking television from national space or territory. Starting around the 1980s, there has been a proliferation of cross-border television channels mainly due to the easier availability of satellites. However, transnational television is not a homogenous category. It comprises units that differ in content, ownership patterns, objectives, reach, audiences, and resources. The global media system is not a monolithic structure, but instead contains several layers: local, national, world-regional, and global (Chalaby, 2005). The world-regional dimension has also been termed geo-cultural. It represents a layer that lies between the national and global levels and is categorized by a common language and/or culture. The geo-cultural layer represents

an important dimension of global transnational television (Sinclair, 2005; Straubhaar and Duarte, 2005).

During the latter half of the 20th century, a perspective assuming strong technological and economic determinism was not just popular with critical scholars such as proponents of the cultural imperialism thesis, but also widely shared among policy makers and business leaders, as we have previously discussed in relation to modernization. This bias fueled the belief that big media conglomerates could use new global technologies to solidify their position by easily establishing a preeminent place for foreign programming, especially from the US to the rest of the world. In contrast, however, critical, cultural, and audience reception studies posited an active audience that knows what it wants. Studies have showed that when provided with choice, audiences generally prefer media programs in their local languages (Chan, 2005). This outcome has been documented in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the case of news channels, in particular, local and regional interests have been dominant factors (Chalaby, 2005; Page and Crawley, 2005; Sinclair, 2005; Sparks, 2007). Therefore, the theoretical concept termed *cultural discount* could be applied against the reception of transnational television products in foreign languages or nonlocal cultures (Straubhaar and Duarte, 2005).

Cultural imperialism theorists argued that transnational flow of Western television programs via global satellites would have a detrimental effect on national and local cultures resulting in cultural and linguistic erosion (Hamelink, 1983; Schiller, 1976, 1979). This has not always been the case, as Appiah (2006) articulately argues in his essay, "The Case for Contamination." Many others have made similar observations and arguments. While the US still dominates world media exports, television networks from the US and other countries have had to adapt their media content to local languages and tastes in almost all the media markets globally, thus, breaking the trend of *classic* cultural imperialism. "Rather than imposing a totally foreign cultural product, they demonstrate intent in satisfying audiences with products adapted to their needs and demands. Rather than classic imperialism, we find asymmetrical interdependence" (Straubhaar and Duarte, 2005: 218). This is a glocal process in which global communication satellites carry programs that have been modified to suit local cultures, languages, and institutions.

While postcolonial scholars continue to observe the complex ways in which asymmetrical power operates under globalization, the impact of Western media is not as direct and simple as previously believed. In order to succeed in the huge multilingual Indian media market, for example, global media players such as News Corporation (STAR TV), Discovery, Cartoon Network, Sony TV, MTV, VH1, and others have localized their programs to suit preferred languages and audience interests. The news programs on STAR TV, now in Hindi language and a 24/7 phenomenon, are available in India, the Middle East, the Philippines, and Thailand, while the STAR movie channel carries Indian Bollywood movies to the Middle East and Thailand (Page and Crawley, 2005; Thussu, 2005).¹⁷

Geo-cultural Media Markets

In the early years of satellite transmission, global players such as Murdoch, Turner, Hughes, and others attended only to the geographic areas covered by the footprint of the satellites and not to a specific market defined by factors beyond mere geography (Straubhaar and Duarte, 2005). In the 1990s, Murdoch envisioned a pan-Asian broadcast for his STAR TV but had to give up the idea and settle for a northern band dominated by China and a southern band influenced by India. The cultural proximity thesis developed in the early 1990s defined a set of coherent geo-linguistic markets defined by shared language(s) and culture (Sinclair, 2005) as it soon became apparent that cultural and linguistic homogeneity aid the regionalization of transnational television markets. Two prominent examples of geo-cultural markets are the Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas and Arabic-speaking nations in West Asia and North Africa.¹⁸ Regional production centers that cater to these markets include Televisa (Mexico) and Radio Caracas Television (Venezuela) for the Latin American market, and Egypt and Qatar (Al Jazeera) to the Arab-speaking countries, while India and Hong Kong are dominant with south Asian and Chinese diasporas, respectively.¹⁹

Appadurai's (1996) concept of ethnoscape describes a global phenomenon of a diaspora facilitated by the migration of large numbers of people from their native cultures to other places, which then become their adopted home. Thussu (2005) claims that transnational

television networks are now catering to diasporic public spheres. Indian channels such as Zee, Sony, and STAR TV are now beamed to the Indian diaspora in Canada, US, UK, Australia, Southeast and Central Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, and the Caribbean. Zee alone caters to nearly 225 million viewers in more than 80 countries with its Hindi and Hinglish²⁰ programs (ibid.). The Indian channel, Sun TV, on the other hand, caters to nearly 40 million Tamil viewers and is viewed in India, US, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Europe, and Australia (ibid.). Another unique case is the Spanish diaspora in the US of nearly 35 million, making it the fifth biggest market in the Spanish-speaking world (Sinclair, 2005). This diaspora is made up of people from Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, other central and South American countries, and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. It consists of citizens from many countries including the US connected by their Latin roots and catered to by Spanish programs from networks such as *Telemundo* in Miami, Florida. Today, with the ready availability of radio, television, and other content via the web, virtually any diaspora may be readily served with locally relevant entertainment and information. Globalization scholars allude to the decline of the power of the nation state to define a national culture among these diasporas, which are held together culturally by their shared Indian-ness or their Latin heritage regardless of the geographical location of people's domicile or their citizenship (Sparks, 2007).

Retreat of the State

As we have discussed until now, communication satellites have rendered national boundaries porous, and cross-border channels are now catering to local and regional interests and tastes. Further, as suggested earlier, viewers value broadcasting more for its news and entertainment shows than as tools for nation-building by the state (Page and Crawley, 2005). All over the world and especially in democratic societies, the state is finding it harder to shape or regulate the content of what their citizens like to view on their television screens or digital devices. As Sparks (2007: 136) explains:

They are thus no longer bound to produce and reproduce the rituals of national identity, neither at the grand level of national occasions nor at the

much more mundane level of the daily selection and presentation of news and entertainment that fits well in to the official version of the nation.

A prominent example of a cross-border channel that has swept an entire region consisting of Arabic-speaking viewers and indeed the world is Al Jazeera (see Box 4.1) (Jamaal and Melkote, 2008; Sakr, 2005). In the regions of West Asia and North Africa, where the nation states have had a very strong broadcasting monopoly, Al Jazeera through its aggressive coverage of international news and commentary has showed a generation of viewers alternatives to governance and power (Conte, 2007; Hasan, 2011; Seib, 2005). It has functioned as a looking glass where viewers have been able to see themselves, compare with others outside their own countries, and imagine new possibilities for a different present and future than what the state broadcasters had prescribed until now. “In changing the stories and pictures that people had access to, the channel changed the questions they asked, the approaches to telling their own stories, and their expectations” (Cassara, 2013 : 2).

Globalization critics, however, point out that while there has been some withering of the state in the area of economics, this varies across states. Many authoritarian governments have voluntarily withdrawn in favor of neoliberal regimes. Poorer countries have seen some withering of the role of the state due to structural adjustment policies (SAPs). Yet states, if motivated, can and do play a powerful role in the domestic regulation of the media industries and their service providers (Sparks, 2007). As we write, Ethiopia is just one example of a state that aggressively controls its media and telecommunications, including ownership and content (e.g., Workneh, 2014).

Box 4.1
Al Jazeera

Named after the Arabian Peninsula Al-Jazirh Al-Arabia, Al Jazeera satellite television channel, launched in November 1996 in the Gulf state of Qatar, broadcasts 24-hour news and political programs in Arabic and English. To many, it seemed

(Box 4.1 contd.)

(Box 4.1 contd.)

as if Al Jazeera had resurrected the British Broadcasting Corporation's Arabic news channel that was dropped from Orbit, a multichannel pay-TV network backed by the Saudi ruling elites, for broadcasting a documentary criticizing the Saudi royal family (Sakr, 2005). The BBC Arabic channel folded and its staff were given jobs in Al Jazeera. Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, the previous ruler of Qatar, is reported to have watched and appreciated the BBC story on the Saudis, and became Al Jazeera's benefactor. While Al Jazeera covers some of its operating costs through advertising, the Qatari government remains the main financial provider. The government does not interfere in Al Jazeera's internal affairs, thus, setting up an autonomous broadcasting organization in the Arab world much like the BBC (Jamaal and Melkote, 2008).

In the short time that it has been in existence, Al Jazeera has emerged as a free and forceful voice in the Arab world. Its reporting and analyses of the war in Iraq and its aftermath, and the Arab Spring revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, and other countries has been nothing but exemplary. "Not a few have attributed the origins of the Arab uprising to...this defiant alternate to state broadcasting operations controlled by the region's monarchies, dictatorships and hereditary presidencies" (Cassara, 2013: 2-3).

Al Jazeera has won mountains of praise and awards for its reporting and analyses. A partial listing of its awards include the 2012 International Four Freedoms Award, the Royal Television Society's 2012 Award for the best news station, the 2012 Peabody Award, Scripps Howard's Jack R. Howard Award for television reporting, and the Columbia Journalism School's 2011 Columbia Journalism Award (Cassara, 2013).

Al Jazeera has created a free marketplace of ideas and information in the Arab countries that encourages citizens to speak for themselves rather than allow their rulers to speak for them, creating an open forum for average Arabs to express their ideas and exchange views.

Source: Authors.

Global Media Formats and Content

Globally, there have been instances of cultural mixing or hybridization in the media content rather than a direct cultural imposition from the West. Hybridity is a complex concept, but is commonly understood as the mixing of two or more unique cultures, which results in the production of different cultural artifacts (Sparks, 2007). In India, for example, it is quite common to hear people, especially in urban areas, liberally sprinkle English words when speaking in their native languages. Film and advertising industries in the last decade or so have popularized *hybrid* languages such as, for example, Hinglish (Hindi + English) or Tamlish (Tamil + English). This phenomenon has now spilled over to the languages used on Indian television channels (Thussu, 2005). Advertising campaigns too use so-called hybrid languages to cater to the public in a country with many languages. While critics lament the loss of *pure* languages, this is an indication of cultural mixing, which is increasingly the hallmark of globalization. In terms of format, there has been a widespread use of English subtitles in film and television programs both within India and among its diasporic audiences. Other instances of global formats include the popularity of reality shows, sports, game shows, and violent movies, which have been suitably modified to be of interest to the local audiences; meanwhile, this fare is supported by commercial advertisements all over the globe catering to Western lifestyle images and products such as, for example, jeans, shoes, American-style fast food, or lifestyle images that may also accompany social marketing campaigns for causes such as family planning or HIV/AIDS prevention. Media formats and content play to an industrial formula targeted to produce higher ratings, especially in urban settings, and could thereby effectively carry both commercial and social marketing messages.

Global Asymmetries

The observations above are ubiquitous and may be made nearly anywhere. While *glocalization* does contest the cultural imperialism hypothesis, globalization is not power-free, as we have noted previously. Postcolonial media scholars expose these asymmetries by drawing on multiple critical traditions to produce “resistant readings of the

invisible operations of power produced through media accounts, representations and practices” (Hegde, 2005: 62). Central themes in the scholarship include the overlapping concepts of erasure, agency, and hybridity.²¹

According to Shome and Hegde (2002), postcolonial studies “examine the violent actions and erasures of colonialism” (ibid.: 250). Erasure occurs when certain groups, languages, etc., are simply absent from media content. For instance, despite various forms of glocalization, global media products still are not very representative of the cultural diversity in many countries’ population, with rural and minority audiences being increasingly marginalized and unrepresented. Also, certain areas of the world remain largely absent from Western media. Erasure is also evident in the stereotyping or homogenization of diversity into “static categories of ethnic culture” (ibid.: 263). In other words, when present, marginalized cultures are frequently homogenized in ways that support a Western stereotype, as Steeves (2008) demonstrates in Africa’s representation on reality television. Agency (or voice) and erasure are closely related in that erasures usually happen because marginalized groups seldom have the power to create representations of themselves for many reasons, but primarily because they do not own the media that represent them.

The third concept, hybridity, is quite complex in postcolonial scholarship. Beyond cultural mixing, postcolonial scholars critically examine the nature and outcomes of different types of cross-cultural encounters (Kraidy, 2002, 2005). Kraidy (2005) explicates the hybridity concept in considerable detail, distinguishing the myriad ways it has been used historically. He contests certain perspectives, such as that of Bhabha (1994), that view hybridity as resistance and as somehow disruptive of colonial and postcolonial discourse. He argues that these views fail to account for neocolonial hegemony (Kraidy, 2005: 58–67). At the same time, hybridity is not the same as imperialism, an oversimplified and outdated notion, as we have discussed above.

“A critical hybridity theory considers hybridity as a space where intercultural and international communication practices are continuously negotiated in interactions of differential power” (Kraidy, 2002: 317). Kraidy (2005) argues for approaches that not only recognize overarching political–economic power and voice but also critically examine dialectical interactions among and between all relevant elements of each situation, allowing for the possibility of local agency and resistance. In the final chapter, we will continue

this thread by showing how technological networks are enabling local communities to link up with other local places, thus, creating *supraplaces* and *glocalities* with similar interests and objectives, and, thus, attempting to protect and sustain unique local cultures and interests against the globalizing tendencies of powerful groups to normalize and standardize.

CONCLUSION

The world of the 21st century is no longer such that Western ideas and products can readily be *imposed* on other cultures without considerable collaboration and *glocalization*. Further, as noted in previous chapters, the role of the nation state and bilateral aid is changing with the globalization of markets, increased dispersion of cultural interests, and hybridization of content.

We acknowledge the complexity of analyzing and critiquing media for development in the context of globalization, characterized by the convergence of media and other global organizations, the reduced political-economic role of the nation state, the shrinking of physical space, the ready circulation of information via digital networks, the *glocalization* of foreign forms to fit local needs and interests, the invention of ever-newer ICTs, and the rise of mobile and social media, plus their ever-increasing flexibility and accessibility. These realities pose both challenges and opportunities for development for social change, empowerment, and social justice, as we will discuss in the chapters to follow.

In the next two chapters, and recognizing the complexity of globalization, we will take a critical look at the modernization paradigm and its effects. We will identify and systematically critique the biases of modernization as well as the media and communication strategies often prescribed for social change.

NOTES

1. Lazarsfeld's important work lies in the areas of administrative and critical research. Administrative research dealt with structuring and operation of mass media industries to serve optimally the interests of the investors, media

professionals, and the public. Critical research, on the other hand, examined broader questions involving human existence and the role of mass media in a society. For more information, see Lazarsfeld (1941).

2. For a detailed analysis and description of research pertaining to powerful and minimal effects of mass media, see Lowery and DeFleur (1988, 1995).
3. In his later writings, Rogers introduced new terms to describe the stages in the innovation–decision process: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation (see Rogers, 1983, 1995). However, the earlier terms described in the text have remained popular with extension professionals in developing countries.
4. Localite communication channels are those from within the social system of the adopter (or rejector) such as close friends, neighbors, peers, and other significant members of the community (see Rogers, 1962, 1983).
5. This is a theoretical curve used in probability statistics. The mean occurs at the center of the curve. The area under the curve can be divided into three standard error units on the left and right of the mean.
6. See Kotler and Lee (2008) and Andreasen (2006) for numerous examples of contemporary social marketing campaigns and the many ways in which the steps have been operationalized. The website of *The Communication Initiative* is another excellent resource. It is an outstanding resource for current information on events (such as conferences), campaigns, and projects related to development communication, including social marketing and EE campaigns. Job openings are also posted. See: <http://www.comminit.com/global/spaces-frontpage>. Students of development communication are advised to subscribe to The Communication Initiative’s online newsletter, *The Drum Beat* (<http://www.comminit.com/global/newsletters/287>).
7. Two examples illustrated the trend toward increasing the entertainment content of television programs (Rogers, 1987): In American Samoa, an educational television system introduced in 1967 now serves as a channel for broadcasting American entertainment shows; the transmitter in Kheda district in Gujarat, India, that produced local development programs was closed down in the mid-1980s when the audience switched to viewing the Ahmedabad television station when it started to broadcast national programs (mostly entertainment) into Kheda district.
8. In the US and other wealthier countries, traditional television use is actually decreasing as people increasingly view video content on tablets and computers.
9. Sabido’s basic methodology was as follows (Singhal et al., 1993: 3–4): Decide on the main message or central value to relay. Also, identify related values (e.g., family harmony, family communication, and child development) that are important to the main message and may be significant in message reception. Make sure that all the values to be promoted are consistent with the views of key opinion leaders, including political leaders, TV executives, and religious leaders. Develop positive and other role models, consistent with social learning theory. Write the script and produce the program within a well-defined and high-quality telenovela system.

10. See the Games for Change website: <http://www.gamesforchange.org/about/> (consulted July 31, 2013).
11. See <http://www.halftheskymovement.org/> (consulted July 31, 2013).
12. See <http://www.halftheskymovement.org/pages/mobile-games> (consulted July 31, 2013). We thank Jolene Fisher for alerting us to Games for Change.
13. See <http://www.gamesforchange.org/bio/subhi-quraishi/> (consulted July 31, 2013).
14. While culture has been commodified through trade in media, critics posit that it is dwarfed by trade in non-media industries.
15. Sinclair (2005) commented that the Portuguese connection through Globo is far more significant than the Spanish connection by Televisa.
16. These channels cater mostly to the Indian diasporic audience (Thussu, 2005).
17. In 1998, Melkote traveled from Mumbai, India, to Jerusalem in Israel. As soon as he checked into his hotel room, he switched the television set on, and while surfing the channels he found MTV, only to realize that it was from India with songs from Bollywood cinema.
18. China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong is another geo-linguistic region, but due to political reasons it is still not a viable market.
19. Notwithstanding the growth and importance of regional production centers and regional media markets, the US and its media industry is still by far the biggest player.
20. This is a hybrid language made up of Hindi and English.
21. Steeves (2008) draws on these concepts to analyze the commodification of Africa on US network reality television.

III

**CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON
COMMUNICATION AND
DEVELOPMENT**



CHAPTER 5

DECONSTRUCTING THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Place has been central to the development experience, in that development projects are implemented in particular places or locations. Yet at the same time, development has operated to erase anything that is particular to a place in its application of allegedly universal and placeless interventions.

Escobar (2000: 167)

In this chapter, we take a critical look at the dominant development paradigm that we introduced in Chapter 3. We begin with an overview of biases and consequences of modernization and its scientific underpinnings. Then, we critique multiple facets of this paradigm, beginning with empirical critiques of economic models at the macro level, including a review and deconstruction of Keynesian and neoliberal policy regimes. We then address the erroneous micro-level assumptions made by these economic models. Next, we critically examine social evolutionary modernization models and related psychological theories, including their tendency to be excessively abstract, ahistorical, and ethnocentric, as well as the use of incorrect indicators, and failure to adequately consider the contexts. Further, we note that while most discussions in the modernization paradigm foreground the economic class bias, they overlook other important social intersections and areas of neglect, particularly gender and environment. Therefore, we also discuss critiques accorded to gender roles and the environment in the dominant discourse of development.¹ We close by reviewing alternative perspectives on development that have aimed to respond to criticisms, while still remaining vulnerable to critique. These include the dependency theory, the world systems theory, basic needs perspectives, and approaches emphasizing local organization and agency.

BIASES OF THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Tipps (1973) makes three kinds of critiques of the modernization paradigm. *Ideologically*, he shows the many ways in which modernization indicates an ethnocentric worldview in its assumption that the Western way is universal. *Empirically*, there is much evidence that modernization has failed to achieve its goals. This is related to the ideological critique in that successful projects must carefully consider local history and context. Finally, at the *metatheoretical* level, Tipps argues that the concepts of modernization are vague and not parsimonious; hence, modernization is a weak theory. We agree, and we will explicate these themes in this chapter by deconstructing the many features of the dominant paradigm of development and change.

The assumptive basis for modernization has been around for at least 400 years. The historical, political, and cultural conditions that shaped the ideas of development as an antidote to social anarchy and chaos and as a stimulus to *progress* were first constructed in Europe. During this long sojourn through European history, several factors provided the groundswell of support for the idea of continuous and unrelenting material progress such as humanistic ideas of the Renaissance,² the Protestant work ethic, modern science, and the rise of European states (Friberg and Hettne, 1985). The capitalist elite, the state bureaucrat, and the scientist comprised the important actors.

The scientific method was an important outcome of the Renaissance period. It replaced religion and scriptures as tools to gain knowledge and help guide human actions. However, within a short period, positivistic science became *the* method to guide and analyze social change. The determinism of positivistic science made its tenets non-negotiable, leading often to a “conflict with the natural rights of man” (Alvares, 1992: 228). Over time, modern science derived many of its propositions and laws from its application in industry.³ The assumptions of science quickly pervaded other institutions as well. In essence, science has claimed to be the final arbiter of truth. As the Enlightenment values that undergird science are consistent with those of modern political-economic systems, science and scientific discourse, economics, and politics constitute mutually reinforcing systems. Thus, modern states, bureaucrats, and other elites, and scientist-technocrats have taken over the responsibility of deciding what is truth and what is

not. Post-structuralists such as Foucault (1980) have posited that as a servant of the state, science has been used not just to explain reality, but to produce, control, and normalize reality. The process of normalization reduces heterogeneity by homogenizing individual feelings, desires, and actions.

Today's *development machine* is very powerful because of its vast reach and institutional backing. A major factor in the spread of the technocratic development discourse is the powerful, monolithic institutional structure that has been set up to promote it. The Bretton Woods Conference put in place a powerful array of forces to steer the world past the pitfalls of underdevelopment. The role of the elite and the state bureaucrat in developing countries has greatly enhanced the spread of this development model. "Every nation-state stepped in voluntarily to force development, often with the assistance of police and magistrates" (Alvares, 1992: 226). Partner institutions in development include states, aid agencies, multilateral agencies, NGOs, private banks, technical consultancies, and research departments in universities (Crush, 1995). In addition, state-induced violence and authoritarianism are commonplace. Scholars such as Ashis Nandy (1992) posit that the coercive power of modern governments to control their populations or wage war against others comes from the application of sophisticated scientific method. What sets the present development discourse apart from that of the past is that the state has entered *all* areas of its citizens' lives and set up total systems for social and political engineering based on the science-based theory of development and progress (ibid.).

Below, we summarize some of the overt and covert biases of the dominant paradigm and its discourse that we discussed in Chapter 3. The list is not exhaustive, but rather a beginning in the deconstruction of the dominant paradigm:

- Rationality and progress are synonymous with economic rationality and growth as articulated by the economic and political elite in the North, by multilateral organizations controlled by such elite, state bureaucrats, and by vested interests in the South (Braidotti et al., 1994; Easterly, 2014).
- An ever higher standard of living as quantified by indicators such as per capita income, per capita consumption of resources, and GNP constitutes a key goal. This bias foregrounds material aspects

of life, that is, emphasizing maximum material consumption and neglecting nonmaterial needs (Latouche, 1992).

- The dominant discourse aided by the positivistic scientific method has claimed to speak the *truth* about development. Thus, assumptions and images of modernity and progress as exported from the industrialized West have been uncritically accepted by the leaders of many recipient countries (Foucault, 1980). These beliefs have overpowered other analyses, such as folk-scientific descriptions of nature (Alvares, 1992).
- The prior histories of developing countries have been considered irrelevant to the enterprise of modernization. Communities have been stripped of their histories and cultures, a priori categories have been constructed for them, and a technocratic plan has been charted for their future (Crush, 1995). Thus, objects of development are treated in a historical vacuum that precludes any analysis of previous initiatives and their harmful effects (Mitchell, 1995).
- Development concepts, initiatives, and their presumed benefits have been guided by master geographies constructed by the dominant states and institutions. Thus, labels such as the Third World, Orient, Africa, and North-South have become stereotypes. Third World countries or poorer enclaves within them are viewed as net receivers of development assistance. “That most of the benefits actually flow from the groups and areas ‘targeted’ to the capitals, wealthier enclaves, families and their technical advisers (through debt-servicing or absorption of the externalities of development), is not part of the map of development” (Hewitt, 1995: 128).
- There is a strong biological metaphor in development discourse. *Entwicklung*, or the process of social evolution, has been considered similar to the phylogenic changes in a biological organism. Development of human societies, then, must also follow the linear and irreversible stages of phylogeny.
- There is a strong teleology bias in the evolutionary perspective on change. Prominent theories in sociology have prescribed development in the Third World as an orderly progression toward modernity, which is guided by the same master trends that propelled Europe to a state of modernity. This discourse of a

Grand Narrative is now discarded by most scholars of history and change. Critics claim that there are no dogmatic foundations to epistemology; history and generation of knowledge have many competing versions, and, thus, history is bereft of teleology.⁴ Therefore, the idea of an orderly change toward a predetermined end is a mirage (Bauman, 1998; Lyotard, 1985).

- The lack of critical context leads to the assumption that social problems are natural, rather than outcomes of politics, mismanagement, corruption, greed, or the exercise of power (Escobar, 1995b; Wilkins, 1999). *Natural* hazards such as famine and drought, for example, are not regarded as possible outcomes of policy failure, limitations of research paradigms, or the crises of capitalist modernization ventures. “Rather, hazards are constructed as problems due to external factors beyond managerial control.... Hazards are situated, metaphorically, at the frontier, part of the unfinished business of modernization” (Crush, 1995: 16; Hewitt, 1995).

Consequences of the Dominant Paradigm of Development

Many of the consequences of the dominant paradigm, often negative, flow directly from the above biases. The stage theories of development and the linear bias of directed social change have straightjacketed objects of development into frozen states assumed to share common characteristics. “Not only are the objects of development stripped of their history, but they are then inserted into implicit (and explicit) typologies which define a priori what they are, where they’ve been and where, with development as guide, they can go” (Crush, 1995: 9). Uprooted from their histories and cultures, Third World countries have become pliable objects to be manipulated by development experts toward a common and inevitable destiny. “The industrial mode of production, which was no more than one, among many, forms of social life, became the definition of the terminal stage of a unilinear way of social evolution” (Esteva, 1992: 9).

As for the people and communities far removed from the center, developmentalism has assaulted their human rights and the environment on which they depend, eroding their control over their lifestyles

and natural resources (Easterly, 2014). The mantra of economic development has reduced most of these people into objects to be *developed* for their own good by the all-knowing development technocrat. In the process, local narratives, cultural meanings, and social arrangements have been devalued. Thus, development has resulted in the colonization of indigenous views relating to a *good life*, sickness and death, the environment, and the cosmos.

In the name of development and progress, the state has unleashed violence against its citizens, especially those who are powerless. Mega development projects such as hydroelectric dams, nuclear power plants, highways, and mines have displaced local people from their land, their livelihoods, and their communities. Often, they have not even been relocated or otherwise compensated for their loss. Examples of such groups include the Penans of Borneo, the Gond tribes in Central India, the local people in the Chotanagpur region of India, the rubber tappers in the Amazon, women farmers in Lesotho, and the residents of Bhopal, India, who faced the devastating effects of the leak of noxious fumes from the nearby Union Carbide plant (Braun, 2011; Fernandes and Thukral, 1989; Sainath, 1996; Shiva, 1992). According to the sixth State of India's Environment Report released by the New Delhi-based Center for Science and Environment in 2013, India's richest regions endowed with minerals, forests, wildlife, and clean water sources are also home to some of its poorest and marginalized people. The mining industry takes the minerals and the resulting wealth and leaves in its wake degraded land, water sources, forests, and unemployment for the local residents.

Sachs (1992: 4) warns that the monoculture being spread by development "has eroded viable alternatives to the industrial, growth-oriented society and dangerously crippled humankind's capacity to meet an increasingly different future with creative responses". Other scholars caution that the present development model that is resource-intensive and polluting is empirically untenable.

This voracious appetite for resources is demonstrated yet more clearly in the example of the United States: less than 6 per cent of the world's population consumes about 40 per cent of the world's natural resources. If one were to extend this industrial mode of production and lifestyle to all the people of the earth, five or six further planets like the earth would be required for resource plundering and waste disposal. (Ullrich, 1992: 280)

Next, we discuss the economic biases of modernization, followed by critiques of additional facets of the paradigm.

CRITIQUE OF THE ECONOMIC MODELS

There are many approaches to critiquing the overwhelming economic orientation of the dominant paradigm. First, we will examine the model grounded in neoclassical economic theories, which were dominant in the post-World War II period and until the 1970s. We will then discuss and critique the model influenced by neoliberal economic theories from the late 1970s and until the present.

Critique of the Economic Model in the First Development Decade (1960s)

The neoclassical economic model adopted during the First Development Decade and earlier assumed a *trickle-down* flow of development benefits. This approach gradually began losing credibility by the mid-1970s. Dudley Seers (1977b: 3) documented some of the reasons:

- The social problems of developed nations were spreading concern about the environmental costs of economic growth.
- Despite substantial transfers of capital and technology from the developed nations to the Third World, the gap between per capita incomes between the two blocs was growing.
- Third World nations with impressive rates of growth did not achieve either the political status or social equity expected of them.
- Income inequality was rising throughout the Third World.
- Unemployment rates did not decline in spite of impressive growth rates.
- Power was being concentrated among an elite coterie who benefited from the growth, and who then used that power to preserve inequality in their societies.

In the dominant paradigm, economic growth was presumed synonymous with development. Per capita incomes and GNP rates constituted reliable criteria to measure progress. However, there were other economic indicators that were equally important but given a short shrift in the *trickle-down* approach. For example, progress in eradicating unemployment, income inequality, and poverty was dismal in the aftermath of the First Development Decade. Weaver and Jameson (1978) note that in each of these areas, the poor benefited very little, and their plight deteriorated from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Unemployment

During the 1960s, unemployment rates actually went up rather than down. And, this was the period during which the economies of developing nations were doing well. Available data indicated that rate of increase of unemployment was concomitant with high rates of growth (Weaver and Jameson, 1978).

Income Inequality

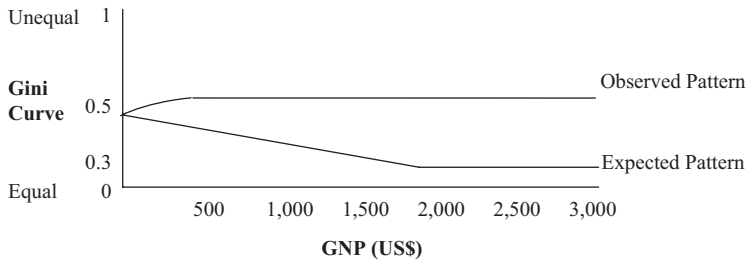
Income inequality increased all over the Third World. Weaver and Jameson (1978) documented the trend in several countries such as Kenya, Brazil, Ecuador, and Turkey. In these countries, the share of national income was concentrated in the hands of a very small minority. For example, in Brazil in the 1960s, the top 5 percent cornered as much as 46 percent of the national income. While the trickle-down model encouraged some initial inequality as necessary to generate savings and incentives, the rate of inequality that actually emerged was dysfunctional for broad economic growth. According to the theoretical assumption of the trickle-down model, the measure of inequality would reduce as economies grew. However, Weaver and Jameson (1978: 37), using data from Chenery et al. (1974), showed that such was not the case in the period following the First Development Decade. Income inequality once established did not decline (see Figure 5.1).

Poverty

This was intimately connected with unemployment and income inequality. Any negative growth in these two areas has a detrimental effect on poverty rates. Here, poverty is defined as the inability

Figure 5.1

Relation between GNP and Income Inequality (Gini Curve)

**Source:** Authors.

of people to meet basic necessities such as minimal food, clothing, footwear, and shelter. Studies found that as economic expansion proceeded, the income of the bottom 40 percent in developing countries fell not only relatively (which was to be expected during the initial period) but in absolute terms as well (Adelman and Morris, 1973). In other words, the bottom half of the population in countries such as Pakistan, India, Brazil, and Mexico had less income (in absolute dollars) at the end of the 1970s than they had in the early 1960s (*ibid.*).

In short, economic planning using modernization models brought about mixed results. Many developing nations showed impressive increases in their GNP rates until the 1960s. Some even doubled and tripled these rates. For example, in Brazil, GNP rates showed a 7 percent increase every year from the mid-1960s and for some time thereafter, and in South Korea, after 1974, GNP grew at 10 percent per year. However, unemployment, poverty, and income inequality were increasing as well. The poor benefited very little from the economic growth in their countries.

The above discussion demonstrates that the trickle-down economic model did not alleviate the poverty of the very needy and poor in developing nations who constituted the majority of the population. Many have argued that this was because the emphasis was on economic growth via capital-intensive projects and not equitable distribution of the fruits of development. Thus, rising GNP rates, to the extent that they occurred, did not reflect a broad rise in income. Those who controlled economic and political power benefited from the growth. The focus on capital-intensive projects made capital cheap relative to labor. However, in reality, developing countries were labor-rich and capital-poor (Weaver and Jameson, 1978).

It is not surprising that those few who benefited from the economic expansion of modernization would be slow to even out imbalances. The unequal structures and the concomitant economic and political power of those who controlled the rules of the game prevented redistribution of benefits. A fundamental problem was the trickle-down concept. The new profits and income were converted into goods such as expensive college educations, luxury houses, and imported cars, which could not be redistributed (Weaver and Jameson, 1978). Additionally, the profits and high incomes derived from economic growth were inadequately reinvested in the development process. They went into projects with low priority for development and they were sent abroad. Plus, these projects fueled the conspicuous consumption of goods and services with a high foreign exchange content. The situation did not change under neoliberal political-economic policies that replaced much of the neoclassical economic approaches to development in the late 1970s.

Keynesian and Neoliberal Policy Regimes

Two important policy regimes directly impacting development and change were the Keynesian and the Neoliberal models. Keynesianism comprised the dominant political-economic system of global development since the end of World War II until it was replaced by neoliberal political-economic policy regimes in the late 1970s. Peet (2007: 5) describes a policy regime as “a systematic approach to policy formation by a set of government or governance institutions, dealing with a definable, limited range of issues, which prevails, as the dominant interventionary framework, over a historical period lasting several decades.” In Table 5.1, we summarize Keynesian and neoliberal policy regimes under the following heads: dominant ethic, beliefs, institutional framework, goals, biases, model, outcomes, and exemplars.

The 1929 stock market crash in the US and the ensuing Great Depression of the 1930s created catastrophic social and economic conditions in the US and Europe. The threat to the capitalistic order was severe. At around this time, British economist John Maynard Keynes was explicating the postulates of his political-economic model. He opposed the tenets and practices of neoclassical economics, which many believed led to the 1929 stock market crash. Keynes proposed

Table 5.1

Comparison of Two Political–Economic Systems of Development: Keynesianism versus Neoliberalism

Keynesian Model of Development (1930s–Mid-1970s)

Dominant Ethic: Economic growth with social justice; a social and moral economy.

Beliefs: State is an important player in the provision of social welfare to its citizens and regulation of business corporations and industry; a holistic perception of a person as a physical, psychological, moral, and representative agent rather than as just an economic statistic in a binder; obligation of the state and civil society to eradicate poverty and hunger.

Institutional Framework: Right proportion of democratic institutions, state, markets, and civil society to provide economic growth as well as the well-being of individuals and stability of the state.

Goals: A strong, effective, and stable government, which through its monetary and fiscal policies promotes economic growth and protects the welfare of its people; assure security of livelihood, protection from major hazards for its citizens; democratization of economic benefits in society.

Biases: State power exercised to set standards for the welfare of its citizens with concomitant economic growth; a social and moral economy; support for collective bargaining of workers; support for political movements and parties left of the center.

Model: Embedded liberalism; demand-side economic model; macroeconomic management and an active state intervention in the economy.

Outcomes: Redistribution of income from the wealthy to the very poor; economic growth concurrent with security of livelihood for the poor and working classes.

Exemplars: High rates of economic growth from the 1950s to late 1970s; lower income inequality between the poor and the wealthy.

Neoliberal Model of Development (Late 1970s to the Present)

Dominant Ethic: Human freedom best realized through a free market, unregulated competition, and private ownership of property including privatization of the public commons.

Beliefs: Creation of wealth by a few will lead to an improved well-being of the larger population; individual freedoms are positively correlated with a free market and free trade; belief in the myth of the lone but free individual; free market fundamentalism.

Institutional Framework: Private property rights; free markets; unregulated business corporations and industry; free trade.

Goals: Weakened state regulation of corporations and industry; privatization of public enterprises; withdrawal of the state from social provision and all other areas except national security; strong military and police protection for the free marketers and private property owners; business-friendly legal structures; incorporation of all human endeavors into the domain of the market; freeing capital from constraints mounted by the state.

(Table 5.1 contd.)

(Table 5.1 contd.)

Biases: Free enterprise and private capital investment; free actors to serve a free market; a weak role accorded to the state relative to the power of private capital, business corporations, and global finance capital (e.g., investment banks, risk assessment companies); opposition to an interventionist state; financialization of all sectors of economy and society; commodification of everything including land, forests, labor, and money, and putting a price on them for short-term trade in the market; short-term contracts and part-time and flexible jobs shorn of benefits; a market rationality disembedded from social relationships; free trade.

Model: Neoclassical economic principles for a free market; supply-side economics; trickle-down of economic benefits from the job creators to the rest of society; market-oriented and export-led growth model; tax cuts to business corporations and the wealthy.

Outcomes: Redistribution of income and wealth from the poor and middle class to the wealthy; restoration of the power of economic elites; structural adjustment of global economies ranging from Latin America, Mexico, Africa to Asia no matter the consequences for the livelihoods and well-being of the locals; attacks on trade unions; low and stagnant real wages of the working class; outsourcing of manufacturing and production abroad; power shift from manufacturing and production to the financial and banking industries; increased social and economic inequality in society; erasure of common property rights, such as state pensions, access to education, and affordable health care; accumulation by the wealthy and dispossession of the general public through: privatization of public assets and commodification, deregulation of the financial and banking industries, management and manipulation of financial crises (e.g., SAPs) by supranational bodies such as IMF, WB, and the Washington Consensus, manipulation of tax codes to favor investor classes and corporations; overall, negative environmental consequences; extraction of profit from poor countries; reduced state spending on social services.

Exemplars: Spectacular growth of the net worth and rates of profit of financial corporations since the late 1970s; huge increases in inequality between the wealthy and the working classes; prisons–industrial complex a growing economic sector; using money (i.e., financial instruments) to create more money.

Source: Compiled from Gautney (2010); Harvey (2005); Peet (2007).

a macroeconomic management and an active state intervention in the economy to promote economic growth, full employment, and social welfare. Keynes was invited to attend the landmark UN conference in the village of Bretton Woods in the US in 1944, a watershed post-World War II event attended by delegates from 44 countries (see Chapter 2). At Bretton Woods, the world leaders attempted to carve a new world order by creating a framework, agreements, and policies for the post-World War II global economy. Free international trade based on a system of fixed exchange rates pegged to the US dollar

was established. The new agreements and framework were intended to prevent future global conflicts and avert another major economic depression. Two multilateral institutions, namely IMF, WB, and an international treaty called the GATT were set up. The IMF would provide loans to countries under certain conditions and monitor and facilitate free international trade, while the WB would provide loans to countries at low rates of interest primarily for building economic infrastructures, reconstruction, and development. The GATT later became the WTO, another major global organization to monitor and regulate world trade and services.

Keynesian political-economic policies enjoyed broad support in North America and Western Europe⁵ in the decades following World War II. The state was an important player in the provision of social welfare to its citizens and regulation of business corporations and industry. Keynesian policies ensured strong, effective, and stable governments, which through their fiscal policies promoted economic growth for their citizens, protected their welfare, assured security of livelihood, and provided protection from major hazards (see Table 5.1). At least three different versions of Keynesianism were adopted around the world: in Europe, the popular model was the *democratic Keynesianism*, in the US, *liberal democratic Keynesianism* prevailed, and in Japan, India, and a few other countries, the *development state Keynesianism* was preferred (Peet, 2007). Keynesian models produced high rates of economic growth in developed economies from the 1950s to the 1970s and lowered income inequality between the poor and the wealthy that had existed in the 1920s prior to the Great Depression (Gautney, 2010; Harvey, 2005). The OPEC-induced oil crisis in the early 1970s, however, created economic conditions such as stagflation⁶ that the Keynesian policies were unable to handle successfully. Harvey (2005: 12) posits, “[T]he embedded liberalism that had delivered high rates of growth to at least the advanced capitalist countries after 1945 was clearly exhausted and was no longer working. Some alternative was called for if the crisis was to be overcome.” In the late 1970s, the macro economic challenges in many Western countries led to the ascendancy of neoliberal political regimes.

Neoliberalism had its origins in Austria in the 1940s when three Viennese economists—Ludwig von Mises, Karl Popper,⁷ and Friedrich von Hayek—started a club called the Mount Pelerin Society. Milton Friedman, an American economist who later joined this group, was

another influential advocate of neoliberal economic theory. Essentially, these economists were state-bashers. They railed against central planning by the government and the collectivist ideology of Keynesian politics. Mises rejected socialist ideology and instead promoted classical liberalism (Peet, 2007). The dominant ethic of neoliberalism is that human freedom is best realized through a free market, unregulated competition, and private ownership of property (Bhagwati and Panagariya, 2013; Rosati, 2012). Free actors functioning in a free market is the foundation of this economic theory (see Table 5.1). While this school has adhered to the free market ideas of neoclassical economists, its primary commitment is to the ideals of individual personal freedom and opposition to the state interventionism championed by Keynesianism (Harvey, 2005). Even some of the ideas of Adam Smith, the original classical economist, are an anathema to the neoliberals. Adam Smith believed that some of the responsibilities of the state are to build public works, such as roads and bridges, and fund schools, but the neoliberal thinkers assign even these responsibilities to the private sector (Jones, 2012).

Though neoliberal economic theory dates back to the 1940s, it remained on the fringe for several decades after that. The ascendancy of neoliberalism to the mainstream in global policy debates and governance occurred in the mid- to late 1970s. On both sides of the Atlantic, new leaders who were influenced by conservative think tanks embraced and executed neoliberal ideas and policies. Two powerful players were Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US.⁸ Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister in the UK in 1979 and almost immediately abandoned Keynesianism and ushered in the *supply-side* economics of neoliberalism⁹ to solve the problems of stagflation. At around the same time, Paul Volcker, the new chief of the US Federal Reserve Bank, started to roll back fiscal and monetary policies of Keynesianism. Ronald Reagan assumed the US presidency in 1980 and promoted government policies that strengthened the ideals of neoliberal policy, such as supply-side economics, trickle-down of economic benefits from the job creators to the rest of society, market-oriented and export-led growth model, tax cuts to business corporations and the wealthy, and attacks on labor union power. By early 1980s, neoliberalism had arrived on the main stage of global social and economic politics.

Deconstruction of Neoliberal Policy Regimes

The dominant ethic of the neoliberal theoretical model is that human freedom is best realized through a free market, free trade, unregulated competition, and private property, including privatization of the public commons. It calls for the withdrawal of the state from social welfare provision and all other development-related responsibilities except national and domestic security characterized by a strong military and police protection, especially for free marketers, private property and business owners, and the political elite. It has led to financialization of all sectors of economy and society, and the commodification of everything, including land, water, labor, and pollution (Harvey, 2005; Rosati, 2012).

Since the 1980s, neoliberal institutional frameworks have spread and have been adopted in one form or another by state governments in many parts of the globe, including the US, UK, Russia, Sweden, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa. Critics of neoliberalism such as Harvey (2005), Peet (2007), Gautney (2010), Ellwood (2002), and others have posited that with the aid and collaboration of powerful countries, supranational institutions (IMF, WB, WTO), mainstream media, multinational corporations, and policy think tanks, neoliberalism has become hegemonic both in practice and as a discourse. Some commentators have even seen the *end of history* in the triumph of neoliberalism.¹⁰ However, critics point out that neoliberal policies have resulted in destroying “not only prior institutional frameworks and powers but also divisions of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land and habits of the heart” (Harvey, 2005: 3).

As a case in point, one of the earliest forays into the formation of a neoliberal state occurred in Chile in 1973. After a violent military coup led by General Pinochet and backed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA, US), the democratically elected socialist leader Allende was deposed (and eventually killed) and his socialist policies dismantled. The new leaders were more friendly to the business interests of powerful states such as the US and other business elites. The Chilean economy was reconstructed under the direct supervision of neoliberal guru Milton Friedman and his team of economists trained at the University of Chicago. Chile provided a safe laboratory to experiment with

all the policies of neoliberalism: “Working alongside the IMF...they reversed the nationalizations and privatized public assets, opened up natural resources to private and unregulated exploitation, privatized social security, and facilitated foreign direct investment and freer trade” (Harvey, 2005: 8).

Other drastic changes included new rights accorded to international companies to fully repatriate profits out of Chile and the abolition of social welfare programs. Neoliberal reforms were enacted with brutal force by the Chilean government and security forces,¹¹ and the state attacked labor unions and other professional associations. This violated neoliberalism’s cardinal principle—to ensure human freedom and minimum state involvement in the economy, thereby exposing the tensions and contradictions between the theoretical ideas of neoliberalism and its actual practices and outcomes (Harvey, 2005). Future events and developments around the world, including crises and scams described in the following sections, would continue to reveal this disconnect between neoliberalism’s quest for the free individual and its actual practices and outcomes in establishing a free market, free trade, and unregulated competition. In any case, the high returns expected from the reconstruction of the Chilean economic polity were short-lived. In the international debt crisis of the 1980s, which we will elaborate later in this section, the Chilean neoliberal experiment went sour, causing extreme economic suffering to the vast majority of the local population.

Critics of economic globalization contend that the harsh experiment carried out in Chile later became a working model for the construction of neoliberal policies in the UK and USA. In the early 1980s, Thatcher, the newly elected prime minister in the UK, became dedicated to furthering the neoliberal dogma. An ardent admirer of Hayek, the neoliberal guru, Thatcher denounced trade unions and the idea of a welfare state. During her time as the prime minister, unemployment in UK rose to 10 percent and trade unions were almost eliminated (Gautney, 2010). The election of US President Ronald Reagan in 1980 further strengthened the neoliberal regime. Privatization of public assets, free trade, withdrawal of the state from regulating businesses and industries, tax cuts to the wealthy, trickle-down economics, and denigration of the poor and weak were just a few of the measures adopted during this period in the US and UK to revitalize a stagnant economy. However, the benefits of economic growth did not trickle

down to the masses. During most of the Reagan presidency, there was a drastic increase in poverty, homelessness, and income inequality (Gautney, 2010).¹² Worse, the poor were derided as lazy, and lacking ambition and personal responsibility (Rank, 2013).¹³ This rhetoric is eerily similar to the postulates of the subculture of peasantry we addressed in Chapter 3.

The steady decline in the real wages of the working classes coincided with the rise of neoliberal government policies since the late 1970s. The negative effect on the working classes was dramatic. In the US, the real wages which stood at US\$15.72 per hour in 1973 dropped to less than US\$15 by 1981 and stood at US\$14.15 per hour by 2000 (Harvey, 2005: 25). “Between 1979 and 2007 the incomes of the top 1 percent of American earners rose by 275 percent, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Those of the bottom 20 percent rose by 18 percent” (*Economist*, December 14, 2013: 36). In the post-2008 economic crash, income for the highest-earning 1 percent of Americans increased by about 31 percent from 2009 to 2012, while for the rest, it went up by an average of 0.4 percent (Rugaber and Boak, 2014). The ratio of the median compensation of workers to their bosses (CEOs) that stood at 30:1 in the early 1970s shot up to nearly 500:1 by the year 2000 (Harvey, 2005). Meanwhile, taxes levied on corporations in the US were drastically reduced and the top rate for personal taxes for the wealthy was reduced from 70 percent to 28 percent during the Reagan presidency. Harvey (2005: 16) posits that “redistributive effects and increasing social inequality have in fact been such a persistent feature of neoliberalization as to be regarded as structural to the whole project.” The US is not an atypical case in this matter. Similar trends in income inequality have occurred in 17 of 22 developed countries in the past two decades (Rugaber and Boak, 2014). The Gini coefficient, a measure of equality/inequality within countries,¹⁴ increased in income inequality between 1980 and 2010 by 10.5 percent in South Africa, 25 percent in Sweden, 30 percent in the US, 39 percent in Germany, and nearly 50 percent in China (*Economist*, October 13, 2012).

In general, neoliberal economics has produced anemic economic growth in most countries along with a skewed distribution of its benefits both between and within nations. First, there is considerable geographic income inequality. An average person in a high-income country earns nearly 64 percent more than the average person in a

poor country. Second, within low-income countries, poverty rates range from 45 to 70 percent of the population, depending on the country. Third, within some richer countries, there is substantial inequality between individuals, as previously noted. In the US, the after-tax income of the top 20 percent is the equivalent of the bottom 80 percent combined.¹⁵ The Gini coefficient in the US has increased from 0.4 in 1980 to 0.47 in 2010 (Stiglitz, 2012).¹⁶ Gender, class, and ethnic differences further exacerbate these figures (Peet, 2007). This dramatic increase in social inequality that began with demise of Keynesianism and the rise of neoliberalism is a familiar trend today globally.¹⁷ The *Economist* (October 13, 2012: 4) suggests that “more inequality often means that people at the bottom and even in the middle of the income distribution are falling behind not just in relative but also in absolute terms.”

Structural Adjustment Policies

Besides, the strengthening of the neoliberal policy regimes within both the US and UK in the 1980s, there was a shift in the policies of the IMF and WB, which together took on a more direct role as enforcers of the neoliberal agenda. Many Third World countries were facing acute balance of debt payments to the WB in the 1970s through the 1990s. In return for servicing their debt obligations, these countries were required to initiate significant reforms to their economies such as “privatizing state-owned enterprises; reducing the size and cost of government through massive public sector layoffs; cutting basic social services and subsidies on basic foodstuffs; and reducing barriers to trade” (Ellwood, 2002: 48). These austere economic reforms were termed as SAPs. By the 1980s, the shock therapy administered by SAP became a standard practice for *helping* countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia when the IMF and the WB were empowered by the support they received from other important players such as the US Government Treasury Department, the US Federal Reserve Bank, US investment banks, and conservative think tanks. This teamwork has been dubbed the *Washington Consensus* (see Box 5.1).

In the Third World, the requirements of SAP resulted in the diversion of funds from sectors such as education, health care, and social welfare to servicing external debts, thus, negatively affecting vulnerable

Box 5.1**Washington Consensus**

At the conclusion of World War II, IMF, and WB were created at the landmark Bretton Woods conference. The IMF would provide loans to needy countries under certain conditions and facilitate free international trade, while the WB would provide loans to countries at low rates of interest primarily for building economic infrastructures, reconstruction, and development. Until the 1970s, the IMF-mandated economic reforms required of the borrowing countries was guided by Keynesian principles that gave a strong role to the borrowing state in creating employment and monitoring the markets. Starting in the 1980s, all Keynesian influences were purged from the IMF and the WB and gradually replaced by neoliberal practices (Stiglitz, 2002). Many Third World countries facing acute balance of debt payments to the WB in the 1970s and the 1980s were advised to radically restructure their economies in order to be eligible for IMF and WB assistance to meet their debt obligations (Ellwood, 2002). Thus, *SAPs* were invented (Harvey, 2005).

This free market approach to development adopted by the IMF and the WB was influenced and put in place by the *Washington Consensus*. This term, coined by Williamson (1997), a senior fellow at the Washington think tank Institute for International Economics, illustrates the interlocking nature of the relationships of interests and opportunities between the IMF, WB, US government and its Treasury (Finance) Department, US Central Bank (Federal Reserve), and the prestigious think tanks based in Washington, D.C. Professor Richard Peet (2007) adds Wall Street investment banks and elite US universities to the seeming consensus in “implementing the spread of neoliberal practices around the world, including privatization of public services and industries on a massive scale, lowering trade barriers for foreign investment and competition, deregulating markets, and imposing extreme fiscal austerity” (Gautney, 2010).

The Washington Consensus-based reform policies were in force in many countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia,

(Box 5.1 contd.)

(Box 5.1 contd.)

causing economic ruin and disaster to the livelihoods of people. In its second iteration, a human face was put on the reforms that showed an increased concern for alleviating poverty, reducing income inequality, and instituting social welfare programs.

Source: Peet, 2007; Sachs, 2005a.

populations. The control of domestic policies by supranational bodies such as the IMF and the WB was unprecedented, leading to the charge that the 1980s was a *lost decade* for much of the Third World. Third World countries were “forced by the state and international powers to take on board the cost of debt repayment no matter what the consequences for the livelihood and well-being of the local population” (Harvey, 2005: 29). Mexico was one of the first countries to be drawn into this repayment crises, followed by Ghana and many other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Critics view the SAP as the poster child of *free market fundamentalism* and *neoliberal orthodoxy* (Harvey, 2005). It resulted in the transfer of extraordinary amounts of money (equivalent to 50 Marshall Plans) from Third World to creditors in the First World, leading to the charge of *accumulation by dispossession* (ibid.). This had a negative effect on the ability of the Third World countries to spend in sectors such as public health care, education, and poverty alleviation schemes.

East Asian Currency Crises

The deregulation of global financial markets is another feature of neoliberal policy regimes. This allows creditors such as investment banks and insurance companies to freely trade in financial markets around the world. Critics charge that the freeing of financial capital markets produced disastrous consequences. “Instead of long-term investment in the production of goods and services, speculators make money from money, with little concern for the impact of their investments on local communities or national economies” (Ellwood, 2002: 20). The East Asian currency crises in the late 1970s constitute an example of what could happen with loose, unregulated capital

markets. Several countries, including Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and South Korea, opened up their capital account markets at the behest of the IMF. Soon, *hot money* flowed in the billions to these *tiger economies* by creditors from Western countries, which mostly went into sectors such as stock markets, real estate, and consumer credit markets with the hope of reaping quick profits. Very quickly, these Asian countries amassed massive amounts of debt owed to the private sector in the First World. Consequently, the investments turned sour, leading to a mass exit of the creditors and their money. Local businesses and others were unable to pay off the debt, leading to a crisis that resulted in the collapse of stock prices and a sharp drop in the value of the local currencies (Ellwood, 2002).

The outcomes of the financial chaos that ensued were catastrophic to all these Asian countries: devastating cuts in funding of health care, education, and transportation; shuttering of factories and layoffs of thousands of workers; reduction in family incomes; and an increase in poverty rates (*ibid.*). The affected countries accepted a multibillion dollar aid package offered by the Washington Consensus in return for further liberalization of their economies. Measures similar to the SAP were applied, which worsened the situation. The worst affected were the poor and vulnerable populations that were faced with unemployment, rising food prices, lack of a social safety net, and poor health care. The winners were “Western corporate interests that rushed in to snap up the region’s bargain-basement assets after the economic collapse” in these East Asian countries (*ibid.*: 83).

Erroneous Micro-level Assumptions

Neoclassical economists and sociologists of development not only extended the Western economic development model to the global economy, but also assumed the relevance of this model at the micro level of the family. For instance, Raymond Firth (1964, 1965) used the concepts of neoclassical economics to explain the behavior of *primitive* or *peasant* peoples. Analyzing peasant society in Polynesia, Firth (1965) explained that they lack a money economy, markets, prices, and other concomitant Western economic factors. He called them primitive for lacking these things, and then analyzed their economic

behavior as though they were Western entrepreneurs functioning in a cash economy.

In the above approach, a subsistence farm family's expenses for equipment and wages were deducted from their gross income to obtain the net profit. When the expenses exceeded the total income, the farm was said to be operating at a loss. This approach, then, failed to explain some obvious realities in developing nations. For example, as Thorner (1968) posited, how was one to explain why peasants in many developing nations survived despite engaging in *uneconomic farming* decade after decade? Perhaps, the answer is that these peasants had perfected an approach to help them weather hard times and survive in harsh socioeconomic conditions as the following examples illustrate.

Positive Deviance (PD) Approach

This approach is based on the belief that in every community there are certain locals whose atypical behaviors and strategies help them to find sustainable solutions to intractable problems, even though these people live in the same socioeconomic milieu, have access to similar resources, and face the same shortages and challenges as others (Singhal and Dura, 2012a; Singhal et al., 2010). Interestingly, these *deviants* are invisible to the expert change agents (Ramalingam, 2014). Hence, the "PD approach to social change enables communities to self-discover the positively deviant behaviors amidst them, and then find ways to act on them, and amplify them" (Singhal and Dura, 2012a: 159). In contrast to the diffusion of innovations approach that looks at all helpful innovations as exogenous in their origin, in this micro approach, it is the marginalized and vulnerable sectors of a community that lead in a process contributing to sustainable community transformation. This is a major departure from the classic expert-driven models in devcom practice.

Singhal and Dura (2012a) document the origins of PD in rural Vietnam where researchers working to combat endemic malnutrition discovered that though there were underweight babies and widespread malnutrition in some rural areas, there were some families with healthy and normal-weight children. These families had found innovative ways to feed their children a healthy diet, even though

these families faced the same resource constraints as others in the village (Pascale et al., 2010). Through an analysis of the pioneering application of PD in case studies from Vietnam and Argentina, the researchers concluded that the PD approach holds important lessons for scholars and practitioners. It provides space for marginalized groups to air their ideas and solutions, in contrast to the dominant interventional frameworks that position the outside experts as problem-solvers (Ramalingam, 2014). An important insight from the PD approach is its praxis, suggesting that complex and often-intractable social problems can have participatory, localized, culture-centered, and community-driven solutions.

Two other prominent examples that have been extensively discussed in sociology of development literature are subsistence ethic and the safety-first principle.

Subsistence Ethic

Several scholars such as Migdal (1974), Scott (1976), Popkin (1979), and Hyden (1980) have explicated this ethic. These scholars observed that the majority of peasants in the Third World live below or dangerously close to the subsistence level. Scott (1976) argued that the fear of food shortages in peasant societies had given rise to a *subsistence ethic*. This ethic was the consequence of living so close to the margin and could be compared to the ethic of peasants in 19th century France, Russia, and Italy. Scott placed the subsistence ethic at the center of the analysis of peasant society and culture. The family's major objective was to produce enough rice to feed the family, buy necessities, and pay land rent and taxes. For example, local traditions involving seed varieties, planting methods, and timing were designed over centuries of trial and error to produce the minimum subsistence even under very difficult circumstances. Scott (1976: 3) pointed out that several social arrangements served the same end: "Patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity, communal land, and work sharing helped to even out the inevitable troughs in a family's resources, which might otherwise have thrown them below subsistence." Living dangerously close to the margin, where one bad crop meant starvation, the subsistence ethic, thus, illustrates how the peasants had perfected ways of keeping alive.

Safety-first Principle

Scott (1976) asserted that it was the *safety-first* principle that anchored many of the social, moral, and technical arrangements of the peasant agrarian order. Given the imminent possibility of facing hunger, starvation, or malnutrition every year, it was reasonable to assume that the peasant would have a different perspective vis-à-vis adoption of risky innovations. In other words, the “peasant household has little scope for the profit maximization calculus of traditional neoclassical economics” (Scott, 1976: 4). Thus, the objective was to stabilize returns and minimize risks even if this meant reduced returns for the labor expended.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL MODELS REVISITED

Alongside—and in fact enmeshed with—the economic critiques of modernization are criticisms of the sociology of development and the psychological models discussed in Chapter 3. Critiques of the sociology of development models include their abstractness, failure to consider history, poor selection of development indicators, and an infusion of teleology and methodological nationalism biases. The psychological models, on the other hand, were insensitive to the cultural contexts of people’s lives. In addition, they revealed ethnocentric assumptions.

Critique of the Sociology of Development Models

Excessively Abstract

The propositions based on the theories of social evolution were too abstract. For example, the dualisms that showed developing country societies as traditional and Western societies as modern bundles “together a whole array of historically constituted cultural differences in a simple binarism that simultaneously homogenizes, denigrates, and silences it by counterposing it to the single, equally homogenized, master category of (western) modernity” (Tomlinson, 1999: 64). While these theories may apply in Western societies, they have

limited utility for problems of development in other societies (Portes, 1976). In any case, they do not answer “why such transformations occur in some societies and not others, why they take place at different rates and in different forms, and under what conditions they overcome structural obstacles” (ibid.: 64). In general, bipolar theories are weak; they present ideal–typical extremes of change without providing insight into the determinants and constraints of development processes (Portes, 1976). Other theorists have pointed out that social change in developing countries often did not support the empirical relationships proposed in the paradigm:

Several countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia seemed to have reached at certain levels a negative correlation between such socio-demographic indices as literacy, spread of mass media, formal education, or urbanization on the one hand and the institutional ability to sustain growth or to develop libertarian or “rational” institutions on the other. (Eisenstadt, 1976: 36)

In other situations, the empirical facts were different from the relationships proposed in the paradigm, yet they led to the same conclusions. For example, India had very low urbanization and relatively little industrialization until the 1970s but still it was able to evolve into a stable, viable, and modern democracy.

Ahistorical

The Rostowian thesis on economic growth was also found wanting. Some writers pointed out that Rostow had taken the prerequisites of economic growth from the historical experience of Western democracies and applied them as preconditions for growth in non-Western nations in the future. Others criticisms of Rostow’s model addressed its unilinear evolutionary nature in proposing that every society would pass through the first four stages in the model in order to reach the golden age of mass consumption. However, the historically specific situations of the newly independent developing countries made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to recreate the development path of the Western nations. As Abraham (1980: 47) notes:

[I]t is, however, highly unlikely that the developing societies of today with their history of colonial exploitation, current population explosion and

a wide variety of geographical and cultural differences will be able to go through the process of growth which developed countries treaded.

The sociology of development models invoked a very limited time perspective of 50–400 years at most. Going back further in history reveals that several countries, such as China, Egypt, India, Iraq, Mexico, and Peru, were centers of advanced civilizations. Paul Harrison (1979: 33) states this succinctly:

It is wrong to call these civilizations backward. In an intellectual, moral and spiritual sense, several of them were far in advance of Europe. Europe was able to bring them all to their knees for one reason only: because she was more developed in purely material respects. She had achieved breakthroughs in the technology of war and of sea travels which were the basis of her military conquests.

The critical stimulus to investment which spurred economic growth in Western Europe was provided, to a great extent, by the surplus appropriated from the slave-plantation colonies (Williams, 1964). It was the unlimited overseas market captured by British commerce through superior naval power that fueled the Industrial Revolution in England (Hobsbawm, 1968). Also, *laissez-faire* was not in vogue at the time England was striving to be an industrial power. For instance, in the year 1700, British textile manufacturers had to be protected from the imports of textiles from India. “Deindustrialization of India thus flowed from British industrialization” (Brookfield, 1975: 4).

The underdevelopment of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, therefore, was not by choice. Their colonized status resulted in either deindustrialization or a sustained state of underdevelopment—providing raw materials for the factories in Europe and remaining as captive markets for their finished goods. For example, on the eve of European colonialism (c. 1500), China, India, the Middle East, and Europe were at the same level of economic development: they were all agricultural communities and well-versed in the technology of that time, that is, plough culture. However, by the year 1945, much of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East was still predominantly agricultural using the same technology of circa 1500, whereas European nations such as England and France had emerged as military–industrial giants.

It is possible that industrial civilization might have emerged spontaneously in China or India. But it is futile to speculate; Europe evolved first

as an industrial force, and that fact alone changed the entire situation, crippling what industry existed in Asia and giving Europe an advantage that would last at least two hundred years. (Harrison, 1979: 38)

Incorrect Indicators

In the development models, wrong dimensions were identified as indicative of development (Portes, 1976). For example, Parsons (1964b) identified several *evolutionary universals* such as money, markets, and bureaucracy as strategic for development. However, for a majority of Third World countries, these *evolutionary universals* were nothing new:

Such features as money and markets, extensive bureaucratic regulation, and formal legal systems have been long known and present in underdeveloped countries. It is perhaps for this reason that when the abstract discussion of “universals” reaches for concrete examples, it selects primitive tribal societies as poles of contrast to modern Western nations. Such comparisons are, of course, entirely irrelevant to the problem of national development. Third World nations, regardless of stereotypes dear to theorists, are not in the tribal stage. (Portes, 1976: 67)

Another evolutionary universal suggested by Parsons was a democratic form of government. However, many countries in Africa and Latin America that followed the path of West European nations and set up a democratic form of government achieved mixed results. “Democratic politics in these societies did not greatly increase the adaptive capacity of their social systems” (Portes, 1976: 68). Instead, they perpetuated and even legitimized the inequality that existed due to internal contradictions and external subjugation of their economies into a dependent status (Zeitlin, 1968).

Epistemological Crisis in Sociology of Development

Teleology Bias

Sociological theory, infused with theories and ideas on social evolution, describes and explains the changes that transformed Europe from a premodern agricultural order to a military industrial complex. As we discussed in Chapter 3, scholars such as Morgan, Comte,

Spencer, Kidd, Ward, and Sumner supported the evolutionary perspective in the *growth* of human societies. An important thesis of this school was that history is not a progression of semi-random acts and events over time but a carefully scripted story line that moves in an orderly way, has an overall direction, is influenced by dynamic principles, and tells a story of orderly progression amidst the jumble of general change. Giddens (1990: 2) terms this the *Grand Narrative*: “The overarching ‘story line’ by means of which we are placed in history as beings having a definite past and a predictable future.” According to these evolutionary theories, the development of societies follows a linear path and the major stages of growth and change are universal. A teleology¹⁸ bias is apparent since the discourse is about phenomena moving toward goals of fulfillment and maturity. Causality is implied since the earlier stages are presumed to give rise to specific later stages in the social evolutionary process.

It is transparent that social evolutionary theories are essentially a recap of the historical transformation of Europe from a premodern society to modernity. It is a story of European communities, which transformed themselves from hunters and gatherers to pastoral communities and finally emerged as an industrial modern society. In these theories, the highest stage of development is always represented by advanced European nations of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 1950s, this model was offered to the emerging Third World as a blueprint for its eventual transformation.

Globalization scholars, many who see it as the latest avatar of modernity, disagree with the evolutionary narrative. The historicity bias of evolutionary theories—that is, of using history to reconstruct history—has been discredited by many (Giddens, 1990; Tomlinson, 1999). The dissolution of this foundational belief in the sociology of development is a common theme in critical scholarship. The grand narrative that suggests a deterministic path to change and a definite outcome to human history is “clearly misleading as a general social theory” (Tomlinson, 1999: 36). Claims about reaching an ultimate stage in development and directed change, or the *end of history* (Fukuyama, 1992) are mere teleological fantasies. We perceive change as an open-ended process where there are no guarantees of achieving specific desired outcomes. History and change are not governed by teleology. Instead, they should be regarded as constant, sustained, and contested engagement and struggle by actors negotiating for specific changes and direction at local, national, glocal, or global sites.

Methodological Nationalism Bias

Another problem contributing to the epistemological crisis in the field and the inadequacy of old paradigm is the valorization of the nation state at the expense of the cosmopolitan or global (Beck, 2002). Globalization scholars contend that the nation state is an inadequate frame of reference for understanding all aspects of mediated social and cultural life (Curran and Park, 2000). Yet, in much of economics, political science, and sociology, the functionalistic paradigm has influenced academic research such that the media are considered powerful agents to influence the creation of a national consciousness. The media serve as fora for sustaining society and culture by creating a public sphere for the collective imagination of the concept of a nation; media policy has always been nation-centered and further reinforced the imagined identity of *nation-ness* (Robins and Aksoy, 2005). Most of the received knowledge in cultural theories has actively used a national framework by invoking concepts such as diaspora, and linguistic or ethnic minorities, which cast naturally occurring social groups within nationalistic frames. These notions make little sense in a global context, and in the same vein create an *us versus them* mentality (Chalaby, 2005; Robins and Aksoy, 2005). Scholars have termed this weakness as methodological nationalism.

Today's global world is increasingly punctuated by transnational media exposure and transnational information networks. Individuals and groups are connected along lines dictated by commonalities of interest and behavior.¹⁹ Identity is also based on personal experience and could be independent of national groupings. Thus, different alignments are possible based on social contexts (including virtual and distanced contexts) and circumstances (Robins and Aksoy, 2005). In the present context, multiculturalism and pluralism are often the preferred choices over parochial cultural formations and they call for frames of reference beyond the national. These frames could include class, ethnicity, race, gender, age, and many other intersections. In the future, nation-centric discourses may be increasingly irrelevant to discuss global media structures, communication networks, and their influences.

As an alternative to methodological nationalism, Beck (2002) suggests a cosmopolitan perspective, which emphasizes *dialogic imagination*, that is, new ways of imagining the world not prefaced by a national consciousness but by alternative lifestyles, beliefs, and experiences.

The social sciences, therefore, should abandon or at least supplement the nation-centered and place-based discourse with a cosmopolitan perspective that posits transnational cultural and social connectivity (Beck, 2002; Chalaby, 2005). This sets the stage for evaluating ideas and strategies for communicative actions in directed change in new sites that are organized spatially or in technological networks or by other affinity factors around the globe.²⁰ We will revisit these ideas in Chapter 11.

Psychosocial Models Revisited

Chapter 3 outlined the theories of McClelland (1967), Inkeles (1966), Lerner (1958), and Hagen (1962) on the relationship between personality structures of individuals and modernization of their societies. These theorists conceptualized the attributes of the *modern* person, which comprised an ideal mix of belief systems, patterns of behavior, and attitudinal structures—qualities that would make modernization and economic growth in their societies almost automatic. These perspectives of development, also called value-enactment theories, were controversial and have been largely discarded.

Contextual Vacuum

The value-enactment theories did not address or take into consideration the influence of structural constraints on individual action. Theorists of this perspective resolutely avoided considering the macro-level effects of political and economic structures and processes on individual independence, action, and opportunities (Frank, 1969). For example, the structural obstacles faced by groups such as black South Africans under Apartheid rule, the lower castes in South Asia, and the racial minorities in the US nullified whatever achievement motivation, aspirations, or empathy they may have had. Therefore, McClelland's *n-achievement* may not be an independent variable but rather dependent on the sanctions, norms, and political and economic forces that prevail in a society. As Abraham notes, "Achievement motivation itself is a highly institutionalized function of a system of stratification that distributes motivation differently and unevenly over different social strata" (1980: 86).

Some critics argue that the existence of highly motivated achievers may be irrelevant or even harmful to a nation attempting to bring about socioeconomic development. Portes (1976) suggests several possible dysfunctions arising from the role of such individuals: They may support unequal power structures within their societies; they may become managers of transnational corporations, as Marxian critics have observed; or they may choose to emigrate to industrialized nations, resulting in a *brain drain*. Hence, these critics argue that what is important for a developing nation is not just a mass of individuals with high levels of aspirations, empathy, or achievement motivation, but articulating clearly the goals toward which the energies and creativity of such individuals are to be channeled.

Unrealistic Consumer Lifestyle

Lerner (1958) and Inkeles (1966) outlined several characteristics of a *modern* person with behaviors, values, and lifestyles consistent with that of a Western person. However, Lerner's empathy construct could very well lead not to a *revolution of rising expectations* among the people in the Third World nations but to a *revolution of rising frustrations* (Lerner, 1958). This is because a developing nation may not want to support the Western consumerist lifestyles. Rather, excess consumption could be dysfunctional to a country with scarce and limited resources required for long-term development. Portes (1976) cautioned that the emphasis on consumption could also constrain the flexibility of governments in choosing between different development strategies. The temptation could be to succumb to immediate consumption in order to gain political support, as the curbing of immediate consumption for long-term development objectives could result in mass protests and concomitant political polarization.

Ethnocentrism

The understanding of other cultures was naïve, since anything that was not Western was dubbed as a cultural deficit. On the other hand, Hammerich and Lewis (2013) posit that world civilizations may be categorized into three cultural archetypes: linear active (cultures that give importance to timekeeping and *getting to the point*), which are prevalent in North America and northern Europe, multi-active (cultures that stress emotion and sociability), which are practiced

in southern Europe and Latin America, and reactive (cultures that pay importance to *face* and social harmony), which are dominant in much of Asia. So, discursively placing developing countries at the pre-stage of development and suffering from cultural deficits, therefore, reified an ethnocentric bias.

In much of the literature on modernization, a major blame for the relative backwardness of developing nations has been attributed to their traditional culture. The value-normative constructs of scholars such as McClelland, Hagen, Inkeles, and Rogers paint a rather grim picture of the anti-change attitudes and traditional values of individuals in the Third World. As a group, subsistence farmers or peasants were frequently the subjects of study by social scientists. Everett Rogers described a *subculture of peasantry* that was characterized by 10 functionally related variables, all indicating that their ideas, behavior, and culture were irrational and constituted a formidable obstacle to modernization and change (Rogers, 1969). All of these studies were focused on the individual. Consequently, the peasant was the locus of blame for the sluggish pace of progress and change in developing nations. However, a macro analysis of the society, its history, tribulations, social structure, and power relationships may have placed the blame elsewhere. For example, social-psychological variables such as mutual distrust in interpersonal relations, perceived limited good, dependence on and hostility toward government authority, familism, lack of innovativeness, and limited aspirations of peasants, while seeming irrational at the individual level, may be perfectly logical when one considers the long history of oppression and exploitation that poor majorities have suffered under the elites in their societies. These sociopsychological findings, to the extent they were valid at all, were probably the consequences of rather than the causes of underdevelopment. Thus, while the objective was to better understand the lifestyles of the peasants, the findings of earlier research greatly distorted and denigrated their image.

Finally, the development of peasant agriculture depends crucially on how one views the nature of subsistence farming and its enterprises. Earlier theories viewed the peasantry as a traditional sector, necessarily in conflict with modernization and change. Therefore, innovations had to flow from the outside into these traditional enclaves and somehow modernize them. This conceptualization of

peasants and their enterprises was highly inaccurate and ethnocentric (Gusfield, 1971; Schultz, 1964; Tipps, 1973). The failure of countless funded agricultural projects globally has revealed the inherent superiority of many indigenous agricultural systems that were replaced by development aid. Thus, there is a need to better understand the complex realities of subsistence families.

GENDER AND ENVIRONMENTAL BIASES IN MODERNIZATION DISCOURSE

The modernization paradigm has neglected to focus on other important social intersections and areas, particularly gender and environment. It has been less effective in addressing concerns highlighted by feminist and environmental perspectives. We will briefly address feminist and environmental critiques here and follow up with a critique from the religious perspective in Chapters 7 and 8.

Gender Bias

Earlier in this chapter, we reviewed the scientific basis of modernization. Modern science developed in Europe within the context of a strong patriarchal order and served to reinforce this order via dualistic thought that associated femininity with the private sphere of home and children versus the public sphere of science and technology. Women were thought to be more susceptible to subjective feelings and emotions, and, therefore, less rational, whereas males were better equipped to use objective reason. Gradually, these beliefs became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Women and nature were relegated to the passive categories constructed for them. These biases had real consequences as the scientific method and its male-oriented concepts increasingly pervaded Western culture, politics, and economics, grounding the development process as well (Braidotti et al., 1994).

Statistics show that there are still gender inequities in access to most basic needs as well as in political and organizational access (see, e.g., UNDP's *Human Development Report*, 2013). In most developing

countries, there are still significantly more women among non-literate adults. Even at the primary school level, female enrollment is still lower in many countries. All over the world, wages are lower and unemployment is higher for women than for men. Women also constitute the vast majority of unpaid family workers (UNDP, 2013). Controlling for other social divisions such as age and ethnicity reveals even worse conditions for women. Overall, deprivation and gender disparities are the most extreme in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid.; see also Steeves, 2000 for an overview).

The role accorded to WID discourse has seen several shifts in the post-World War II period. Until the end of the 1960s, women were regarded as recipients of welfare; they entered the debate only as reproducers. Development planners assumed that men performed all productive work. This approach revealed the patriarchal biases of modernization, also completely ignoring women's productive roles,



Photograph 5.1: Women Selling Mobile Phones. In the ICT sector of the developing world, women are seldom in management, but often play vital roles at the grassroots, such as the Ghanaian women selling cell phone units.

Source: Authors.

especially in agriculture. Focusing on sub-Saharan Africa, Esther Boserup's groundbreaking book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), demonstrated a failure to account for the productive roles performed by women, especially in agriculture. Boserup showed how colonial interventions and postcolonial aid in the new cash economies increased women's workload growing food crops and caring for children, as men's work was increasingly diverted to wage labor in cities, mines, and on cash crops. The problem was exacerbated by men's frequent failure to share cash with their families back home. Hence, the benefits of the modernization process accrued predominantly to men who derived greater opportunities and resources while women's situation worsened. Relative to men, women were denied access to technical training, education, rights to land, and modernizing technologies. Boserup's research was a clarion call to development planners and policy makers to include women in development activities as producers and contributors to the economy. However, Boserup's critics have pointed out that emphasis on just women and their relative deprivation due to development practices masks the crisis faced by all marginalized individuals, not just women (Whitehead, 1990), while others have criticized her for equating *development* with *economic development* (Mohanty, 1988: 7). Still, Boserup's work has been extremely important as an instigator of further study and organizational work globally.

Women in Development

In the 1970s, a number of global developments strengthened the new subfield titled *Women in Development*. These included: the publication of Boserup's research as well as that of other scholars on the economic roles of women, the increased attention given to women by the UN through the sponsorship of the Decade for Advancement of Women (1975–1985), and the disappointing effects of development efforts of the 1950s and 1960s on women and the poor.

Spearheaded by liberal feminism in the North, WID started as a US-based chapter of the Society for International Development. The 1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act, which mandated USAID to explicitly consider and include women in the development process, provided further encouragement to

the efforts of WID (Tinker, 1990). In the early 1970s, WID units were created within development bureaucracies in the North. The UN Decade for Women brought great visibility to WID during the period of 1975–1985. Following the 1985 Nairobi Conference on Women, Development, and Peace, which concluded the UN Decade for Women, WID units were established within many women's bureaus and development ministries in the countries of the South (Braidotti et al., 1994).

The work of WID specialists led to greater visibility for women's roles in development. WID specialists sought to integrate women into the mainstream of economic development and lobbied to ensure that the benefits of modernization accrued to women and children, not just to men. Women's access to education, training, employment, credit, capital, and land were emphasized in this discourse. In terms of institutional response, USAID and UNDP integrated WID objectives in their projects dealing with family planning, family health, child nutrition, and agriculture (Wilkins, 1997). However, funding for WID still comprised only a small portion of these organizations' budgets, and WID considerations were virtually absent in many projects, as Kathleen Staudt (1985a) clearly demonstrated in her study of USAID.

In the 1980s, many studies focused on communication-related issues; they documented women's continued marginalization and even a worsened situation as a result of development. For example, female subsistence farmers produce 80 percent of the family food in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, extension communication workers commonly bypassed subsistence women farmers seeking out male farmers or wealthier women (Staudt, 1985b).

Initially, WID had demanded equality between the sexes. However, this demand faced institutional resistance from male-staffed development agencies. By the mid-1970s, the call for equity was incorporated within the rubric of meeting basic human needs and poverty alleviation. This move addressed the issue of equity between the sexes without disrupting the male bias in the development discourse. Eventually, the WID call for equity based on sex was co-opted under the argument of economic efficiency (Moser, 1989).

It became increasingly evident that the WID discourse of including women could not solve the fundamental inequities faced by women and girls. Additionally, females are already central to

virtually all concerns of development, for instance, farming and meeting basic needs, sustaining the environment, and contributing economically. What is urgently needed is a restructuring of societies to accommodate women's needs and concerns. In fact, the improvement in the conditions of women's lives is statistically related to societal improvement since gender inequalities are usually correlated with human poverty (see UNDP, 1997, 2013).

The WID approach has been criticized for subscribing to the dominant model of modernization and not critically addressing the structures of domination and patriarchy in the development discourse. Parpart (1995: 259) echoes the critique of postmodernists when she states that development practitioners

accepted the ideas that development for Third World women meant becoming more modern. For it is clear that development thought, in both its Marxist and liberal expressions, has been (and continues to be) the embodiment of Enlightenment thinking, and therefore does not reject the modernist paradigm.

Another source of criticism came from women's movements in the South. The point of contention between women in the First World and Third World rested on the nature of their goals. While the former were interested in bringing about greater equality between the sexes, the latter went beyond mere equality to questioning the structural inequalities that deprived women (and some men) of access to resources and power. In addition, women researchers from the South belonging to the group *Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era* questioned if women in the South really wanted to be integrated into a patriarchal Western mode of development (Sen and Grown, 1987). The South–North linkage sensitized northern women to a more pluralistic goal (i.e., to let the women in the South choose the type of development they desired), and encouraged them to think about alternative paths to development based on a feminist perspective (Braidotti et al., 1994).

Gender and Development

Beginning in the early to mid-1980s, the GAD approach began to replace WID. The GAD approach goes beyond the creation of equality between the sexes to question the underlying assumptions of the

dominant social, economic, and political structures that accord and perpetuate an inferior status to women relative to men.

The GAD framework includes both a feminist and a Marxian social analysis. It is both the ideology of male superiority as well as the control of valuable resources (i.e., capital) by men that is at the heart of women's disadvantages (Young, 1993). Thus, the GAD analysis goes beyond the goal of equating women with men through more training and education to looking at the distribution of power in societies and its relationship to gender relations. GAD's objective of challenging society's socioeconomic structures and empowering women poses a threat to large donor agencies that would rather not tackle issues of fundamental social transformation. However, the Canadian International Development Agency as well as the UN Development Fund for Women have incorporated the interests of GAD in their programs. Overall, the results have been disappointing. Wilkins (1997: 116) points out that both WID and GAD initiatives that target the productive roles (as opposed to reproductive roles) of women have attracted limited funding, thus, signaling "a reluctance to engage these issues more aggressively." Therefore, the focus has not been on addressing macro-level structural issues, but to continue targeting women as individuals and attempt to change their behaviors as reproducers. Thus, many of the projects that address women deal with health, family planning, and nutrition. Studies have continued to show that the rhetoric of gender inclusion does not come close to matching the actual implementation of gender-related goals, as in Bazinet et al.'s (2006) analysis of the Canadian International Development Agency, Vargas's (2006) study of UN agencies, and Yuval-Davis's (2006) observation that intersectionality analyses have had little influence on international policy and practice.

Notably, in response to the discourse of both WID and GAD, the UNDP introduced the Gender-Related Development Index (or GDI) in 1995, which aggregates measures of access to health, education, and income, revealing gender divides in countries. Shortly thereafter, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was also introduced by UNDP to further account for women's participation and leadership in economic and political decision-making. Both of these measures have been criticized for using the nation state as the key independent variable and failing to account for myriad differences between and among women and men within countries, such as rural/urban

location, ethnicity, age, as well as macro- and micro-level structural constraints (see Lee, 2011).

Intersectionality and Global Feminisms

Beginning in the 1990s, conceptualizations of the role of WID increasingly centralized the notion of intersectionality, meaning the understanding that the human situation must be theorized and analyzed as a complex web of intersecting identities within a specific local and global contexts. Crenshaw's (1991) work on gender and race in the US is often credited with initiating conversations about intersectionality. Many others elaborated on Crenshaw's work, for instance, arguing that race, class, and gender represent only some of many complex intersections, and that others—such as sexual orientation, religion, age, or disability—may be equally or more important in a particular situation (Norris et al., 2010; Taylor, 2009). This argument is important as it captures the complexity of modern, transnational lives under globalization (Purkayastha, 2010). We will elaborate on these factors in Chapter 11.

Methods of intersectionality have also been a topic of much discussion, particularly when used to understand the lives of marginalized individuals and groups, such as women in developing countries. Some argue for empirical studies giving voice and, therefore, agency to marginalized groups and individuals (*ibid.*). Others fear that, while well-intentioned, empirical studies may objectify and reify marginalization, thus, creating new problems in the process (Choo and Ferree, 2010). On balance, most argue for the importance of making nondominant groups visible in as many locations as possible globally, but in ways that are highly self-reflexive and recognize the local and global complexity of people's lives. Cole (2009) and Braun (2010) argue specifically that qualitative “narrative methodologies can render complexities visible while avoiding essentialism and generalization” (Braun, 2010: 146). Further, these narratives may serve to powerfully challenge and counter-balance hegemonic discourses.

Since the 1990s, discussions on the theory and method of intersectionality have been accompanied by overlapping debates on notions of global feminism(s) (Haraway, 1991; Mohanty, 1991a, 1991b). This trend recognizes women's diverse and situated experiences while

also encouraging coalition-building globally based on a “common context of struggle against oppression by gender, class, race, ethnicity, and nation, including colonization” (Steeves, 1993: 222). The concept of *imagined community* has been used by Chandra Mohanty to highlight the political motives for coalitions.²¹ Haraway (1991) likewise argues that emphasis in the post-industrial and post-millennial world should be on temporary and mobile coalitions of like-minded participants that are built on a foundation of specific common interests. Moghadam (2005) shows how transnational feminist networks may challenge multilateral institutions like the WTO, the IMF and the WB. We will attempt to provide a model for devcom that incorporates such cosmopolitan politics in Chapter 11.

One problem that affects women globally is violence against women and girls in its many forms: battering, rape, child abuse, incest, child prostitution, and slavery. Gender violence has been a major focus of women and human rights groups. There have been two interrelated arguments. First, gender violence is a major obstacle to development as it affects women’s participation in development activities (Carrillo, 1992; Heise, 1992). Second, freedom from violence is an international human right. In 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which remains as the most comprehensive international treaty addressing the human rights of women, including the right to freedom from gender violence. So far, 187 countries have ratified CEDAW, although at the time of this text’s publication, the US, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Palau, and Tonga were not yet among them.

In general, discussions of intersectionality, feminism, and development are difficult because of past abuses and failures and the realities of difference and power, including the power wielded by those with the means to write, photograph, and with access to global media. Both feminism and development have such contested histories that scholars and activists today often prefer to reference them as post-feminist and post-development (Porras and Steeves, 2009). We agree with post-development and post-feminist—or feminist intersectional—perspectives that reject the dominant narrative, work toward an active voice for nondominant groups, examine how these groups encounter globalization, and help to generate context-based counter-narratives. We will elaborate our model in Chapter 11.

Environmental Challenges to the Dominant Discourse

Environment realities constitute another set of factors that have challenged dominant theories and practices of development. By the 1970s, the earlier premise of an open and unlimited global space for nation states to explore and exploit for maximum economic growth was increasingly becoming empirically untenable. The finite nature of the Earth and its carrying capacity received increased attention both in academic literature and the media (Gorsevski, 2012). The perception that the environment was part of a complex and fragile ecosystem under threat of severe disruption from the competing forces of overpopulation, resource exploitation (see Box 5.2), overconsumption, and industrial pollution was gaining attention. The discourse, then, began to adapt, and moved from a premise of environmental control to the efficient management of the environment to serve the needs of development.

Box 5.2 **Eat Less Meat?**

The greatest number of the world's livestock are ruminants—cattle, sheep, and goats—which have very simple nutritional requirements because they are capable of producing their own protein. Ruminants effectively have two stomachs. In the first, called the rumen, microbes digest all kinds of roughage. In the process, the rumen produces microbial protein that is then digested by the animal's true stomach to produce meat or milk. Cattle are usually fed grain simply to make them fat.

Certainly, livestock provide food for humans. However, it is an inefficient process. To produce one kilogram (kg) of grain-fed beef requires 5–20 kg of grain; lamb requires 4–6 kg of feed per kg of meat; for pigs, the ratio is 3:1; and for chicken, 2 kg of grain per kg of meat is required. This indicates that white meat is preferable for the environment as well as for good health. In terms of water consumption, it takes about 1,500 liters of water to produce a kg of grain as opposed to 15,000 liters of water to

(Box 5.2 contd.)

(Box 5.2 contd.)

get a kg of beef. Cattle are also known to belch and fart huge quantities of greenhouse gases with livestock farming being responsible for 8–18% of such emissions. Greenhouse gases are known to pollute both the air and soil.

Plants are more efficient in converting nutrients and water into food consumed by humans. Yet, more land is used for feeding animals than for any other single purpose. While meat provides about a sixth of the calories consumed by humans, it takes about a third of land, grain, and water to produce it. What this welter of statistics shows is a misuse of resources. Livestock are turned into *reverse protein factories* by feeding them protein-rich grain, legumes, and fish meal in order to produce a rather small amount of protein in the form of meat. And, a greater proportion of that meat goes to feed the well-off segments of population.

Source: Compiled from *Economist*, January 18, 2014; *IDRC Reports*, 1983.

Debate on Sustainable Development

The competing interests of protecting the environment and sustaining development were debated in several international fora starting with the 1972 UN Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. The Brundtland Report (1987), *Our Common Future*, prepared by the World Commission for Environment and Development has remained the point of departure for students of this issue. Brundtland (1987: 43) defined the term *sustainable development* as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” A controversial aspect of the Brundtland Report is its pro-economic growth recommendation to countries to avoid environmental disaster. Therefore, to critics of the economic growth model, the Brundtland Report is viewed as an apologist for mainstream development organizations such as WB, the business community, and state governments:

The solutions to the crisis are seen by them to lie within the range of measures that contributed to the environmental crisis in the first place:

more economic growth to pay for environmental recovery, more funds for environmental projects, more technology, and altogether better and more management of the environment. (Braidotti et al., 1994: 4)

Sachs (1992) points out that this is the same tactic used in the early 1970s, when the magic promised by the trickle-down economic model failed to help the weaker sectors of society. A new term, *equitable development*, was subsequently used to make development more humane without necessarily changing the structural anchors of the failed model. Continued economic growth, alongside higher levels of consumption, is viewed by many to be fundamentally unsustainable, leading to ever-greater pollution and environmental degradation. However, the Brundtland Report's argument for continued economic growth altered the meaning of sustainability, making sustainable development widely accepted within mainstream institutions "because it does not fundamentally threaten the status-quo, for which the imperative for continued economic growth is a crucial element" (Braidotti et al., 1994: 133). Therefore, to many critics of the dominant eco-cratic discourse, the bias in the Brundtland Report is to sustain the present development process by putting limits on nature through scientific management techniques (Esteva, 1992; Sachs, 1992; Shiva, 1992).

Adams (1995) likewise maintains that the mainstream discourse on sustainable development has deep roots in the mainstream environmentalist movement in the North. The technocentrist environmental discourse incorporates a *responsible* exploitation of the environment through technical instruments such as Environmental Impact Assessment, and keeping a wary eye on the balance between economic development and environmental cost. Thus, the language of the sustainable development model is consistent with the modernization paradigm. There are no major departures suggested from the present economic system. The focus is really on better management, planning, and more effective monitoring to ensure the least disruption to the ecological system (ibid.). Since 2013, a controversial process called fracking has been facing increased scrutiny and criticism in the US. In this process, high-pressure water mixed with chemicals is pumped deep down the soil to dislodge natural gas and oil trapped in rock shale beds. This process not only requires millions of gallons of water, but there are additional problems of



Photograph 5.2: E-waste. Old technologies such as these television sets quickly find their way into Third World markets, eventually becoming environmental hazards, as e-waste.

Source: Authors.

discarding or storing the contaminated water that is pumped back mixed with toxic and radioactive materials, and leaks of methane, benzene, and other harmful hydrocarbons, causing air pollution. The response of the groups that support fracking sums up the mantra of the business and industry groups: apply rigorous scientific and industrial techniques to sustain the continued exploitation of nature without damaging it beyond repair.²²

Environmentalist Challenges to Sustainable Development

Social Ecology. The social ecology environmental movement has attracted a significant following in the North since the 1960s, calling for both an alternative science and a new social practice. Murray Bookchin is considered one of the intellectual leaders of this movement. According to Bookchin (1982), the crisis of modernity is based on two phenomena: the distancing of humanity from nature,

and the inherent hierarchical structure of human societies. Hierarchical structures give rise to dualistic and reductionist tendencies in emotions, thoughts, and reality. He believes that the relationship between society and nature should be built on mutualism and that human societies should emulate nature by centralizing the principle of unity in diversity (Braidotti et al., 1994).

Hence, social ecologists propose radical changes in modern societies. These changes include: "The adoption of small, community-scale social arrangements, decentralization, participatory democracy and decision-making based on consensus, whereby ultimate authority is at the community level, the level of lived experience" (Braidotti et al., 1994: 158).

Social ecological concepts challenge the mainstream sustainable development view by rejecting the instrumental way in which nature is treated, and the dominant-submissive relationship between nature and society. Also, the related concepts of hierarchy and dualism help illuminate the present crisis in the relationship between environment and development.

Deep Ecology. This strain of environmentalism owes its intellectual origin to Arne Naess. The deep ecology concept includes several other types of movements/ideas such as bioregionalism, Earth First!, and the Gaia Hypothesis. A strong theme in their critiques of development discourse is the anthropocentric bias, that is, the Enlightenment idea of humans' (and human cultures') superiority over nature. Deep ecologists propose replacing the anthropocentric bias with the concept of biocentric egalitarianism, a view wherein both humans and nature and all other living things have important roles to play (M.E. Zimmerman, 1990). Deep ecologists consider:

richness and diversity of life as values in themselves and assume that human beings have no right to reduce these, except to satisfy their basic needs. They also stress the need for cultural diversity and diversity in social arrangements as necessary preconditions for the survival of the planet. (Braidotti et al., 1994: 150)

These ideas reveal considerable overlap with the views of indigenous peoples who have been the traditional stewards of forests and other natural environments. Radical biocentrists such as members of Earth First! also share some of the views of deep ecologists vis-à-vis nature. This group includes neo-Malthusian environmentalists who support

coercive population control measures to re-adjust the carrying capacity of the Earth. This radical strain has been criticized as *harsh deep ecology* (Lewis, 1992). Deep ecology has contributed to an alternative view of development termed as bioregionalism:

Bioregionalism is about re-inhabiting the Earth on new terms...the core of the bioregional idea of development is communitarianism, small-scale, self-sufficient development, and a definition of regional boundaries by natural features, such as watersheds, soil types, vegetation or climate. The organization of bioregional communities is described as non-hierarchical and participative. Instead of formal hierarchical structures of leadership, bioregional communities thrive on networking and organic change. (Braidotti et al., 1994: 151–152)

Another outcome of deep ecology is the notion of the Gaia, a concept that describes the holistic and self-regulatory characteristic of Earth (Braidotti et al., 1994; Lovelock, 1979). This view of the Earth is a major departure from the dominant paradigm's view of nature as a dead and brute matter. Not surprisingly, adherents of the Gaia hypothesis view all nature management as dangerous, as it interferes with the Earth's regulatory mechanisms and the survival of the Gaia.

Radical deep ecologists do not have much faith in social reform and advocate a new hierarchy: nature over humans. For example, Earth First! has attributed the underdevelopment in the countries of the South to high fertility rates and, therefore, has supported harsh population control measures. The poor (i.e., women) who breed too fast have been viewed as culprits and blamed for their own poverty, the relative underdevelopment of their countries, and degradation of the environment. Simplistic victim-blaming analyses such as the above by Earth First! illustrate how the radical left may at times embrace arguments that are consistent with those of their supposed modernist enemies. Yet, these perspectives have been discredited long ago. Earth First! critics counter that:

[T]he problem with this line of argument is its simplistic view on cause and effect and the total disregard of other reasons for environmental degradation, such as the North's overconsumption of natural resources, trade policies, commodity prices, and so on which create poverty in the South. For example, population growth as a survival strategy of poor families is not analyzed, neither is there recognition of

the fact that it is induced by poverty, rather than the reverse. (Braidotti et al., 1994: 143)

Further, in the 1970s, using data from India, Mamdani (1972), for instance, showed that people are not poor because they have too many children but rather that they have many children because they are poor. Beginning in the 1970s, the simplistic and coercive measures used to reduce fertility rates were criticized and a major shift in policy took place after the 1974 Population Conference at Bucharest, Romania. However, real change has not occurred and this continued to be a major theme in the 1994 Population and Development Conference in Cairo, Egypt. More serious problems in health, education, and social service were recognized.

Green Feminism. Green feminism encompasses both a feminist framework and a social movement (Braidotti et al., 1994; Cudworth, 2005; MacGregor, 2006; Shiva, 1988, 2012). Also termed ecofeminism, this idea/movement traces the present environmental crisis to the dominant development discourse in which dualistic hierarchies have resulted in enslaving both women and nature (Shiva, 1988). These groups focus on the patriarchal bias in the dominant epistemological framework: “The male-centered (androcentric) ways of knowing, which account for the antagonistic, dualistic and hierarchical conceptions of self, society and cosmos are perceived to be at the roots of oppression” (Braidotti et al., 1994: 162).

Shiva (1988, 2012) and others invoke *the feminist principle of nature* and the notion of a caring and nurturing Mother Earth as countervailing principles against the dominant patriarchal and gender-related ideology of the dominant discourse to combat further ecological degradation (Adams, 1995). Today’s ecofeminist scholars go further in accounting for complex social intersections and globalization, while still arguing for the importance of an ethic of care (Cudworth, 2005; MacGregor, 2006; Shiva, 2012).

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Based on the critiques of the top-down character of modernization, its central focus on economic development, and its many other biases delineated above, several alternative approaches were proposed in the

later part of the 20th century. These approaches tend to be pluralistic and indicate varied goals for meaningful and real development in the Third World (Servaes, 1999). We begin with a discussion of Marxian critiques, including World Systems theory. Though Marxian critiques reject Western capitalism, their critique of the Western economic model still neglects a consideration of nonmaterial aspects of development. Other alternative approaches discussed in this chapter include the basic needs approaches and the importance of local organizations in empowering local stakeholders. These concerns provide a sharp contrast to modernization's and Marxism's near-exclusive concerns with economic systems.

Dependency Theory

Major areas of theory proposed to replace modernization are the Dependency theory and World Systems theory. Lenin (1939) theorized that imperialism is the highest or *monopoly* stage of capitalism. In this stage, he predicted increases in the size of companies, the export of capital, the growth of monopoly ownership, and rivalry among capitalist nations for global resources. Marxian scholars continue to agree on these phenomena and their origins in capitalism, though they differ in their interpretations. Classical Marxists, including Marx and Lenin, assumed a dynamic and progressive role for capitalism and capitalist imperialism in creating the material preconditions for socialism (Brewer, 1980: 16–17). Others, including Dependency and World-system theorists, observed the failure of capitalism in much of the modern world. They rather described a world system of exploitation, where the *core* nations exploit *periphery* nations, with the assistance of elite groups within periphery nations (Galeano, 1971).

In essence, members of the dependency school, such as Frank, Cardoso, Goulet, dos Santos, Baran, Sunkel, and Amin, observed that a central feature of Third World is its dependent global economic position, and they, therefore, leveled criticisms against the power imbalances of the dominant paradigmatic model. Underdevelopment, according to these writers, was not a process distinctly different from development. In fact, they constituted two facets of the same process. The *development of underdevelopment* in Third World nations was and is related to the economic development of Western

Europe and North America (Frank, 1969; Galeano, 1971). Frank (1969: 9) argued that:

[U]nderdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process, which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.

Dependistas maintained that underdevelopment of Third World nations could be regarded as the consequence of the development of Europe and North America, who marginalized the former and exploited them in order to fuel their own economic growth. In the dominant paradigm, Third World societies were conceived as autonomous and responsible for their own economic shortfalls. Portes (1976: 67) points out that this reasoning

...fails completely, however, to provide a framework for understanding the insertion of individual countries in an evolving international system. Distinctions between core and peripheral economic regions are foreign to the theory. Nor does it grasp the possibility that "autonomous competitors" in the developmental race may be integral parts of transnational units in which weaker states are kept in place by a context of overwhelming political and economic forces.

The dominant paradigm denied history or context to developing nations by assuming that these nations resembled earlier stages of the history of West European nations. Neo-Marxist scholars contest this perspective arguing that each developing nation "is in large part the historical product of the past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries" (Frank, 1969: 4).

Frank (1969: 9–13) posited several hypotheses in the theory of imperialism which he then supported using empirical and historical observations:

- In contrast to the development of the world metropolis, which is no one's satellite, the development of subordinate societies is limited by their satellite status;
- The satellites experience their greatest economic development if and when their ties to their metropolis are weakest; and

- The regions that are the most underdeveloped today are the ones that had the closest ties to the metropolis in the past.

The dependency paradigm influenced the debate on the New International Economic Order in the 1970s and early 1980s that was advocated by developing countries and provided critics of the dominant paradigm with useful arguments. Dependency theory also influenced countries in the Third World in the 1970s–1980s to protect their national industries from foreign products by raising tariffs as well as by adopting import-substitution policies (Mefalopulos, 2008). However, critics of dependency theory point out that the outcomes of these practices were generally not satisfactory. Criticisms also include: (a) the bias of only looking externally—toward economic core countries and their partners—for causes of underdevelopment and not considering internal factors, and, (b) the singularly exclusive focus on economic matters and issues as the main causes of underdevelopment. Globalization scholars dub this latter tendency a *mono-causal* explanation of reality. However, a recent global study conducted by OECD and University of Utrecht reported that the Gini coefficient indicating inequality between countries increased from a low of 16 in 1820 to a high of 55 since 1950. “The driving force of inequality since 1820, in other words, has been industrialisation in the West” (*Economist*, October 4, 2014: 83). Others such as Piketty (2014) have also empirically supported the tendency of inequality to increase between nations, thus, supporting the thesis *development of underdevelopment* of the Dependistas.

World-systems Theory

Building on dependency theory is world-systems theory, most prominently advocated by Wallerstein (1974, 1980), who viewed the world as a single, capitalist economic system. Wallerstein moved beyond the *dependistas*, however, by elaborating a much more nuanced analysis of the world system, beyond a central core and a dependent periphery:

Thus there is only one kind of capitalism, namely that of the world-system, although its various branches may manifest themselves differently.

By avoiding the prerequisite polarization between center and periphery, Wallerstein circumvents another of the pitfalls of the dependency school: the idea of two different sorts of capitalism. (Friberg and Hettne, 1985: 213)

The world system is dominated economically by a set of core states (e.g., the European Union, the US, and Japan), then there are peripheral states (e.g., in Africa, Latin America, and Asia) that are weak and to some extent dependent economically on the core states, and there is a third type of state called the semiperiphery, for example, oil-producing countries and the tiger states of Southeast Asia, that lie in between the two. According to Wallerstein (1974), there is a division of labor between the states: tasks requiring higher levels of skill and greater capital are reserved for or controlled by the core states. The core states are able to maintain their supremacy as long as they maintain capital accumulation. However, the system is complex, and there are no peripheries that are totally dependent on the center for their development, nor are there any states that are completely autonomous.

The state plays an important role in maintaining the world system. What differentiates this paradigm from the dependency school is that “the focal point of pressure in the world-economy is the state structure. The state helps to stabilize capitalism by absorbing its costs and managing the social problems which it creates” (Waters, 1995: 24). The political and economic elite and the military rulers in the peripheral states then play an important role in maintaining the world system. “One of the techniques they use is to sell Western domination as the universalizing process of modernization which increases its palatability” (ibid.: 25).

World-systems theory has been credited for its global outlook and, thus, advancing views that discard the centrality of a nation-state bias or embedded statism. However, like the Dependency theory, the World-systems theory does not provide strategies for tackling challenges of development. It likewise reveals a monocausal hypothesis of economics as the driver of development. An excess focus on economics fails to explain differences between the core, semiperiphery, and the periphery in other terms, such as their political and military power, which do not align in the same way as the economic distinctions (Giddens, 1990).

Basic Needs Approaches

What is *real* development? Is development comprised entirely of economic factors, as presumed by the modernization, dependency, and world-system theorists? In the 1970s, Goulet (1973) explicated in detail his ideas of *real development*. His description is holistic and includes many other qualities, such as: a clean environment; growth with equity; provision of basic needs such as food, shelter, education, and medical care; meaningful employment; meaningful relationships; and a harmonious relationship between culture and change.

In general, a growing disenchantment with trickle-down economic approaches to development, previously discussed, led to a focus on basic human needs beginning in the early 1970s, that is, those necessities that are absolutely essential to maintain a decent quality of life. The usual indicators of development such as the GNP and per capita measures did not provide adequate information on the quality of life of individuals at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder in developing nations. "The idea was to go beyond mere capital investment toward investment into human resources in the form of equitable distribution of wealth and income, social justice and improvement of facilities for education, health, social security and so on as salient features" (Braidotti et al., 1994: 17). Early proponents of the basic needs idea were Mahbub Ul Haq and Holis Chenery of the WB, Paul Streeten, a development economist, and James Grant of the Overseas Development Council.

The basic needs approach, which aimed to eliminate some of the worst aspects of poverty, drew support from a variety of sources: the WB, the International Labor Organization, UN Economic and Social Council, the US Congress, and many national governments. Paul Streeten (1979: 48) summarized the main objectives of the basic needs approach:

- Provide adequate food and clean drinking water;
- Provide decent shelter;
- Provide education;
- Provide security of livelihood;
- Provide adequate transport;

- Help people participate in decision-making; and
- Uphold a person's dignity and self-respect.

Thus, this approach emphasized both basic fundamental needs of people and respect for human rights. However, since basic needs may be met in ways that deny basic rights, and human rights may be practiced in ways that may reject basic needs, Streeten added one more human right: the socioeconomic right to international resources. This included the right to universal primary education, the right to adequate food and health standards, the right to equitable employment, and the right to minimum wages and collective bargaining.

Several attempts were made to address the basic human needs problems in a quantifiable way (Grant, 1978). One measure that was developed by the Overseas Development Council was the PQLI: the Physical Quality of Life Index. This index incorporated data on three factors—life expectancy at the age of one year, infant mortality, and literacy—into a single composite index having a low of 0 and a maximum of 100. It was possible to use the PQLI to compare any changes between nations or between ethnic, regional groupings within nations. Morris (1979: 4) pointed out that while the PQLI did not measure important qualitative indicators such as freedom and justice, it attempted to measure how basic life-sustaining social needs of individuals were met by their societies. The basic needs approach, then, mandated a microanalysis, which attempted to eradicate the worst kind of poverty among the poorest of the poor in developing nations.

We note that through the 1980s and into the 1990s and beyond, basic needs critiques and rhetoric continued to pervade the discourse of development, as it was obvious that pressing human needs remain unmet. Especially notable in the 1990s was UNDP's introduction of the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI). The HDI measures broad-based development by measuring each country's achievements in three development dimensions—longevity (life expectancy), knowledge (a composite measure of educational attainment; adult literacy; and primary, secondary, and tertiary enrollment), and standard of living (real GDP per capita). The HPI measures deprivation in human development using the same measures as the HDI (see UNDP, 1997).

More recently, other indicators used include the US\$1.25 per day earning measure by the WB to judge if a person's income meets a

minimum threshold. The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative at the University of Oxford, UK, has created another index called the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), which goes beyond the narrow indicators measured by income and consumption only. This broad-based measure consists of three main areas, namely education, health, and standard of living. These are further subdivided into 10 specific indicators:

Does the family home have a dirt, sand, or dung floor? Does it lack a decent toilet? Is there easy access to clean drinking water? Do they live without electricity? Does the family cook with dung, wood or charcoal? Whether the family members own a car or truck (lorry) and only one out of the following: radio, television, telephone, bike, motorbike or refrigerator? Whether any school-age children are not enrolled? Whether nobody in the family has finished primary school? Still others concern health, such as whether any member of a household is malnourished and whether a child has died. (*Economist*, 2013: 79)

A household that is more than 33 percent deficient in these areas is termed as multidimensionally poor. This index is tied to access to basic necessities and has been used recently in surveys carried out by USAID and UNICEF (*Economist*, 2013). The OECD countries have created the *Better Life* index to gauge welfare within their countries. This index goes beyond GDP and economic statistics and measures the quality of life in 11 areas of material living conditions: housing, income, jobs, community, education, environment, civic engagement, health, life satisfaction, safety, and work–life balance.

We note that the basic needs perspective does have much surface appeal in de-emphasizing capitalist interventions in order to address desperate concerns of poverty, health, and unemployment. Yet, as long as those who favor the neoliberal approach wield power in development, the basic needs approach cannot dominate. Considerations of national and global security and economics will always take priority. This is clear, for instance, in the fact that aid to Africa diminished with the end of the Cold War. Eastern Europe became the favored recipient for both military and economic aid. Later, Middle Eastern countries became the primary focus of attention. Further, Third World critics have feared that the real motive of basic needs proponents is to sustain global patterns of power by maintaining a *reserve army* of labor for capital, an *army* that is perhaps better

fed, but still disempowered (Hoogvelt, 1982: 101). Hence, attempts have been made to propose alternative economic development paradigms that directly challenge the power imbalances assumed by the neoliberal approach.

Local Organizations for Development

In the dominant paradigm, the value of information for individuals as innovation adopters was emphasized, whereas its value as a catalyst for local organization was virtually ignored. However, some scholars point out that exogenous information will not help a community unless it organizes the people and starts a process of autonomous development (Hornik, 1988).

Roling (1982) hypothesized that the rural poor are impoverished because they lack power. He argued for changing power relationships in social systems and increasing the countervailing power of rural populations relative to other groups. How could the poor at the grassroots acquire countervailing power and make the system at the top accountable to them? One method suggested is the formation of strong organizations at the grassroots capable of articulating and protecting the interests of people on the periphery. For instance, Barkan et al. (1979) noted that small-scale self-help development projects in rural Kenya have, on many occasions, forced the center to enter into a bargaining relationship with the periphery. Reviewing the findings of 18 case studies on local organizations in Asia, Uphoff and Esman (1974) contended that there is a strong empirical basis for concluding that local organizations are necessary for speedy rural development, particularly the kind that brings about higher productivity and improved welfare of the majority of rural people. Some of the successful development objectives they cited were higher agricultural productivity and better rural welfare, that is, health, nutrition, education, security, employment, political participation, and equity in income distribution.

Other grassroots groups, women's groups, environmental groups, and religious groups have also suggested empowerment of the people through viable organizations, political mobilization, consciousness raising, and popular education (March and Taqqu, 1986; Sen and Grown, 1987). We will elaborate and give examples in later chapters.

While it is important to recognize that local organizations could extract greater resources from the center and lead to greater equity in rural areas, they could also lead to greater inequality. Certain groups in rural areas could acquire a disproportionate share of material goods and services. Also, local organizations could help some leaders become very powerful, creating an elite sector in areas where there was none before. And, it is also possible that powerful local organizations could exacerbate regional inequality between different communities on the periphery of the national political economy. The *Economist* (November 17, 2012) reported that initiatives tailored to build local governance or channel funds through local organizations constitute almost 30 percent (US\$85 billion) of the WB's development monies from 2002 to 2012. However, there have been many complaints of fraud, stealing, and corruption by local officials and politicians. Local projects that were accountable to local stakeholders fared much better.

CONCLUSION

The modernization paradigm of development worked better as a description of social change in Western Europe and North America than as a predictor of change in developing countries. The neoclassical economic model that suggests a *trickle-down* approach to development benefits began losing credibility in the 1970s. The worldwide recession of the 1980s and enforced structural adjustment reforms in Third World countries left them further behind, as did the US economic crisis of 2007–2008. Globalization has changed national politics and economics significantly. Global trade, free market policies, capital and financial flows, and the role of the IMF, WTO, etc., have undermined the ability of countries to care for their most vulnerable citizens.

Modernization and globalization also reveal patriarchal biases and androcentrism. Critiques of these biases have led to WID, GAD, and intersectionality approaches, as well as an increased recognition that using developing nations as an unlimited resource for powerful nation states to exploit is empirically untenable and unsustainable.

These and other deficits and biases led to neo-Marxian critiques. Though these critical perspectives reject Western capitalism, they

fail to specify clear and realistic alternatives or consider nonmaterial aspects of development. Other alternative approaches, especially those that emphasize the role of grassroots activists, argue for the foregrounding of local people's space and cultures, as well as their basic needs. These perspectives contrast sharply with the centrality of economic systems by modernization and most Marxian approaches. In the final chapters, we will revisit alternative perspectives and take a closer look at local organizations and empowerment at the grassroots.

NOTES

1. Religion, another important factor in the dominant paradigm, will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.
2. This represents an intellectual and artistic movement that started in the 14th century in southern Europe. It encompasses a period of nearly three centuries and is regarded as a watershed that separates the new world from the earlier period of human history. It involved intellectual study and creativity that impacted art, architecture, literature, philosophy, politics, and many other areas. The Renaissance "placed man, rather than God, at the center of the universe" (*Economist*, 2013: 83). The term has become a synonym for renewal or rebirth.
3. Alvares (1992) quoting Sheshadri and Balaji (n.d.) points out that the concept of efficiency (i.e., minimal loss of energy during a conversion) came from the law of entropy. This concept stipulated that such efficiency could be attained at very high temperatures only. This biased modern science and modern industry toward high temperature combustion techniques. Soon, it became the criterion for judging the relative efficiency of all modes of production both in nature and non-heavy industry areas. However, both in nature and traditional practice, the techniques for production and conversion are performed at ambient temperatures, for instance, cloud formation and desalinization, production of fiber by plants and animals, and the production of *gur* (jaggery, as opposed to sugar) in rural India (Alvares, 1992). Traditional techniques were considered primitive when judged by the efficiency criterion of modern industry. Development then incorporated the high temperature but highly polluting and natural-resource-intensive method of big industry and set it up as a standard to compare the efficiency of indigenous modes of production.
4. Critics of the modernization paradigm accept a diversity of ideas and claims to knowledge, and do not privilege a Western evolutionary perspective to directed change including a special place for science and technology in that process of change.
5. Peet (2007) posits that maintenance of high economic growth through centralized planning and social progress, also termed as Social Keynesianism, was popular in Europe; in the US, a brand called Military Keynesianism thrived,

which produced high growth rates through massive spending by the state on military and defense.

6. This is a condition when inflation and stagnation in the economy (e.g., low growth and high unemployment) go together.
7. Later, Karl Popper distanced himself from some of the extremist neoliberal views and cautioned about the flaws in the market-based ideology.
8. Another influential leader was Helmut Kohl who became the chancellor in West Germany in 1982.
9. In this model, the economists strive to expand the supply side of the economy. This determines the rate of economic growth and also how much the economy can earn and spend (on welfare).
10. Francis Fukuyama (1992) made this assertion. What this meant was an acceptance of the eternal state of the present form of modernity. More recently, he has recanted his original message stating that the quality of political institutions, the caliber of leaders, and political decay have inhibited progressive social change (Fukuyama, 2014).
11. General Pinochet's brutal regime was responsible for the deaths and tortures of tens of thousands of people in 1973 under the watch of the US (Gautney, 2010).
12. Some critics contend that President Reagan eventually overcame the economic crisis by resorting to not neoliberal policies but military Keynesianism. Huge sums of money were spent by the government on defense, military build-up, and futuristic weapons of defense and destruction called the Star Wars (Peet, 2007).
13. President Reagan created and popularized the myth of the *welfare queen*. According to this myth, the welfare queen was a real person dependent on state welfare schemes who was exploiting the system by collecting multiple government-issued monetary handouts. Over the years, this type of thinking has become the dominant image of the *dysfunctional poor* among neoliberal advocates. Today, the poor and marginalized are described as *takers* and *moochers*.
14. Gini coefficient scores range from a minimum of zero, which signifies perfect equality, to 1 that signifies perfect inequality. More equal countries have Gini coefficient scores below 0.3 while the more unequal societies have scores close to or above 0.5.
15. *The New York Times* reported that some members of the top 1 percent are active in philanthropy. These *philanthrocapitalists* have an activist engagement with public policy and social problems. Examples are Bill Gates, George Soros, and Michael Bloomberg (see Freeland, 2013).
16. An increase of 0.07 in Gini Coefficient score is a huge increase on the Gini scale.
17. The *Economist* (November 2, 2013: 77) reported that the labor share of national income, which has been falling globally since 1980, implies that gains in economic productivity are not translating into pay rises for the labor. Meanwhile, the share of income of the top 1 percent of workers has increased since the 1990s.
18. We see teleology as a process where phenomena move naturally toward certain goals of self-realization and eventually reach an apex. The process is causal.
19. In the early 1990s, one of the authors (Melkote) was on sabbatical leave in India. His daughter, Katya, accompanied him to India. One day, after searching for Katya all over the house, he found her and her grandmother, Jaya, in an upstairs

room intently watching the American television soap opera “Bold and the Beautiful.” It was an eye-catching experience to see his 9-year-old American daughter and his 73-year-old Indian mother glued to the television set and totally absorbed with the show. The two were as different as chalk and cheese when it came to everything else such as their place of residence, lifestyle, and tastes, yet they were totally on the same wavelength when it came to their television show preference for “Bold and the Beautiful.” They could talk endlessly about the travails of the different characters on this television show.

20. This addresses directly the criticism made against globalization, which valorizes space over place and, as some critics argue, has led to a marginalization of place.
21. Mohanty borrowed the concept from Anderson (1983). Steeves (1993) drew on Mohanty’s use of the term.
22. A major global issue now is the effects of human communities on climate change. In spite of several world summits, the world does not yet have a credible plan to fight the negative effects of climate change.

CHAPTER 6

CRITIQUE OF DEVCOM IN THE DOMINANT PARADIGM

Of particular concern for the critically minded assessor might be in what ways (communication) technologies promote, for instance, activity or passivity; creativity or monotony; autonomy or dependence; critical thought or compliance; collaboration or competition; democracy or hierarchy.

Granqvist (2005: 291)¹

In this chapter, we take a critical look at the communication strategies used to guide development in directed change. We begin by examining the period when mass media were used to both prescribe and direct development, as discussed in Chapter 4. This period spanned chiefly from the early 1950s through the 1980s, though a bias for mass media is evident even now. Most of the criticisms in this section highlight parallel criticisms of modernization in general, discussed in Chapter 5.

Next, we focus on the diffusion of innovations approach used to disseminate modernizing innovations in many areas, such as agriculture, health, and family planning. This approach continues to be used though recent applications have sought means of narrowing the communication gap between socioeconomic classes. For instance, some tenets of diffusion theory borrowed by large-scale social marketing campaigns are employed to change people's knowledge, behaviors, and actions in such areas as AIDS prevention, responsible sexual relationships, family planning, health, nutrition, social harmony, national integration, and other themes.

Next, we describe alternative grassroots conceptions of communication in development. Starting in the early 1970s, revised concepts of development and change focused on self-help, local participation,

and two-way communication, leading to the reconsideration of indigenous media as vehicles for information, persuasion, and entertainment. Newer initiatives such as the positive deviancy approach have put the spotlight back on the local community.

Finally, we consider digital ICTs for development. We define them, narrate global dialogues on their roles in development, and discuss them both as strategies and as goals in themselves. Critical analyses reveal many challenges in the successful and equitable deployment of ICTs and show that all too often these technology projects neglect context and key social intersections, repeating some of the same mistakes made in the early development decades.

CRITIQUE OF MASS MEDIA UNDER MODERNIZATION

As discussed in Chapter 4, the optimism that reigned in the 1950s and the 1960s regarding the role and potential of mass media in developing the Third World turned sour in the 1970s. Administrators and researchers realized that the development process was not as straightforward as previously assumed. The mass media, far from being independent variables in the change process, were themselves affected by many factors.

The following comments from Luis Ramiro Beltran (1976: 19) conveyed the concerns of scholars from Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world:

- An overall change of social structure is the fundamental prerequisite for the attainment of genuinely humane and democratic development;
- Communication, as it exists in the region, not only is by nature impotent to cause national development by itself, but it often works against development—again, in favor of the ruling minorities;
- Communication itself is so subdued to the influence of the prevailing organizational arrangements of society that it can hardly be expected to act independently as a main contributor to profound and widespread social transformation.

By the 1970s, it was increasingly clear that North American communication models and research designs were flawed, leading to numerous gaps, biases, and failures. Research showed that political-economic constraints diminished and even eliminated the influence of media in overcoming development problems (Rogers, 1976b). The neglect of these constraints may be traced directly to ideological biases exported from the West. Regardless, project failures quickly showed that for many reasons mass media were not modernizing Third World nations, as anticipated.

Critique of the Models and Research Design

Critics have pointed out serious problems with the theoretical underpinnings, methods, and assumptions of the mass media and modernization approach (McPhail, 2009). While communication is a process, the models and corresponding methods failed to capture this. Early models of communication were one-way, top-down, and linear, as previously noted. Diaz-Bordenave (1977) called this the *transmission mentality*, a conceptualization that did not incorporate the transactional or the multidimensional nature of communication.

In keeping with the transmission mentality, research in the 1950s and 1960s conceptualized mass media messages as having powerful effects on receivers in developing nations. This was essentially a recreation of the *bullet theory* of communication. However, the notion of all-powerful mass media acting on defenseless receivers was tested extensively in the 1940s and the 1950s in the US and found to be mistaken, as discussed in Chapter 4. Nonetheless, rejected theories were recycled in analyzing the effects of mass media in developing nations.

Much of the earlier research, especially Lerner's classic study in the Middle East, was done at the height of the Cold War between the US and Soviet Russia. While communist nations were criticized for their propaganda, the Direct Effects model of Western researchers was welcomed, even though it attempted to manipulate people into discarding traditional values and behaviors and adopting modern but alien lifestyles (Golding, 1974; Samarajiwa, 1987). There were other inconsistencies in the underlying assumptions. For example, the 19th century notion of *mass society* was overwhelmingly rejected in the West by the 1940s. The mass society concept presumed that in an industrial society,

people are isolated from one another, suffer anomie, and do not have meaningful ties to other individuals. In contrast, research showed that even within an *impersonal* industrial society, people belonged to important social groups and had close interpersonal relationships. Even with this knowledge, scholars and practitioners treated populations in developing countries as mass societies, lacking significant group ties, and readily available for conversion by mass media.

Further, in theories of modernization, the mass media were regarded as independent variables. Was this an accurate or complete assessment of the nature and role of mass media in developing nations? No, and as noted above, Latin American scholar Beltran (1976) contested this simplistic viewpoint. The mass media could have been treated as dependent variables, affected by factors such as the political structure or elite ownership of media institutions. Later studies showed the mass media were intervening variables in the process of change. The antecedent or independent variables were key and intersecting contextual factors, including literacy, education, economic class, social status, age, mass media exposure, and cosmopolitanism, while dependent variables were empathy, achievement motivation, educational and occupational aspirations, innovativeness, and political awareness. Fjes questioned the notion of mass media as intervening variables and argued that it could have been possible that “the antecedent characteristics correlate directly with the consequent characteristics. A high degree of media exposure could very well be just another attribute of what is defined as a *modern person*” (Fjes, 1976: 11).

There were other methodological and conceptual concerns. The partial correlations used to reveal the intervening nature of mass media exposure were not significantly different from direct or zero-order correlations. Also, as Rogers acknowledged, the correlational analyses did not reveal the time-order nature of these relationships. Part of this problem was the nature of correlational data, the abundance of one-shot cross-sectional surveys, and the relative lack of experimental designs in devcom studies (Rogers, 1969).

Finally, there were numerous problems with operational definitions for concepts such as empathy, fatalism, and more. Lerner’s (1958) *empathy* measure is a common example. His nine-item scale asking respondents “What would you do if you were...?” was essentially meaningless in the context of rural people’s lives. Earlier, Gans (1962) showed that

North American slum dwellers whom he called *urban villagers* similarly scored very low on empathy scales. Golding (1974: 47) concluded that for the North American slum dwellers, as well as for Third World peasants such as Lerner's Turkish shepherd, "the perception of massive structural constraints against upward mobility mitigates against 'role empathy' far more than does an inert imagination." Weak empathy, rather than being the cause of fatalism, was actually the result of limited experience with modernity. Thus, operational problems with key concepts were largely due to the researcher's poor knowledge of respondents and their social and cultural milieu. It was the researchers such as Daniel Lerner (1958), Lucien Pye (1963), and others who lacked empathy with their respondents and their cultures.

Political, Economic, and Social-Structural Biases

In his classic study, *The Passing of the Traditional Society*, Lerner (1958) showed that there was a strong correlation between the indices of the mass media and socioeconomic and political development of a country: mass media were both an index and agent of modernization in societies. However, Lerner incorrectly implied causality among the variables based on the strength of the correlations (Fjes, 1976). Yet, correlational measures are insufficient indicators of causality, and other attempts by researchers to show causality among the various indices of development and media availability were unsuccessful (Schramm and Ruggels, 1967; Shaw, 1966). Many others noted the ethnocentrism in considering the Western-style democracy as the dependent variable in Lerner's model (Douglass, 1971; Fjes, 1976; Golding, 1974).

A factor largely ignored in the modernization approach was the unequal power relationships within countries. Consequently, many dependent variables of modernity such as leadership, cosmopolitanism, and reference groups lacked face validity: "[T]he concept of 'leadership' hides 'elite' or 'oligarchy', 'cosmopolitanism' disguises the connection of interests between rural and urban power-holders, and the term 'reference group' may serve to dilute the reality of 'internal domination' which victimizes the peasantry" (Beltran, 1976: 21).

Lerner (1958), Schramm (1964), and Lakshmana Rao (1963) described a dual Third World society: a traditional and a modern

sector. The traditional sector not only preceded the modern, but it was backward because of its traditionalism. They visualized the day when modernity would, through diffusion, replace traditional society. However, a failure to consider socio-structural constraints obfuscated the reality in developing nations. Fjes (1976: 25) cautioned that: "Rather than being isolated from the modern sector, the so-called traditional sector often exists in a relationship of oppressive dependency, its human and material resources being exploited for the benefit of the modern sector."

Thus, quite often, the perpetuation of the traditional sector served the interests of its modern counterpart. Rather than tradition preceding modernity, underdevelopment was caused by the modern sector, thus, echoing Frank's (1969) hypothesis of the development of underdevelopment.

Serious ethical problems were identified in the way Lerner's study was executed (Samarajiwa, 1987). His study was not originally intended to analyze the relationship between empathy and development. Instead, as Samarajiwa (1987: 10) points out,

[T]he objective of the project was audience research in the broader sense of identifying target audiences, as well as in the narrow sense of obtaining *nuts and bolts* information about how Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts were received and how the VOA was evaluated in relation to competing broadcasters.

Samarajiwa also notes that the US Department of State, at the height of the Cold War, funded Lerner's study. Thus, there was more than academic interest in the role of mass media vis-à-vis social change. One of the clandestine objectives was to identify vulnerable audience segments within the Middle East populations and then to target Voice of America propaganda messages at these groups.

Individual as Locus of Change

An important conceptual problem in theories of modernization was the level at which change was sought to be introduced. The unit of analysis was centered within the individual, as discussed in Chapter 5. The assumption was that the benefits of modernization

would accrue by changing the traditional attitudes, values, and aspirations of individuals. Exposure to new ideas and practices, usually through the mass media, could help remove traditional attitudes that impeded progress. This psychological bias in research, Rogers stated, could be traced to the fact that early scholars in communication had psychology backgrounds, and not surprisingly, their views of communication and change neglected the influence of socio-structural variables (Rogers, 1976a). Much of the early research, therefore, placed an exaggerated emphasis on the individual to the neglect of the group and the larger society. This resulted in the individual constituting the unit of response, the unit of analysis, and consequently the unit of change (Coleman, 1958; Fair, 1989; Rogers, 1976a).

There were factors contributing to the individual orientation besides the psychological bias. The survey research design usually involved a probability sample of individuals. Most often, the respondents chosen were the presumed *heads of households*, obfuscating social realities. Data were biased to the views of one individual in a family and ignored other members, particularly females and youth. The sample survey method also obscured ongoing interactions between people as it ripped the individual from his/her social structural context. It did not record the relational and transactional aspects in a society. It was only in the 1970s that the level of analysis moved from the monad to the dyad or network of individuals, largely through network analysis and general systems approaches (Beltran, 1976; Rogers, 1976a). It is important to reiterate that using the individual as a locus of change in the developing world has its roots in the individualistic bias of early North American sociology. Yet, as previously noted, the old mass society concept neglecting group ties does not apply anywhere, whether in the US or in a developing country. Ironically, the excessively individualistic approach was counter to the dominant theoretical position, even in the US: "Contrary to the expectations of mass society theorists, (even) within a highly developed industrial society the individual is not an isolated, atomized entity, but an ongoing, active member of one or a number of the pyramid of social subgroups that exist" (Fjes, 1976: 12).

In much of the rural Third World, individual decisions are not common and are usually overruled by the decisions of the reference group. So, the overuse of the individual as locus of change may have

masked the fact that the unit of response and analysis could have been the group, such as the immediate family, clan, tribe, caste, or some other subgrouping of individuals.

Individual-blame

A consequence of the psychological, methodological, and individualistic bias in communication research was that it held the individual responsible for most problems. Little or no attention was paid to investigating systemic anomalies. "Person-blame rather than system-blame permeates most definitions of social problems; seldom are the definers able to change the system, so they accept it. Such acceptance encourages a focus on psychological variables in communication research" (Rogers 1976a: 213). Beltran (1976: 25) succinctly summarized this thinking in much of the earlier diffusion research:

If peasants do not adopt the technology of modernization, it is their fault, not that of those communicating the modern technology to them. It is the peasantry itself which is to be blamed for its ill fate, not the society which enslaves and exploits it.

Much of the earlier communication research, with its exaggerated emphasis on the individual-blame hypotheses, obfuscated the socio-structural, political, and institutional constraints. Thus, the use of the individual as the unit of response and analysis led to the use of the individual as the unit of change and consequently the unit of blame.

Economic and Political Barriers to Change

In the 1980s, communication research increasingly considered the role of larger economic and political structures in development. Studies showed that these structural constraints produced unequal distributions of resources, such as wealth, land, skills, and information (Narula and Pearce, 1986). Socioeconomic structure invariably favored adoption of innovations by individuals with higher socioeconomic status, that is, wealthier and more educated individuals with ample access to mass communication, thus, resulting in greater inequality (Beltran, 1976; Rogers and Adhikarya, 1979). In

short, the mass media communicated innovations but left the existing power structures intact.

The scenarios in Latin America and the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa were quite different from that of the US or Western Europe. These nations were poor with gross economic inequalities, rigid social structures, political instability, and other negative consequences of their earlier colonized status. The models of adjustment, conformity, and persuasion of individuals toward a status quo, which were emphasized in American sociology and communication research, were clearly incompatible with the problems these nations were facing. Beltran (1976: 26) outlined several questions that media had to address in Third World nations: "Who owns the media today and to which interest groups are they responsive? Are there ethical limits to persuasion proficiency? How far should advertising be allowed to keep exacerbating consuming behavior in a time of serious economic crisis?"

Diaz-Bordenave (1976: 54) posited other concerns: "How autonomous or independent is the country from external forces that affect its economy and its political decisions? Who controls the economic institutions, particularly the market, credit, and input supply organizations?"

In Latin America, in particular, scholars raised questions suggesting that the main challenge was a restructuring of the socioeconomic polity so that it could better serve humane development objectives. This analysis was never voiced by North American communication scholars in the 1950s and the 1960s, such as Schramm, Lerner, and others who recommended schemes that appeared successful in Western countries. Thus, the Third World was told that more mass media were needed for speedy modernization. This dubious argument was supported by the US-influenced UNESCO's minimum standards for every 100 persons in developing countries: 10 copies of a daily newspaper, five radio receivers, two cinema seats, and two television sets (Schramm, 1964).

This was the North American notion of media development. As Tunstall pointed out, "Typically only daily newspapers were mentioned although their relevance in rural areas of many poor countries is small, since a daily paper may in any case take several days to arrive from the nearest big city" (Tunstall, 1977: 211). Weekly, not daily, publications were more relevant to the conditions in these countries, as they were less time-dependent and helped conserve precious

newsprint. Even then, print media presumed literacy, usually low in rural areas. Tunstall noted that the UNESCO figures for the electronic media were even more doubtful. "The two cinema seats and two television sets per 100 population would obviously be concentrated in urban areas, whereas the five radio sets per 100 was too low to emphasize the possibility of making radio available to almost the entire population" (Tunstall, 1977: 212). In short, the UNESCO recommendations assumed socioeconomic change in the Third World was synonymous with the deployment of media hardware.

The hard sell of Western communication models inhibited local ideas and planning relevant to actual conditions in developing countries. To quote Tunstall (1977) again,

[F]or at least some nations in Africa and Asia an alternate set of targets might have stressed a high ratio of weekly papers and magazines per population, a complete halt on cinema and television expansion, and a high ratio of radio sets to population.... These are some possibilities among many—but the failure of UNESCO to state such simple alternatives was a serious weakness.

Thus, the Western models overvalued media technology as a solution for social problems elsewhere.

The influence of structural variables as mediating factors in communication and change led to a reconceptualization of the role of communication in national development. What was apparent,

from the results of research in rural development over the past two decades, is the need to consider communication not as a simple independent variable but as both dependent and an independent variable in a complex set of relationships with social, economic and political structures and processes. (Shore, 1980: 21)

Also, the influence of the social structure on the individual adopter pointed to the fact that the main barriers to development, at least in Latin America, were not psychological or primarily informative, as assumed, but mainly structural, requiring a restructuring of society for humane development (Beltran, 1976; Diaz-Bordenave, 1976; Eapen, 1973; McAnany, 1980b; Rogers and Adhikarya, 1979).

Research also showed that in the Third World, quite often, the people who were supposed to be the prime beneficiaries of development were

never reached at all (Lenglet, 1980). Access of marginalized people to media resources was a crucial constraint:

Those farmers with higher education, higher reading ability, greater exposure to other media, and higher standards of living (half of whom were already well-informed and had less need for the information) attended programs (media shows) more frequently than those with less education, less reading ability, limited exposure to other media, and a lower standard of living. (Shingi and Mody, 1976: 94)

These findings confirmed that the highest program attendance was usually among those who already had media access. The rural poor in developing nations had extremely limited access as most media were concentrated in urban areas. Research also showed that there was an important imbalance within both rural and urban areas, where the elite, disproportionately male, had better access and exposure to all media sources (Beltran, 1974; Eapen, 1975; Khan, 1987; Shore, 1980).

The quality and content of the mass media messages too left much to be desired. The urbanites and other elite sources controlled the modern media in most Third World nations and the quality and content of messages were not well suited for rural audiences (Beltran, 1974; Eapen, 1975). Also, very little time and space was accorded to developmental information in much of the mass media, as we will note later.

Ideological Constraints

Why was there a benign neglect of political-economic constraints on development in the media and modernization theories until the 1970s? Latin American scholars argued that this neglect was neither conspiratorial nor accidental. Instead, in developing nations, the field of scientific thought in general, and communication research in particular, was influenced by alien premises, objects, and methods (Beltran, 1976).

As noted earlier, much of the initial work in communication studies was done in the US and strongly grounded in psychology, political science, and sociology. In its early stage, communication stressed political persuasion and propaganda and addressed problems that were

uniquely North American. With the two World Wars as a backdrop, the mass media were used for gaining internal support and cohesion and for propaganda against the enemy. However, after World War I, knowledge gained in media effects was applied to other objectives in peacetime US. It was used to improve commercial advertising techniques, radio ratings, and to win elections.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, North American communication models were exported to Third World nations. Quite clearly, however, the scientific knowledge, research, and models that were exported were best suited to the socioeconomic, political, cultural, and structural arrangements in the US, at least from the perspective of those in power. Beltran (1976: 23) noted:

What kind of society hosted these remarkable scientific experiments and advancements? Was it an unhappy one burdened by poverty, afflicted by social conflict, and shaken by instability? Not at all. It was basically a prosperous, content, peaceful and stable society.... It was also a society where individuality was predominant over collectivism, competition was more determinant than cooperation, and economic efficiency and technological wisdom were more important than cultural growth, social justice, and spiritual enhancement.

Obviously, the knowledge generated by such a society would strive to achieve conformity to the dominant norms. In other words, it would be a science striving to maintain the status quo. The discipline of communication had similar objectives. If the need was to help individuals adjust to the dominant social ethic, "communication scientists had to find those personality traits which would render them amenable to persuasion. Accordingly, they had to invent media and message strategies able to produce in them the desired behaviors" (Beltran, 1976: 23).

Thus, the emphasis was on persuasion and curbing individual aberrance. Lasswell's influential communication model, which informed much of the development-related work in the early years, was obsessed with receiver persuasion and media effects (see Chapter 4). The social context, however, was irrelevant. The functionalistic paradigm of Merton and other US sociologists further supported the need to persuade individuals to conform to the existing societal arrangements. The locus of change, then, was not society but the aberrant individual.

Critique of the Role and Content of Mass Media

An implicit assumption in the modernization literature was that the mass media (especially the electronic media) in developing nations carried strong pro-development content (Douglass, 1971; Rogers, 1969). Therefore, increased exposure to media messages would obviously create the *climate for modernization* in the villages in the Third World (Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964). This view of pro-development content was not entirely correct. Shore (1980) cites research in Latin America, mostly on the content of newspapers, radio, and television, suggesting consistently less preference for information relevant to development than for trivial and non-development-oriented subjects such as sports and entertainment.

The main architects of the communication approach in the modernization paradigm, such as Schramm (1964), Lerner (1958), Pye (1963), and Frey (1966), did not examine the relationship between the institutional structures of the media and their impact on the media content. This was consistent with the underlying bias of examining the mass media devoid of their relationship with larger structural factors. Thus, it was likely that messages preaching conspicuous consumption may have been a part of the larger political-economic motives that hindered humane development (Fjes, 1976; Hamelink, 1983). Rogers (1976b: 135) observed:

Some scholars, especially in Latin America, perceived the mass media in their nations as an extension of exploitative relationships with the U.S.-based multinational corporations, especially through advertising of commercial products. Further, questions were asked about the frequent patterns of elite ownership and control of mass media institutions in Latin America and the influence of such ownership on the media content.

There were other factors to consider. First, there was the question of selective exposure of the audience to particular media messages because, as noted above, audience members often preferred messages that were not pro-development. On a visit to a village, Rogers noted, "The only radio in the village, owned by the president of the village council, was tuned to music rather than to news of the outside world" (Rogers, 1969: 96). Second, there was the question of comprehension of the media content, even if the farmers chose to listen to pro-development programs. The absence of programming in regional

languages or dialects, and the irrelevant content due to urban control of media production in many countries, made the programs unsuitable for rural audiences (Masani, 1975). Devcom literature contributed little to the understanding and solving of these problems (Vilanilam, 1979). Finally, while the media were successful in raising people's aspirations, governments in many countries were not capable of satisfying the new wants. Exposing people to consumerism of the West without Western conditions created a serious imbalance in the want/get ratio (Fjes, 1976). Lerner had posited that exposing individuals in developing nations to media images of modernity would bring about a *revolution of rising expectations*. What actually resulted was a *revolution of rising frustrations* (Lerner, 1958).

In many developing nations, the mass media were ill-suited for development-related tasks (e.g., Eapen, 1975; Heath, 1992; Masani, 1975; Steeves, 1996). In general, an adequate response to the challenging task of rural development in developing nations would:

involve a re-consideration of the structure of the broadcasting system, the location of transmitters and studios and the language and content of programs.... It is clear that unless policies are changed, the services expanded and decentralized there is little chance of the mass media playing a significant role in bringing about rural change. (Masani, 1975: 2)

Heath (1992), for instance, documented diminished radio programming for the rural poor in Kenya. As the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation acquired expensive television technologies, it also acquired debt. Debt repayments required profitable services, that is, television entertainment programs that could attract advertising. A result was cutbacks in indigenous language radio broadcasts in rural areas. On the other hand, even in an urban environment such as Singapore, the lack of funds has resulted in less effective programming on the Public Service Broadcasting system (Muppidi and Manvi, 2012; Prematillake and Seneviratne, 2012).

Knowledge Gap Hypothesis

In developing nations, the mass media—like other social institutions—may reinforce or increase existing inequities between the advantaged and disadvantaged population sectors. The increasing knowledge gap,

first proposed by Tichenor et al. (1970), remained largely unexamined in early devcom research. They hypothesized:

As the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socio-economic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease. (ibid.: 159)

The existence of this gap did not mean that the lower-status population remained totally uninformed or even worse off in knowledge, but rather that they became *relatively* lower in knowledge. The authors posited several reasons for the widening of the knowledge gap with increased media flow: (a) Differential levels of communication skills (that is, persons with more formal education had higher reading and comprehension capabilities); (b) amounts of stored information or existing knowledge due to prior exposure to a topic (such receivers of communication were better prepared to understand related information); (c) relevant social contact (there could be greater number of knowledgeable people in the reference groups of the more advantaged sector); and (d) selective exposure, acceptance, and retention of information (higher education could be related to greater voluntary exposure to communication). Thus, to the extent that the above factors were operative, the gap would widen as a heavy mass media influx continued (Tichenor et al., 1970).

Further, knowledge differentials could lead to greater social tension, giving rise to greater disparities between population sectors:

In developing countries like India, most development benefits have tended to accrue to better-off segments rather than to the downtrodden for whom they may ostensibly have been intended. A much-discussed case in point is the so-called Green Revolution that benefited the larger farmers and widened existing socio-economic gaps. (Shingi and Mody, 1976: 83)

Shingi and Mody (1976) carried out an experiment that suggested some modification in Tichenor et al.'s conclusion that media increase information inequities among their audiences. They discovered that media (in this case, television) could at times narrow the knowledge gap. It appeared that audience high on ignorance before viewing the

programs gained most in absolute terms, though it still had a little less knowledge than the higher-knowledge group. The researchers called this the *ceiling effect*. By selecting messages that were redundant or had little potential value to the already knowledgeable audience, the media could narrow and even close—rather than widen—the communication effects gap. This study, therefore, demonstrated that the communication effects gap is not inevitable. It could be narrowed with appropriate communication strategies (Shingi and Mody, 1976: 97). These strategies, however, would need to be built into a flexible, and ongoing development support project. One-shot approaches to devcom, for example, the Indian SITE, may not result in any significant behavior change among receivers.

CRITIQUE OF DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

The diffusion of innovations model was the predominant framework that guided local-level devcom planning from the 1950s into the 1970s. In this critique, we will examine the theoretical, methodological, and social-structural biases in diffusion of innovations research.

Theoretical Biases in Diffusion of Innovations Research

Communication Effects Bias

Consistent with the environment from which it arose, the predominant foci of communication research through the 1960s and 1970s were the effects of a particular source, medium, message, or a combination of these elements on the receiver. This focus was carried over to diffusion research. For instance, according to Rogers (1969: 101), “Larger mass media audiences, accompanied by high levels of mass media exposure per capita, can be expected to lead those exposed to more favorable attitudes toward change and development, to greater awareness of political events, and to more knowledge of technical information.” The media effects bias was supplemented by persuasion bias of interpersonal communication in the diffusion of innovations tradition.

Inattention to Message Content

Within diffusion, as in other modernist approaches, the obsession with effects of mass media exposure on behavior gave little consideration to message content. In fact, there was an implicit assumption that any kind of mass media exposure would lead to social change:

Nor does our measure of exposure consider the specific nature of the messages received from the mass media—whether musical, news, or technical content. It should be remembered that exposure, not influence or *internalization*, of mass media messages is what is being dealt with here. (Rogers, 1969: 101)

The methodology, therefore, in much of the classical diffusion studies revealed a serious shortcoming. As no attempt was made to discover the types of media messages audiences were exposed to, little or no attention was given to the content and quality of information, or knowledge and skills potentially transferable via messages. Further, there was no attempt to investigate whether the content of messages was absorbed by audience members. The mass media exposure index was constructed thus: the respondents' indications of degree of exposure to each medium, in terms of number of radio shows listened to per week, and so on, forming a standard score (Rogers, 1969). This quantitative approach to media exposure revealed nothing of the respondents' message preferences. The respondent could have been listening to music, news, plays, talk, or even static noise from the radio set. Hence, researchers gathered little information on types of programs preferred, whether these programs were pro-development, neutral, or antidevelopment, the quality and relevance of the programs, and differences in their use and perception (Golding, 1974).

The neglect of message content led to a neglect of the *cognitive* dimension of communication effects. Most diffusion studies focused predominantly on the *behavioral* dimension of effects. They posed questions such as, "Has there been any effect of the media on respondents' behavior? If so, what has been the nature and direction of that effect on adoption behavior?" Very rarely did research investigate the cognitive dimension, or what the audience understand and retain. Diffusion studies did not posit questions such as, "Did the message have a relatively greater effect on the cognition of certain receivers than on others and why?" Hence, this latter question directed communication research to the differential levels of cognition among

receivers and to the possible concern with knowledge gaps as a result (Shingi and Mody, 1976).

Shallow Depth of Knowledge

An important dependent variable in most diffusion studies was the adoption of innovations. In the measurement of this variable, however, most studies revealed methodological and conceptual weaknesses. Insufficient attention was given to the amount and depth of knowledge and skills the respondent possessed prior to the adoption decision. Shingi and Mody (1976) report that diffusion studies used the easily measurable concept of awareness rather than deeper concepts tapping knowledge. The empirical definition of the awareness of an innovation was confined to "Have you heard of...?" queries and did not measure the *How-to* knowledge vital to use an innovation efficiently, and *principles-knowledge* dealing with the fundamental principles underlying an innovation. Shingi and Mody (1976: 95) cautioned, "...In our opinion, the innovation–decision process is considered to be initiated not when the individual is merely exposed to information on the innovation but when he gains some understanding of how it functions."

Methodological Biases in Diffusion of Innovations Research and Strategy

The lack of innovativeness among diffusion researchers in employing experimental and panel survey designs versus the familiar post hoc one-shot surveys gave rise to three overlapping methodological and campaign biases identified by Rogers (1976a): (a) A pro-innovation bias, (b) lack of a process orientation, and (c) neglect of causality. Melkote (1984, 1991) delineated five additional biases: (i) One-way message flow bias, (ii) pro-persuasion bias, (iii) pro-source bias, (iv) pro-literacy bias, and (v) in-the-head variable bias. A discussion of these interwoven biases remains useful, as these biases still are evident in contemporary campaigns.

Pro-innovation Bias

An implicit assumption running through diffusion tenets was that adoption of exogenous innovations would be advantageous to all

adopters. While this assumption was true in a few cases, it could not be justified in a majority of cases where the innovations were clearly ill-adapted to local conditions (Rogers, 1976a; Roling et al., 1976). An example of the incompatibility of technological innovations with local practices was in the area of subsistence farming. Scholars noted that diffusion researchers arrived in rural communities with a built-in bias toward Western ideals of agricultural practice with its orientation to commercial enterprises concerned with plant population per unit area, planting distances, fertilizer use, and other technologies developed for single-crop systems (Bortei-Doku, 1978; Horton, 1991; Whyte, 1991b). The mixed cropping and shifting agriculture practiced in many developing countries were considered backward. In fact, the very nature of mixed-cropping prevented the easy application of scientific recommendations about planting distances, crop protection, and the application of fertilizers and pesticides. So farmers were persuaded to adopt the single-crop system with all its attendant technologies for increased productivity. In a few cases in Mexico and Colombia, farmers were persuaded to adopt innovations that could cut the value of their crops in half (Whyte, 1991b). In other cases, the innovation was not only incompatible with local conditions, but also too complex for subsistence farmers to sustain. If the small farmer was reluctant to adopt the innovation, it was not because he/she did not care to increase productivity. Instead, there were many factors favoring practices of traditional farming:

The truth of the matter is that traditional farm practices are based on the farmer's concept of the most efficient use of his land, given his available resources. Lacking financial resources not only to invest in cash crops but also to tide him over till they mature and produce food-purchasing means for himself, his priority crops became those which guaranteed him his subsistence with minimum risk. (Bortei-Doku, 1978: 4)

Thus, adopting the new innovation or adapting it to the traditional system was too risky. Experimentation could lead to relative success, but there was also a greater likelihood of crop failure due to inadequate knowledge of modern technologies and methods.

A discussion of the pro-innovation bias raises an issue that has not received much thought among diffusion theorists: the glaring contradiction between diffusion theory and its practice. Early diffusion research delineated the characteristics of the innovation that would

affect its rate of acceptance (or rejection) by the potential adopter. Some of these factors were: relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, divisibility, and communicability. Rogers, who coined these terms, stressed their importance. Yet, from the examples discussed above, it is clear that diffusion practice did not always give attention to innovations before they were diffused. No study has systematically investigated this anomaly. Therefore, the pro-innovation bias has been, in essence, a failure to assess the innovation itself.

Absence of a Process Orientation

There was a misalignment between what researchers theorized and what they actually measured, leading to problems of validity. Though communication is conceptualized as a process, the research designs in diffusion studies usually analyzed cross-sectional data collected through surveys at a single point in time (Rogers, 1976a). The conceptualization of communication as a dynamic process was, thus, obscured in this approach:

Very few communication researchers include data at more than one observation point, and almost none at more than two such points in time. So almost all communication research is unable to trace the change in a variable over time; it deals only with the present tense of behavior. Communication thus becomes, in the actuality of communication research, an artificially halted snapshot. (ibid.: 209)

Beyond failing to measure communication as a process, mainstream diffusion researchers in fact distorted the communication process itself. Contrary to Rogers' assertion above, diffusion research dealt with not the present tense but the *past* tense of behavior. In correlational analyses, the dependent variable of innovativeness was measured with recall data about past adoption behavior. Diffusion research, therefore, examined recipients' adoption histories and constructed, not an *artificially halted snapshot*, but an artificially constructed history of the adopter.

The pro-innovation bias coupled with the overwhelming use of post hoc cross-sectional survey designs confined the focus of diffusion research to testing of strategies of *what is* or reaffirming current practice rather than *what might be* or testing alternative strategies. Since the innovation was thought to be good for the adopter and the

present process of diffusion satisfactory, the survey design was used to replicate the status quo. There was no attempt to use field experimental designs and go beyond current practice to gain knowledge of effective means to reach an alternative, desired state (Roling, 1973; Roling et al., 1976).

Neglect of Causality

The terms *independent* and *dependent* variables, borrowed from experimental designs, were used in an incorrect and ambiguous way in correlational analyses. In an experimental design, an independent variable X could change a dependent variable Y if, (a) X occurs before Y in a temporal sequence, and (b) they co-vary. In most diffusion studies, as Rogers noted, the only aspect that was investigated was whether the independent variable co-varied with the dependent variable (i.e., innovativeness). The use of the post hoc one-shot survey design did not allow for determining proper time-order sequence. Thus, in these studies, the dependent variable of innovativeness, for instance, was measured with recall data about past adoption behavior, whereas the independent variables were measured in the present tense. This resulted in independent variables following the dependent variable of innovativeness in temporal sequence and yet leading to adoption of an innovation (Rogers, 1976a). In short, this was methodologically incorrect.

A discussion of the foregoing methodological and conceptual biases reveals the post hoc preoccupation of diffusion research with already diffused innovations. The diffusion tenets, Ascroft noted, “provided researchers with few insights about strategies for ‘pushing’ the process, for ‘causing’ it to occur more rapidly, reliably, efficiently and completely” (Ascroft and Gleason, 1980: 3). The dearth of experimental designs in diffusion research, therefore, gave rise to biases such as a lack of process orientation, a pro-innovation bias, and ignoring of the problem of causality.

One-way Message Flow Bias

An implicit assumption in diffusion research was that changes within developing nations happened exogenously. Continuing contact with Western ideas and technology was required for modernity.

This one-way approach, to quote Rahim (1976: 224), “has tended to block the researcher from seeing the reverse flow of ideas and innovations from the poor to the rich, from the less developed to the more developed, from the peasants to the technicians, administrators, and scientists.” Thus, in diffusion research, there was not only a presumed North–South communication flow between nations, but even within a nation, there was a top-down message flow from administrators, scientists, and donor agencies, to farmers (Whyte, 1991a). In short, the flow of communication was from a Northerner to a North-like-Southerner² within developing nations, and from him/her to the rural peasants (Ramalingam, 2014).

This one-way message flow, illustrated earlier with the example of the multicropping agricultural system, could not recognize the virtue of traditional methods. In the 1970s, an FAO report had this to say about multi-cropping:

There are increasing indications that such systems should not be rejected wholesale as primitive and uneconomical. In fact, it appears that past research aimed at improving cropping systems had not shown enough attention to some of the techniques developed by small farmers, and that a scientific approach to such systems can sometimes give better results than the use of technology primarily developed for single-crop systems. (FAO, 1977; Whyte, 1991b)

So, as Bortei-Doku (1978) pointed out earlier, instead of finding ways to adapt new technology to existing patterns of farming, efforts were made instead to train new farmers. “Such trainees, however, hardly ever returned to the farm to apply their new knowledge. They went instead in search of government jobs as field assistants and technical officers, leaving the problem of the development and improvement of traditional agriculture largely unsolved” (ibid.: 4). Instances such as these might have been avoided if diffusion research had accommodated a reverse flow of ideas and practices from farmers to scientists or donor agencies.

The neglect of a broad framework considering the diffusion of ideas and practices as a multi-way flow between individuals at the micro level and between nations at the macro level has been a serious conceptual and methodological weakness of diffusion research and practice.

Pro-persuasion Bias

The preoccupation with one-way effects assumed that the aim of communication research, including diffusion research and practice, was to use persuasive messages to change respondents'—such as farmers'—behaviors. However, the persuasion approach implied that many farmers were resistant to change. This approach influenced a dichotomous categorization of respondents into the persuadable and the recalcitrant. As noted in Chapter 4, adoption curves showed that those who were successfully persuaded to adopt nontraditional innovations were, compared to recalcitrants, more literate, had higher social status, and had exposure to more channels of communication. The resistant group had access only to the most local sources of information and was generally ignorant of the process of modernization (Rogers, 1962). Therefore, those who were most resistant to change were also found to be the most ignorant. The preoccupation with effects and persuasion, then, did not ensure that resistant receivers knew enough about innovations to begin with. Did the receivers understand what change was expected of them? Did they have sufficient information and knowledge to adopt a nontraditional innovation? The test of resistance cannot be made until the pro-persuasion approach is preceded by a pro-information strategy.

Pro-source Bias

While diffusion literature extensively discussed the weaknesses and deficiencies of receivers, there was little or no research on the deficiencies of the source or initiator of innovations. The source was assumed to be faultless and blameless, and any anomaly in the diffusion process was attributed to the recalcitrance of receivers. There was even an explicit assumption that the source knew what kind of change was desirable for the adopter. This was evident in how a change agent was defined: "A change agent is a professional who influences innovation decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency" (Rogers, 1969: 169). The pro-source bias also had its roots in the dominant paradigm. The top-down model of message flow, by its very nature, favored the source over the receiver. Diffusion research emerged from this framework and hence revealed the same bias.

History reveals disastrous consequences of the pro-source bias. For instance, for a thousand years, the people of Bali practiced ancient rituals to coordinate the irrigation and planting schedule for the island. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Indonesian Government and the Asian Development Bank spent US\$24 million on a new system. As the negative side effects of the new system became evident, researchers at the University of Southern California used a computer model to show that the traditional system had been a perfect model of resource management (Cowley, 1989). Additionally, the on-farm research program reported by Whyte (1991a) and Horton (1991) provide numerous examples of the inventiveness and rationality of small farmers in Latin America. Often, their cultivation practices were superior to the innovations diffused by outside experts.

Pro-literacy Bias

Many people in the lower socioeconomic status (SES) groups in the Third World are illiterate, nonliterate, or preliterate.³ Yet, development communication research and strategy, often inappropriately, have assumed literacy (Melkote, 1984; Rogers and Adhikarya, 1979). Thus, most development benefits have accrued to large farmers and other elite groups (Gaur, 1981; Shingi and Mody, 1976). This pro-literacy bias has functioned as a major constraint on diffusion of information to audiences lacking literacy skills. It has prevented strategies of percolating information, knowledge, and skills to these audiences that form the bulk of the population in rural areas. Meanwhile, it has led to easier information access by elite groups in the rural and urban areas.

The pro-literacy bias is defined as the tendency of a source to use communication that requires literacy and numeracy skills on the part of receivers, even when they are known to lack them. In an investigation of communication strategies of the WB-sponsored T&V Extension system in South India, Melkote (1984) identified several symbols in extension messages to illiterate farmers that required knowledge of the native language as used by the literate: knowledge of English; familiarity with the Western calendar, weights and measures in the Metric, or Imperial systems; statistical terms such as averages, percentages, and means; and technical terms in agriculture, agronomy, and agrobiolgy.

If the objective is to reduce socioeconomic status and knowledge gaps between people in developing nations, then it is essential that the pro-literacy bias be identified and removed from all development-oriented communication strategies.

In-the-head Variable Bias

Much of the diffusion research was preoccupied with psychological traits of receivers such as empathy, familism, and fatalism, about which little could be done in the short term. As Roling (1973) noted, such an orientation resulted in diffusion research dwelling at length on the relationships between variables that were not manipulable—plus ethnocentric in the first place, as we have previously noted. Carefully delineated campaign goals, longitudinal survey research and experimental designs would have revealed a number of measurable and helpful variables. One such variable, for example, is receiver knowledge, the lack of which is a crucial constraint on adoption. However, much of diffusion research dwelled on psychological traits of individuals, which were essentially non-manipulable, at least in the short term (ibid.).

Network Analysis of Diffusion

Beginning in the 1970s, the inadequacy of the monadic analysis to capture the transactional and relational nature of communication led to an increasing interest in network analysis. This approach defines communication as “a process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding” (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981: 63). In the network approach, the communication relationship between two or more individuals constitutes the unit of analysis (Rogers, 1976a; Rogers and Kincaid, 1981). It involves a census of all eligible respondents in a system, rather than a sample of scattered individuals. Sociometric data about communication relationships are gathered in addition to the usual personal and social characteristics of individuals and their communication behavior studied in earlier monadic analyses. The data are then subjected to various types of network analyses to determine how social structural variables affect diffusion flows in a system (Rogers, 1976a: 215):

This advance allowed the data analysis of a “who-to-whom” communication matrix, and facilitated inquiry into the identification (1) of cliques within the total system and how such structural subgroupings affected the diffusion of an innovation, and (2) of specialized communication roles such as liaisons,⁴ bridges and isolates thus allowing communication research to proceed far beyond the relatively simpler issues of studying just opinion leadership. (Rogers, 1976a: 215)

The network analysis, it was hoped, would lead to a greater understanding of the role of social structures on diffusion flows. While this was an improvement over the monadic analysis, there were other problems. There was an inadequate fit between the network analysis and the convergence model that guided this approach. The convergence model viewed human communication as a dynamic and cyclical process, but the network analysis was unable to describe the flow of influence at each point in time. Communication flows, as represented by network structure existing at the time of data collection, were assumed to be stable over a decade after that date. This was a questionable assumption. Also, the method restricted the size of the group that could be selected. It was not feasible to handle a very large aggregation of individuals, as the network approach was expensive, complex, and time consuming. In general, the dimensions of network analysis were very limiting. Most of the data collected were soft and individualistic communication variables such as “who talks to whom.” The addition of other variables such as economic, health, family-related, and other data would have provided a comprehensive view of development and change.

Political–Economic and Social–Structural Constraints in Diffusion of Innovations

Like other modernist approaches previously discussed, the classical diffusion model was originally conceived in the industrialized countries of the West where the socioeconomic, political, and cultural conditions were substantially different from those in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Yet, the model was uncritically applied in Third World countries. Latin American communication scholars pointed out some of the faulty presumptions:

- Communication by itself can generate development, regardless of socioeconomic and political conditions,
- Increased production and consumption of goods and services are the essence of development, and that a fair distribution of income and opportunities will necessarily derive in due time, and
- Solution to increased productivity is technological innovation, irrespective of whom it may benefit and whom it may harm (Beltran, 1976: 18–19).

Failure to examine political and economic constraints in the diffusion of innovations model often produced negative results. Researcher showed how diffusion practice often widened socioeconomic gaps between recipients. For instance, Roling et al. (1976) found that development agencies provided intensive assistance to a small number of innovative, socioeconomically advanced, and information-seeking progressive farmers. The assumption was that innovations would trickle down to the other less progressive or traditional farmers. However, innovations did not trickle down and the strategy led to less equitable development. Diffusion practice benefited the advantaged sections of rural populations because, according to Roling et al. (1976: 69–71):

- Early adopters (usually the rich farmers) reaped *windfall profits*;
- Having available funds relatively earlier than others permitted acquisition of additional resources when they were still relatively cheaper;
- The adoption of an innovation usually required slack resources in order to adopt;
- The focus on progressive farmers tended to create a fixed clientele over time; and
- Credit was provided to farmers who could provide collateral, so costly and, therefore, profitable innovations could be more readily adopted by those who were relatively better off.

Thus, diffusion processes turned out to be imperfect equalizers of development benefits due to the unequal distribution of resources. In most developing nations, extension agents are in short supply and

reach only a fraction of farmers (McAnany, 1980a). This constraint, coupled with the progressive farmer strategy of diffusion practice, gave undue importance to some opinion leaders. Extension agencies tended to favor these perceived leaders, who were actually rich, educated, progressive, and usually male farmers. The basic tenet of diffusion research was that innovations would diffuse naturally from progressive farmers to other members of the community. In reality, however, diffusion from the progressive farmers was mostly homophilous. Information failed to reach the subsistence farmers who did not have overlapping networks with the progressive farmers. Further, messages that managed to reach the small farmers were often distorted. As Allport and Postman (1947) pointed out, messages lose fidelity quickly, so information received second-hand or third-hand is seldom sufficiently specific or reliable (Roling et al., 1976).

In an effort to overcome these inequities, WB introduced the T&V system in the 1980s (Benor and Harrison, 1977). This system required that well-trained extension specialists make regular visits to *contact farmers* (essentially, they were carefully chosen opinion leaders), who were then expected to spread the information to their friends, consistent with two-step flow model, as discussed in Chapter 4. As the contact farmers met in groups with the extension specialists according to a fixed time schedule, the system aimed to address extension difficulties in covering vast geographic distances. Follow-up research of the T&V system revealed that the system was not effective. Most developing countries did not have the resources for intense and up-to-date specialized training, agents were not able to sustain fixed travel schedules, and the information disseminated did not spread to poor farmers as hypothesized. Women were especially neglected in the system, as we will discuss shortly.

By the early 1980s, it was clear that the political-economic constraints on development did not often yield to the influences of the media (Rogers, 1976b). All this pointed to the fact that the main barriers to development in many parts of the Third World were structural, and, therefore, a basic restructuring of society was needed to make the diffusion of innovations more functional (Beltran, 1976; Diaz-Bordenave, 1976; McAnany, 1980b; Rogers and Adhikarya, 1979). However, structural change is difficult to achieve and often

unrealistic (Gran, 1983; McAnany, 1980a). In the 1970s, however, there were some successful efforts to research and plan diffusion campaigns more effectively to benefit the poor and without major macro-level structural changes. Research began doing a better job of assessing audience needs and tailoring messages. Previously, in most diffusion campaigns, the treatment of messages for low SES audiences was the same as those for higher SES audiences (Melkote, 1984, 1987, 1989). New research indicated that it was not practical or feasible for people, especially those with little or no formal education, to learn everything about an innovation through one or two instructional radio or television programs or a couple of visits by the field extension agent (Rogers and Adhikarya, 1979). Diffusion of an innovation to disadvantaged groups needed a sequential approach with message content built according to the level of complexity of innovation and comprehension of receivers. Also, the communication content needed to be tailored to cater to farmers with different levels of cognition of innovations.

The Tetu Extension Project in rural Kenya provides a good example of a campaign that successfully adopted such a *gradual stages* approach to the diffusion of agricultural innovations (Ascroft et al., 1971). In the first stage, farmers were taught techniques such as row cropping, equal spacing, contouring, and weeding. None of these innovations involved complex technology. Once the farmers had learned these innovations and were comfortable using them, the diffusion process moved to the second stage. Farmers were told how to harvest crops and dry them. Still, no highly complex innovations were introduced. In the next stage, the farmers were given hybrid seeds and taught techniques of thinning and of applying fertilizers and insecticides. It was only in the last stage that concepts of farm management and administration such as bookkeeping, a careful rearrangement of plots, and growing a balanced set of crops were introduced. Such a sequential adoption process spanning two or more years helped these farmers to successfully adopt complex innovations.

The Tetu example shows that where complex innovations (such as miracle rice or hybrid maize, requiring 14 explicit steps for successful yields) are intended for particular recipient groups, diffusion strategies should be sequential and research-based in order to be successful. Assuming an innovation is appropriate, project success requires careful demographic research and strategic planning.

Diffusion and Women's Access to Information

Women constitute a major audience segment in most diffusion studies. Yet, women often have less access to media. For example, in most developing countries women's literacy levels are lower than men's, obviously limiting women's access to print media (UN, 1995; UNDP, 2013). Also, in some cultures, men control the use of media in the household (Manoff, 1985). On average, women are poorer than men, reducing their economic ability to purchase media (UN, 1995; UNDP, 2013). Additionally, fewer women than men have opportunities to work in media organizations or otherwise participate in media decision-making (Byerly, 2013; Steeves, 1996). Therefore, critiques and analyses must consider the relative occurrence and context of media exposure:

This implies a need for more feminist analyses of media representations and roles, particularly comparative research to understand differences in societies with different political and cultural histories. Also, more research is needed to learn how women and men in developing countries are processing media content, how these perceptions mesh and clash with their cultural values, and how they relate to national development goals (Steeves and Arbogast, 1993: 250).

Women's unequal access to the Internet mirrors their media access overall. Though statistics show that women's Internet access globally has greatly increased in recent years, in 2013, men still outnumbered women in terms of Internet use globally: 37 percent of all women were online compared to 41 percent of all men. In 2013, the developing world was home to about 29 percent (826 million) female Internet users compared to 33 percent (980 million) male users (ITU, 2013).

Although the operationalization of the diffusion model changed over time in an attempt to reach more rural residents, research beginning in the 1970s showed that women remained disproportionately neglected. While much has been written about the T&V Extension System, Jiggins (1984) noted that the system favored male farmers. Due et al. (1987) found that in northeastern Tanzania, extension agents visited significantly fewer female farmers than contact farmers (all male) or noncontact male farmers. The T&V focus on specialized training for agricultural agents (usually male) worked to

the detriment of any training for home economics or other kinds of agents (mostly female) who were best able to reach women farmers with the information they needed.

In Africa, as elsewhere, most change agents are men (FAO, 1988; World Bank, 2009), and the few studies that have been reported indicate that these men are not reaching poor women farmers. Despite the fact that women grow most food in Kenya, research has shown that women are disadvantaged in visits by extension agents. In the mid-1970s, Staudt (1985b) studied a sample of female-managed and jointly managed farms. She found that female-managed farms received the poorest service, and that the gaps were greatest for the most valuable types of services. Ten years later, the situation remained essentially the same (Ruigu, 1985), and in the 21st century, research still shows serious problems in effectively reaching women farmers in Africa and globally (see Ofuoku, 2011; Opiyo, 2003; Wakhungu, 2010; World Bank, 2009). All recommend placing more women in extension and other agricultural leadership roles (World Bank, 2009). Ruigu (1985) gave employment data for the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya, showing very few women in any professional and subprofessional divisions. Ofuoku (2011) reported similarly in Nigeria 15 years later. Other suggested remedies that are being implemented include providing agricultural training for female home economics agents, placing more emphasis on group extension (as opposed to individual home visits), providing gender-sensitivity training for all extension agents, making more use of existing women's groups and networks, and increasing women's participation in all areas of agricultural research and innovation (Steeves, 1990, 1996; World Bank, 2009).

In conclusion, the pro-innovation bias of diffusion research implied that everyone should adopt all exogenous innovations because they were considered beneficial. But, often, agricultural research benefited the progressive farmers, usually elite males. This was mainly because the farmer profiles available to the researchers were based on generalizations from a nonrepresentative and purposive sample of progressive farmers (Roling et al., 1976). This process usually resulted in innovations inappropriate for small farmers. Thus, the progressive farmer strategy coupled with the pro-innovation, pro-source, and pro-literacy biases worked against poorer farmers. The diffusion process, in short, usually produced a vicious circle. Easier information access by

progressive farmers led to success, which in turn led to more information seeking and more success. Lack of information access, on the other hand, led to failure and diminished need for further information seeking. The small, traditional farmer, crushed by forces from all sides over which he/she had no control, was obviously fatalistic, lacking aspirations and innovativeness. “Fatalism, mutual distrust, and so on, on the one hand, and modernity, information-seeking, and the like, on the other, may be actual consequences rather than causes of behavior” (Roling et al., 1976: 72).

The biases of diffusion alongside an analysis of the realities of the rural poor—social structural and political constraints to change, the knowledge gap, and the role of diffusion in widening the socio-economic and gender benefits gaps—provide much insight into the failures of diffusion campaigns. It is clear that insufficient innovation information, knowledge, and skills have percolated to the disadvantaged sections of rural populations either from the mass media or from interpersonal channels of communication. There are sharp gender and class inequities within rural areas and a gross imbalance of information disseminated between the urban and rural areas. The quality of the information also has left much to be desired. The innovations disseminated to subsistence farmers are frequently irrelevant, the information unreliable, and the campaigns sometimes leave farmers worse off than before. In light of this, it is obvious why the small or traditional farmer has been resistant to adopt innovations.

New strategic methodologies of social marketing have improved on the diffusion model by formalizing the importance of systematically considering the needs and contexts of various audience segments. In reality, however, many of the same biases evident in diffusion have been reproduced in social marketing campaigns.

CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF CAMPAIGNS IN STRATEGIC SOCIAL CHANGE

There is clearly a need for critical evaluations of the many types of social marketing projects and their uses of media in social change. As discussed in Chapter 4, strategic social marketing applies the principles and steps of commercial marketing to achieving socially desirable

goals (Andreasen, 1995; Kotler, 1984; Kotler and Lee, 2008; Manoff, 1985). There is no question that many social marketing campaigns to improve health and nutrition, reduce teen pregnancy, encourage girls' education, prevent HIV/AIDS infection, protect the environment, and more have contributed a great deal to improving people's lives. In this section, we do not critique the intent of social marketing, nor its positive effects in many instances globally. Rather, we are concerned with the individualistic assumptions (as in diffusion campaigns) that ground many social marketing and related promotional campaigns (e.g., EE), and the ways in which individualistic and commercial biases may compromise the pro-social goals, especially where commercial products are involved.

As in many of the diffusion of innovations campaigns, most strategic communication interventions in social marketing have focused on the individual. Few social marketing campaigns have addressed local-level norms and fewer yet have tackled larger structural issues. Information and associated products are treated as the missing link to individual level adoption. The appropriateness of information and products is not always systematically assessed at the outset, as assumed necessary by the social marketing model. Individuals, therefore, are provided with *pro-social* messages with the anticipation that they will adopt a product or practice, or change their attitudes or behaviors as desired. The communication model is usually top-down with the receivers treated as targets for persuasion. This contradicts the many overlapping perspectives over the past several decades calling for participatory approaches where the receivers are full participants in communication intervention efforts. In general, social marketing has a commercial marketing orientation that often privileges mass communication and neglects informal communication channels that may be most salient to poorer sectors in society, especially those in rural areas.

Large or powerful organizations, not the recipients of innovations, usually have the opportunity to frame social *problems* in campaigns. As in the modernization approach critiqued earlier, organizations control the process of social change by selecting certain themes as *problems* or *solutions*. Thus, too many children are viewed as the problem in many family planning campaigns—rather than the structural conditions that often contribute to family economic difficulties, high fertility, and child mortality rates. The power to frame

issues needs to be problematized. “Without question, this power resides disproportionately with government, corporations and other institutions possessing legitimacy, social power and resources and access to the mass media” (Salmon, 1989: 25). Marginalized groups such as women, the poor, the elderly, and ethnic minorities lack the social power to frame issues that constrain them and instead serve as targets of campaigns organized by paternalistic sources. Many of the problems faced by marginalized groups are caused by complex social contexts, yet campaigns do not usually address social-economic and political constraints, but instead offer easy technical solutions:

Particularly in the case of public information campaigns, for which the government is the primary source of funding, it is unusual for funds to be disbursed to change the system rather than changing individuals responding to the system. It is because of this that most campaigns can be viewed as efforts to induce evolutionary rather than revolutionary changes (ibid.: 27).

In addition to mass media, indigenous media are used to disseminate the advice of a dominant class and, thus, maintain the status quo in an unequal society. For instance, Kidd (1984) described the Song and Drama Division (SDD) of India’s Ministry of Information, which is controlled either by the central government or by the respective regional state governments. The chief role of SDD is to use folk media such as theater, mime, song, and dances for modernizing people’s attitudes and behaviors through entertainment (Parmar, 1975; SDD, 2013). In essence, the SDD is a publicity unit informing people about services and programs made available by the government and then, via the folk media performances, persuading the audiences to accept the modern ideas and change their attitudes and behaviors accordingly. The model is top-down and highly prescriptive. The SDD performs the valuable function of creating awareness among rural people of new services and programs provided by the government specifically for their benefit. The folk performances also provide useful information on topics such as a balanced diet, or where to get a loan. However, the underlying bias is to blame the receiver for his/her backwardness. The skits usually point out that a person is backward because he/she: has too many children, is lazy, does not eat healthy food, or fails to maintain

hygienic surroundings. While some of these reasons may be true, they reflect only one dimension of the reality:

These easy slogans fail to address, for example, (a) the economic circumstances (needed for labor and old-age security) forcing people to have large families, (b) the issue of transportation itself, (c) the exploitation of rickshaw pullers, (d) the red tape and corruption involved in getting a development loan, and (e) the underlying political economic conditions which often leave people without any diet, let alone a balanced diet. (Kidd, 1984: 119).

Thus, the power to frame social problems most often comes with the authority to identify the causes and suggest solutions. In societies with sharp inequities in incomes and living conditions, the power to identify problems and suggest solutions has been reduced to social engineering by the government or the elite.

Methodology Problems in EE Approaches

As we indicated in Chapter 4, the cross-sectional survey has been a commonly used design in EE campaigns and approaches. This limits the findings due to serious threats to internal validity. Several artifacts such as history, subject selection, and maturation are not controlled and may contaminate the effects, thus, producing spurious relationships (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Wimmer and Dominick, 2014). The problem associated with the contaminating effects of history presents an interesting conflict. Soap operas are not expected to be stand-alone, but complement a multimedia strategy in a campaign. As such, it is difficult to unravel the effects of history from the real effects of the soap operas (Sherry, 1997). In addition, there has been limited use of statistics to filter out the extraneous variables contaminating the proposed relationships. For example, in situations where regression and path analysis techniques were used, the results were not as dramatic as in cases where only simple statistics were used (*ibid.*). Sherry (1997: 93) provides an excellent critique of the methodology used in pro-social soap operas:

- Data on exposure to radio and television soap operas are impressive, but it is difficult to interpret the results beyond sheer

numbers. There is limited information about who the viewers are and the intended target audience. It may be likely that the audience consists of people predisposed to development-oriented messages.

- The soap operas are effective in creating involvement with the principal characters in the story. However, the audience members, especially the lower socioeconomic groups, identify with characters that are different from what the writers intended.
- Time series analysis support results that show change in behaviors, but, as indicated earlier, the data are confounded by extraneous variables such as history and other campaign effects.
- Finally, knowledge and attitude change may not necessarily mean change in behaviors.

Communication Interventions in HIV/AIDS Prevention

Most large-scale strategic campaigns in HIV/AIDS prevention, often employing social marketing, are concerned with individual behavior change. As sweeping structural change in society is not always realistic, individual change may be significant in gradually leading to progressive social change. However, social intersections such as class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and age need to be adequately considered in research and strategies (Braun, 2010; Goswami and Melkote, 1997; Luthra, 1991; Melkote et al., 2000; Moghadam, 2005; Worthington, 1992).

Social Intersections

Many studies have shown that social intersections such as gender, race and class largely determine a person's health status. According to Schneider (1992), "In concert they will affect perception of health and illness, kinds and availability of care, [and] modes of delivery. This unequal distribution of access to health care mirrors the manner in which social and political power, resources, labor and services are distributed in society" (ibid.: 21). Quinn (1993), exploring the interaction of race, class, and gender in the context of AIDS preventive behavior, found that social factors push risk reduction behaviors outside the control of certain individuals. For example, the use of condom assumes

an equal distribution of power in sexual relationships: a woman may have the intention and the self-efficacy to adopt this behavior, but the actual act of using a condom requires the active cooperation of the male partner (Fee and Krieger, 1993; Kashima et al., 1992; Peterson and Marvin, 1988; Quinn, 1993; UNAIDS, 2012; Velu, 2002). Poor women may be especially vulnerable to their male partners' views, to the extent that they are economically and emotionally dependent on them. Additionally, poor women may be limited in their choices about relationships and living situations in ways that middle-class women may not be, and they may not experience the freedom to regulate sexual practices or to separate from their partners or husbands. Concerns regarding food, shelter, and care of their children may be more important, certainly more immediate and visible, than worries about AIDS (UNAIDS, 2012).

Therefore, social context including gender, class, age, ethnicity, and nation constitute a crucial set of mediating factors in shaping individuals' attitudes and behaviors related to HIV/AIDS as well as how it may be addressed (Goswami and Melkote, 1997; Melkote et al., 2000; UNAIDS, 2012). AIDS is not just a health issue, nor is it simply a sexual-behavior-related issue. At present, the emphases in communication campaigns usually are on short-term goals: get tested, use condoms, choose partners carefully, communicate with partners, etc. While these goals are very important for containing the spread of AIDS, they are not sufficient. An effective strategy for HIV/AIDS prevention will require long-term and sustained local and global strategies that should also address the social, cultural, economic, and political factors that influence the spread of AIDS (Richey, 2012; UNAIDS, 2012).

Developing countries offer a conducive environment for HIV to flourish. In Asia and Africa, factors such as poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of infrastructural and basic primary health care systems, rural–urban migration, poor sanitation, cultural factors (such as the low status accorded to women), and war create a favorable setting for the large-scale spread of HIV. The social impediments to safe sex and knowledge regarding AIDS are also prodigious. In countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya, and South Africa, the financial insecurity that characterizes many female-headed households make transactional sex a “rational means of making ends meet” (Gill and Mohammed, 1994: iii). Further, women in these and other societies generally have smaller landholdings, less

income, and less access to agricultural training, which sometimes make the exchange of sex for money their only survival mechanism (Braun, 2010; UNAIDS, 2012). Low economic and social status of women is also widespread in parts of Asia and Latin America where similar factors may operate to constrain individual behavior change (Bhawani and Gram, 1994; Rai et al., 1993). While the world's attention has been focused largely on Africa and Asia, where infection rates remain the greatest, HIV is also a problem in Latin America, North America, and Europe (Snell, 1999; UNAIDS, 2012). An AIDS epidemic could happen in many places that are ill-equipped to respond due to lack of preparation, infrastructure, and data collection methods. Referencing Butt (2002), Richey (2012: 12) points out that images of *suffering strangers*, usually in Africa, can get in the way of an effective global strategy, as well as of the awareness that everyone is vulnerable. Richey especially criticizes product-linked campaigns that use AIDS to sell compassion and commercial goods at the same time, for example, Product RED.

Participatory Strategies

Media campaigns that merely deliver accurate and comprehensive HIV/AIDS—or any health-related—knowledge from a medical and immunological point of view, and do not address the subjective views that individuals have, may have less chance of reducing perceptions of risk than strategies that also deal with people's complex, context-based concerns (Melkote and Muppidi, 1999). While we support calls for a theory-based persuasive message design that incorporates an analysis of audience needs and beliefs, we would go further and recommend participatory communication strategies where the beneficiaries of campaigns and projects play an active role in message construction and design. Fee and Krieger (1993) argue that the subjective truths of those directly affected by the epidemic constitute authentic knowledge and are as valuable for understanding AIDS as any objective biomedical account. Granting legitimate status to people's knowledge requires involving the intended beneficiaries of campaigns in the planning, design, and construction of messages (Fee and Krieger, 1993; Melkote and Muppidi, 1999). This would ensure that health education campaigns are compatible with people's own modes of understanding and are relevant to their needs.

Organizational Context of Strategic Interventions

The structural and normative conditions of organizations that sponsor social marketing projects and their relationships with and dependence on funding sources have a profound effect on the nature of their work. For example, USAID, which funds many projects in the areas of health, nutrition, and family planning, is strongly influenced by US foreign policy. USAID and other such agencies prioritize working with the private sector to promote health care (see Hoy, 1998; Steeves, 2000; Storey and Figueroa, 2012; USAID, 1982; Wilkins, 1999). In addition, the intervention strategies of USAID historically have stressed persuasion (of individuals) versus addressing structural issues and constraints (Wilkins, 1999). In general, persuasive strategies dominated by market-based approaches and dominant political-economic interests often overlook critical structural factors that sustain inequities (Sparks, 2007; Wilkins, 2012). The examples are numerous.

Wherever traditional marketing practices and commercial interests predominate, there may also be a lack of sensitivity to gender and class interests as well as to other important systems dynamics. Luthra (1988, 1991), for instance, examined USAID's multimillion-dollar social marketing project in Bangladesh to make contraceptives widely available, particularly to the urban and rural poor. Luthra found considerable evidence that commercial marketing conventions neglected both the project's social mission and women's needs. For example, she found evidence of error and bias in market research indicating that because men in Bangladesh do the shopping and are the primary mass media users, they should also be the primary targets of campaign information. She also noted that the market research had ignored the effectiveness of informal media in reaching the women. There was an overuse of the mass media despite their low penetration among the target audience. This omission, Luthra felt, was related to biases toward working with advertising agencies and reaching the largest possible audience through formal mass media, a bias that clearly privileged the urban wealthy in this instance.

Worthington (1992) reported findings consistent with those of Luthra in her analysis of an HIV/AIDS awareness campaign in East Africa, particularly Uganda. The *AIDS in the Workplace* theme targeted urban men, who constitute the majority of paid workers in

Uganda. The use of mass media in the campaign also supported a class, gender, and urban bias. An expensive EE video entitled "It's Not Easy" reinforced these biases, as it was meant to be shown primarily to groups of workers and managers.⁵ To the extent that the video was shown on television, the wealthier groups with television access were privileged. Additionally, the video represented women as passive victims, with few options beyond hoping their husbands would remain faithful and consider the use of condoms.

Likewise, Khamis (2009) studied a large-scale, government-sponsored, televised family planning campaign in Egypt, analyzing how different groups of Egyptian rural women received the messages. Khamis found that the campaign, like many others, reflected the dominant paradigm, emphasizing the top-down power of mass media and neglecting sufficient input from rural women who constituted the primary audience. These women were not a homogenous group, but rather varied by age, religion (degree of fundamentalism), household structure, income level, social networks, and uses of mass media and traditional media. The project failed to consider these myriad and complex intersections. Further, the campaign revealed an *individual blame* presumption, that is, that women with too many children cause problems of underdevelopment such as poverty and illiteracy, without understanding the cultural context of family size or considering the larger systems that contribute to these problems. The campaign's individualist orientation additionally neglected the collective nature of media use in rural communities, which played an important role in shaping women's views of all family planning messages, including this campaign.

The commercial mass media and individualist biases evident in many large-scale campaigns have spread to NGOs, which increasingly are the implementers of bilateral and multilateral aid. Some NGOs are actually created with the assistance of bilateral grants in order to perform consistent functions. An example of this is the Ghana Social Marketing Foundation. This NGO based in Accra started with the assistance of USAID. It seeks funds from multilateral, bilateral, and other aid organizations, which allow it to hire consultants and other resources for social marketing research and campaigns. All of this contributes to a commercial orientation in development that may be class-, gender-, and urban-biased, and also neglects traditional forms of communication in the process (Matthews, 2004; Steeves, 2000).

A video produced by the Academy for Educational Development for a USAID social marketing nutrition project in Bolivia provides another example of the implementation of social marketing.⁶ The video demonstrated ways in which the purchase and consumption of imported, subsidized soybeans were promoted through social marketing. Mass media, especially radio, were used in the campaign. The videotape failed to explain why protein-rich crops could not be grown locally or what the consequences would be for local farmers and vendors. The evaluation research findings presented in the video were not persuasive in substantiating the project's success.

NEW ROLES FOR DEVCOM

Historically, in development literature, mass media were considered the prime movers in social development. This view continues, though it was particularly strong from the 1950s through the 1980s when the central focus was on the big media to the neglect of interpersonal/organizational networks and indigenous channels of communication. Mass media such as newspapers and the radio were saddled with the important task of spreading information as widely as possible. Government authorities, subject experts, and extension agents would go on the radio or visit villages lecturing on how to have smaller families, increase agricultural yields, or live healthier lives. Communication flows were hierarchical, one-way, and top-down. People were regarded as passive receivers of development information. This scenario started to change somewhat in the 1970s, as we have noted frequently.

Communication in Self-development Efforts

The idea of self-development gained popularity in the 1970s. In other words, user-initiated activity at the local level was considered essential for successful development. Thus, the emphasis was not so much on top-to-bottom flows of information and messages from experts to a mass audience, but importantly, on bottom-up flows from users to sources, and on horizontal flows. People had to have open discussions

among themselves, identify their needs and problems, decide on a plan of action, and then use a specific communication medium and an information database most appropriate to their needs. Thus, while the mass media were helpful and often necessary, they were not sufficient for the tasks at hand. The emphasis was not on big media but appropriate media. Along these lines, Havelock (1971) suggested a *problem-solving* model that put the spotlight on the needs of users and their diagnosis of their problems. The need for information, then, was the prerogative of the user at the local level rather than an authority at the top.

In these approaches, the role and place of communication in social and behavioral change was radically different from the postulates of the modernization paradigm. As we have discussed, early communication models assumed that mass-mediated information was essential. Communication processes took place in a social and cultural vacuum and societal variables were not given much consideration. This was despite research in the sociology of mass communications that indicated as early as 1959 that mass communication constitutes but one social system among many others in a society (Riley and Riley, 1959).

Self-development implied a different role for communication. Development agencies still had to perform a service function in terms of collecting technical information, but it was no longer prescriptive. Communication flows were now initiated in response to articulated needs of the users. Several examples may be provided of successful early self-development efforts.

The Indian experiment with Radio Farm Forums in the 1960s and 1970s is a case in point. The radio station provided an organized listening group in a village with useful information on agriculture and other related matters. This was the top-down component of the project. However, the listening group was the final deciding authority. The group members discussed the new information, its relevance to their needs and problems, and then decided whether to seek more information. Thus, horizontal flows of communication were important and any help requested was clearly at the initiative of the users (Masani, 1975).

Similarly, in Fogo in Newfoundland, Canada, the income from the once lucrative fishing business was all but destroyed. Many young people left the village. The residents decided to act on their own using

a loaned portable video recorder from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. They initiated discussions and debates of what the problems were and what ought to be done. All of this was videotaped. The people then viewed the tape, collectively decided on a plan of action, and with external help, made their village prosperous again (Schramm, 1977; Williamson, 1991). The Fogo process was replicated with some success in Nepal. Here, a video camera was used to facilitate the participation of women in issues of interest to their community (Belbase, 1987). Also, in Tanzania, when villages in the Arusha region decided to construct latrines, they borrowed audiotapes from the local communication center, which helped them with expert knowledge from the project authorities (Hedebro, 1982). Thus, again, in this project, the idea was not to persuade the people to do something specific at the initiative of the experts but rather to allow users to decide what ought to be done and then seek expert information, if necessary.

Rogers (1976b: 141) summarized the chief roles of communication in self-development efforts:

- Provide technical information about development problems and possibilities, and about appropriate innovations, in response to local requests, and
- Circulate information about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so that other such groups may profit from the experience and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance.

The role of mass media in self-development efforts was that of a catalyst or facilitator in change rather than the sole cause. Importantly, the communication channels initiated a dialogue between the users and the sources, helping them to *talk together*.

Role of Indigenous Media in Development

For many years, indigenous or folk media were ignored in development literature. In the modernization paradigm, anything that was even remotely connected with the local culture was to be eschewed.

Since traditional media are extensions of local culture, they were regarded as vehicles that would discourage modern attitudes and behavioral patterns and instead reinforce cultural values of the community. Lerner (1958) had predicted that the direction of change in communication systems in all societies was from oral forms to technology-based mass media. Thus, resources were devoted to the strengthening and growth of radio and television. The period from the 1950s to 1980s, therefore, was characterized by a benign neglect of indigenous media. However, the newer, more participatory concepts of development emphasized, among other things, the re-emergence of culture as a facilitator of development, and the integration of traditional and modern systems. This shift in focus put the spotlight on indigenous channels of communication or the folk media. In the early 1970s, several international conferences addressed the idea of using folk media to promote development.⁷

Folk media are products of the local culture, rich in cultural symbols, and highly participatory. In addition, they have great potential for integration with the modern mass media (Casey, 1975). Folk media consist of varied expressive and storytelling forms: theater, puppetry, songs, dances, ballads, mime, drumming, and more. They have served as vehicles of communication and entertainment in every culture globally for centuries. Wang and Dissanayake (1984b: 22) define folk media as a "communication system embedded in the culture which 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 changes." Ranganath (1975: 12) defines traditional media as "living expressions of the lifestyle and culture of a people, evolved through the years." These definitions reiterate the origin and nurturing of the folk channels in and by the richness of the local culture. The traditional uses of the folk media are many, including entertainment, social communication, religious activity, trading, and community announcements. However, folk forms may also become vehicles for persuasive communication wherein modern messages exhort audience members to limit the size of their families, live in harmony with their neighbors, or lead more healthy lives.

Participatory, bottom-up concepts of development such as self-help development led to a re-examination of traditional media as vehicles for carrying development-oriented messages and themes.

Clearly, folk media have several advantages: They are part of the local social environment and, hence, credible sources of information. They command the audience as live media and are ideal examples of two-way communication. They have proved useful in generating grassroots participation and a dialogue between the performers and the audience. Many of the folk media formats are flexible, thus, facilitating the incorporation of development-oriented messages in their themes. This makes them useful and credible channels for promoting planned change. Additionally, they are relatively inexpensive and, in almost all cultures, command rich and inexhaustible variety, both in form and theme. The timeless traditional media, therefore, present inexhaustible alternatives for experimentation in devcom (Kumar, 2006; Mushengyezi, 2003; Ranganath, 1980).

Morrison (1993) and Mda (1993) provide excellent examples of the value of highly participatory, traditional theater in Africa for consciousness raising and problem solving. In Burkina Faso, the popular *forum theater* has been used to help rural people think critically about their health problems. Morrison (1993) discusses a play entitled *Fatouma the Baby Machine*, which portrays conflict between a husband and wife over family size. The wife does not want more children, yet the husband resists the notion of limiting family size, ultimately throwing his wife out of the house. When the play ends, the audience members are invited to reenact how they think the characters should have behaved. All audience members, including women, have equal access to the stage, and the role-playing helps facilitate the consideration of otherwise sensitive topics. Mda (1993, 1994) discusses the Marotholi Traveling Theater in Lesotho, which also makes use of traditional forms of expression and problem solving. Ideas for plays come from problems raised by community members. The plays aim exclusively to act out the problems, not to present solutions. Following a play, the audience analyzes the reasons for the problems and suggests solutions. The audience controls the actors, directing them to play roles, almost as though the actors are puppets of the audience. *Nautanki*, an indigenous North Indian operatic theater performance tradition, is another popular folk medium. Sharma (2012) describes this as a non-textocentric and participatory way of supporting development in directed social change. A *Nautanki* performance is like Bakhtin's (1984) carnival, a festive event that brings people together and enhances cooperation

among community members. The performances reinforce the idea of community by encouraging teamwork and collective participation. *Nautanki* performances play the role of a public square, where community members across all castes and classes communicate with each other about relevant community issues including conflict resolution (Sharma, 2012).

Critical Issues in Using Traditional Media for Development

There are important concerns in using folk media for development. Ethical questions may be raised about inserting development content in folk media as it is possible that these media may be fundamentally changed or even destroyed in the process. Appropriating folk media for development is a delicate task requiring intimate knowledge of the nature of traditional communication channels (Mane, 1974). Ranganath (1980) cautions that preparation of a book of basic data, or a comprehensive account of all the known traditional media in a particular region/country should be given the highest priority. In this book of basic data, Ranganath suggests that the following characteristics of every folk form should be recorded under the following categories: (a) Form (audio, visual, and audiovisual), (b) thematic content, (c) flexibility in accommodating development message, and (d) cultural context.

In terms of flexibility, Ranganath suggests that it is possible to categorize all the media as rigid, semi-flexible, and flexible. The rigid forms usually carry a religious theme, are usually used in rituals, and they reject foreign messages. Some examples are *Yellamma* songs, *Vydyarakunitha* (both from South India), and Chinese revolutionary opera (Chiao and Wei, 1984; Ranganath, 1980). The semi-flexible media might permit the limited insertion of foreign messages through certain characters or situations. Examples here would be rural dance drama such as *Yakshagana* of South India, leather puppetry such as *Wayang Kulit* of Indonesia, and religious forms such as *Jatra* of North India. The flexible media provide unlimited opportunities for inserting development messages, assuming careful consideration of ethical issues. Examples would be puppet drama such as *Wayang Orang* (Indonesia), ballads such as *Lavani* and *Gee Gee* of South India, *Chamsoun* (United Arab Republic [UAR]), some theater forms such as *Katha*, *Bhavai*, and *Tamasha*

of northern and western parts of India, *Kakaku* of Ghana, and the Caribbean *Calypso*.

More research is needed to comprehensively examine and categorize folk media in terms of the above criteria—form, theme, and flexibility—before being used as vehicles to carry development-oriented messages. Otherwise, there is a danger of harm to both the folk form and the inserted message. An example is the *Yellamma* songs, a rigid form. The songs are popular with devotees of Yellamma, a goddess of worship in the state of Karnataka in India. Research showed that using these songs to insert family planning messages created a hostile situation among the devotees who were generally poor and had large families.⁸ Thus, while folk media have great potential in communicating development-oriented messages to local audiences, they should be employed judiciously, requiring intimate knowledge and context-based research.

Another issue involves the integration of folk media with mass media. This could work to the mutual advantage of both: It gives the folk media a wide geographical spread while providing mass media with a rich array of local information and entertainment themes. However, there are dangers to both media if proper methods of integration are not used. A case in point is an experiment conducted in Taiwan of integrating bag puppetry with television (Wang, 1984). Like other folk media, the popularity of the once-famous bag puppetry was on the decline, mainly due to competition from television. However, by adapting it to fit the needs of television, there was a revival of this ancient Chinese folk form. Television, too, benefited from this since it was able to draw a record number of viewers who were interested in watching the puppet shows. In the end, however, bag puppetry changed so much to fit the needs of television that it lost its original character. The extempore dialogue was replaced by a written script, the traditional Chinese language gave way to popular slang, Chinese classical music was replaced by a hybrid of Chinese and Western rock music, and even the symbolic face-painting of the puppets was de-emphasized (*ibid.*). Soon, televised bag puppetry was no longer the medium that attracted people historically. The changes had done serious harm to the form and theme of bag puppetry.

However, adaptation need not necessarily change, destroy, or reduce the original popularity of a folk form (Chander, 1974; Chiranjit, 1974; Kumar, 2006; Mushengyezi, 2003). Examples of successful

integration are many, such as the Indian television and commercial films, which have successfully integrated elements of folk theater, songs, and dances (Agrawal, 1984, 1998; Krishnaswamy, 1974); Iran's *Barnameh*, which has been successfully adapted to radio and television; *Kakaku* of Ghana that became a successful radio and television serial; and the Caribbean *Calypso*, a hot favorite on the stage, film, and television (Ranganath, 1980). In fact, integration of folk media may be necessary to legitimize television among local viewers, and may be inevitable for the future of the waning folk media. Efforts, however, should be made to preserve the originality of each folk form (Yount, 1975).

DIGITAL COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

The accelerated diffusion of digital communication technologies around the turn of the century greatly increased the possibilities for accelerated development. We begin by describing the historical context of ICTs in development, including the Millennium Summit and World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). We will then discuss the debates, questions, and examples of the opportunities and challenges posed by ICTs as both goal and strategy in development.

Historical Context of ICTs in Development

The term *information and communication technologies for development* (ICT4D) became popular during the first decade of the new millennium. The meaning of ICT4D is contested; it varies depending on what both ICTs and development are presumed to comprise. We accept Gillian Marcelle's often-cited definition of ICTs, as comprising old or *legacy* media, as well as newer digital technologies:

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) comprise a complex and heterogeneous set of goods, applications and services used to produce, distribute, process and transform information. They include the outputs of industries as diverse as telecommunications, television and radio broadcasting, computer hardware and software, computer services

and electronic media (e.g., the Internet, electronic mail, electronic commerce and computer games). (Marcelle, 2000: 5)

This definition acknowledges that ICTs are evolutionary, and did not appear suddenly in the latter half of the 20th century. Hence, there is no bright line between old and new ICTs; they overlap, evolve rapidly (the meaning of *new* is ever-changing), coexist, and an older form may be more appropriate than a newer form in a particular context. In addition, ICTs include applications and services, and not just hardware and gadgets.

Discourse around ICTs may be traced to Daniel Lerner's (1958) modernist belief in the power of technologies, including media technologies, to quickly westernize traditional societies. Within the mainstream of ICT4D policy and discourse, development is a rearticulation of modernization achieved through economic growth under globalization. Most references to ICT4D are in the context of developing countries using ICTs to leapfrog the different stages of development to catch up to advancements in the North. Castells (1999) supports this view by stating that "the availability and use of information and communication technologies are a prerequisite for economic and social development in our world. They are the functional equivalent of electricity in the industrial era" (ibid.: 3). Developing countries cannot afford to lag behind in the digital age anymore than they could function without electrification in past decades. ICT4D, therefore, generally refers to the possibilities created through access and use of ICTs for modernization. The UN, through its various institutions, actively promotes ICT4D as a tool for economic and social development around the world, particularly in developing countries. However, the failures of many technology-intensive projects, their one-way, top down assumptions and strategies, their negative side effects, and their biases resulted in a plethora of initiatives and critiques voiced through the 20th century to the present, as noted frequently throughout our book.

ICTs may also be described as "electronic means of capturing, processing, storing, and communicating information" (Heeks, 1999). Digital or *new* ICTs store the information as 1s and 0s and transmit the data through telecommunication networks. The *older* technologies such as the radio and television used to be entirely analog systems in which information was held as electric signals and transmitted through

electromagnetic waves. Examples of digital ICTs include wireless cellular phones, tablet and laptop computers, communication satellites, computers, and the Internet. There has been a significant proliferation of each of these technologies in the Third World in the last two decades. The SITE in India, the Palapa Experiment in Indonesia, and experiments with satellite-based rural telephony in Peru are some of the earlier examples of *new* ICTs in the 1970s and 1980s.

Digital ICTs connect people and institutions globally in a web of real-time interactions and transactions. Data from the ITU show the dramatic increase of Internet users, mobile telephone subscriptions, mobile broadband connections, and bandwidth capacity that is crucial for high-speed Internet (see Chapter 1). It is no surprise, therefore, that there is so much support for the central role of ICTs and their networks in the processes of connectivity that symbolizes contemporary globalization (Lule, 2012). IT has had a fundamental place and role in all facets of the process of globalization, making global connectivity possible in all sectors of contemporary societies. For example, one can effortlessly buy and sell stocks held in a country thousands of miles away, the banking industry can monitor and execute global transactions, transnational corporations can make decisions and take action from a distance, people can easily send money to their families and others through money transfers using mobile phones, families can stay in touch through services such as Skype, and the Arab Spring protests were facilitated greatly by the use of Twitter messages and the digital social media.

Rao (2005) has used the eight Cs (connectivity, content, community, commerce, culture, capacity, cooperation, and capital) approach to analyze ICTs as instruments (in terms of their usage) and as an industry (in terms of their creation). The eight Cs framework has provided a useful template to summarize innovative responses to the tasks of using ICTs in developing countries under several categories: education, business, government, civil society, health care, and ICT industries. Further, Rao (2005) has used this framework to classify information societies globally under the following types with a few examples under each: Restrictive (North Korea, Myanmar), Embryonic (Afghanistan, East Timor, Iraq), Emerging (Nepal, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Nigeria), Negotiating (China), Intermediate (India, The Philippines, Brazil, South Africa), Mature (Australia, New Zealand, Italy), Advanced (Japan, South Korea, Sweden), and Agenda Setting (USA).

ICTs and the MDGs

There has been a great deal of support for ICTs in development from state governments, international organizations, and technology enthusiasts. An important prelude to this support was the Millennium Summit held in 2000 in New York city. This summit discussed and debated the role of the UN in the new century to address major global inequities related to extreme poverty, despite four decades of development aid. The 192 member states agreed on eight interrelated MDGs to be achieved by 2015.⁹ The need for technological support to achieve the MDGs helped catalyze subsequent events, including UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's 2001 creation of a multi-stakeholder UN Information Communication Technologies Task Force to examine multiple ICT4D topics, such as Internet governance, and analyze implications of ICTs for the MDGs.

Even earlier, beginning in 1998, the ITU had been proposing a major summit on the information society within the UN system, ever since the US-based Corporation ICANN (Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) was created and was perceived as steadily seeking control over the Internet's globally shared resources (Klein, 2005: 9). As a result of the above and other initiatives, UN General Assembly Resolution 56/183 (December 21, 2001) directed the international community to hold a WSIS in two phases: in Geneva (Switzerland) in December 2003 and in Tunis (Tunisia) in November 2005. During the period leading up to WSIS Geneva, three major preparatory meetings and numerous regional meeting were held globally to gather input and prepare for documents to be adopted at WSIS 2003 (Klein, 2004). Additionally, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2002 challenged Silicon Valley to invent appropriate and affordable technologies for rural areas in the developing world, inventions that would then help ground and extend WSIS, as well as the MDGs. Numerous countries created policies for universal access during this timeframe, policies that also aimed to support the eight MDGs, presuming that ICT4D benchmarks could align with MDGs and help support them.

In general, within the UN system, the UNDP played a major role in supporting WSIS outcomes via numerous projects aimed to address the digital divide and bring ICTs to economically disadvantaged regions and groups. Most agree that WSIS succeeded in framing and

organizing global public discourse around ICTs and the digital divide. WSIS successfully challenged ICANN's claim on Internet governance, facilitated broad participation, and provided legitimacy to alternative voices. Additionally, WSIS also advanced global discourse on free and open-source software (FOSS), as an alternative to monopolies such as Microsoft, and legitimized the allocation of global resources to address the digital divide (Klein, 2004).

ICTs for Development

Supporters of ICTs have advocated integrated development through telecommunications by highlighting many of their uses and applications (Barr, 1998: 154–156; Rao, 2005):

- Finding markets for farm produce, fishery catches, and handcraft products, negotiating prices, and arranging for transportation;
- Arranging for the delivery of inputs such as raw materials, supplies, and tools;
- Obtaining and distributing information rapidly on markets, prices, consumption trends, and inventory;
- Carrying out financial transactions such as making money deposits, paying bills, and obtaining cash;
- Facilitating rural and eco-tourism;
- Expanding educational opportunities such as distance learning;
- Promoting telemedicine (i.e., dissemination of medical information, diagnosis, and training of staff in remote health centers); and
- Facilitating quick and easy ways to stay in touch with family members, relatives, and friends.

Though ICT's penetration remains low in rural areas in many developing countries, particularly the Internet, and it is still very much urban-based, it has significant potential for rural development (Karan, 2004). At present, given the socioeconomic situation in most developing countries, the advantages of the Internet will accrue, not to most individuals in rural areas but to intermediaries such as

small to medium enterprises, NGOs, development officers, rural health centers, and other development-related organizations (Richardson, 1998b). Internet has the potential to support development in many areas (ibid.: 173–177):

- In the area of agriculture, the Internet can serve as a gateway to global markets and information. Well-organized user groups can access information relevant to local needs and realities. New information could be fed into the community through existing channels such as the community radio, bulletin boards at local cooperatives, stores, and interpersonal networks. Internet can serve as an information resource as well as a research tool.
- In the area of community development, the Internet can be employed to “develop locally appropriate applications and services; provide knowledge about successful development strategies; enable efficient regional, national and global organization efforts;...and enable rural young people to learn about computers and to have access to the technologies and information available to their urban peers” (ibid.: 174).
- Development support functionaries such as local NGOs can use the Internet as a window to the outside world, publicize their work, and seek donors, while health workers can use the Internet to access technical information. Easy access to information coming into the community and information going out about the community are valuable resources and the Internet makes this possible. The use of the Internet by the Chiapas Indians in Mexico to garner international support for their cause is an example of its power. The use of social media in the Arab Spring of 2011 is another obvious example.
- Participatory communication approaches place a great value in bottom-up flows of information and delivering research results from rural areas to the policy makers in urban centers. The Internet could be used to effectively document local knowledge and practices and share it with outsiders as well as facilitate horizontal flows among rural communities and organizations.
- Small businesses can exploit the Internet to get information on new markets and access critical business and financial information.



Photograph 6.1: Cell Phone Towers. Unsightly cell phone towers increasingly dot the rural and urban landscapes of the developing world. Some are camouflaged, or attempt camouflage.

Source: Authors.

- The Internet may be used to share news among developing countries, thus, countering a major criticism of international news flows, which were usually from the Western capitals to the Third World countries and not vice versa.

Are ICTs a Boon or Bane for Development?

We have suggested many ways in which ICTs may be useful in development (also, see Box 6.1). However, given the socioeconomic and political structures in most countries, the many positive examples should be seen as *potential* contributions of ICTs. Serious constraints exist that inhibit the use of ICT-based information by rural residents in Third World countries as well as by marginalized groups elsewhere. There has been much hype about the benefits deriving from ICTs and insufficient discussion about failures and even negative effects. More importantly, there is very little analysis

Box 6.1**ICTs and M-Health Innovations**

Consider the following mobile-health (m-health) innovations using mobile devices and applications:

- Google is developing new contact lenses that could measure and send information on glucose levels in a person's tears to a health care professional.
- Apple is working on a technology to add heartbeat sensors to its mobile electronic devices.
- AliveCor has developed a gadget that may be fitted to a smartphone, which lets the person take an electrocardiogram and then send it to a cardiologist for examination with the help of an app.
- CellScope is developing a device which may be attached to a smartphone to look inside the human ear and send the image to a healthcare physician.
- Proteus Digital Health is testing a sensor that may be ingested with prescription medicines, which then sends information to a smartphone to enable a doctor to verify if the patient is taking his/her medications.

All of these innovations are but a few examples that characterize recent developments in the healthcare industry to connect patients with doctors and hospitals. Other technologies include gadgets that a person may wear on his/her body, which then transmit information to the wearer on different aspects of personal fitness such as calories burned, number of steps taken during a walking session, irregular heartbeats, and a myriad other details. Such devices and applications have the potential to save money and improve health, and especially in emerging markets, overcome problems relating to ill-equipped or nonexistent clinics, hospitals, and health care centers in a certain geographical area. In rich countries, such innovations could reduce costs while helping patients to improve their health.

Source: Compiled from *The Economist*, February 1, 2014, p. 56.

of the challenges faced by the rural poor in effectively harnessing the benefits derived from the use of ICTs. Critical, postcolonial, postdevelopment scholars and observers need to assess the contributions of ICTs in development guided by the axiom that any technology, including communication technology, carries with it the biases of the sociocultural milieu from which it emerged. Critical scholars argue that this forces us to analyze the social and political character of the technology to unravel its origins in unequal power structures, especially in a development context. Granqvist (2005: 293) sets the tone for this analysis by asking pertinent questions:

To what extent is a project building upon local knowledge and tradition? Are users taking part in the planning of the project? Are they involved at all in the design work? If they are, how is their participation assisted? Are efforts made to facilitate users' understanding of project plans and requirements specifications? Do community members have the right to turn down suggested technological implementations?

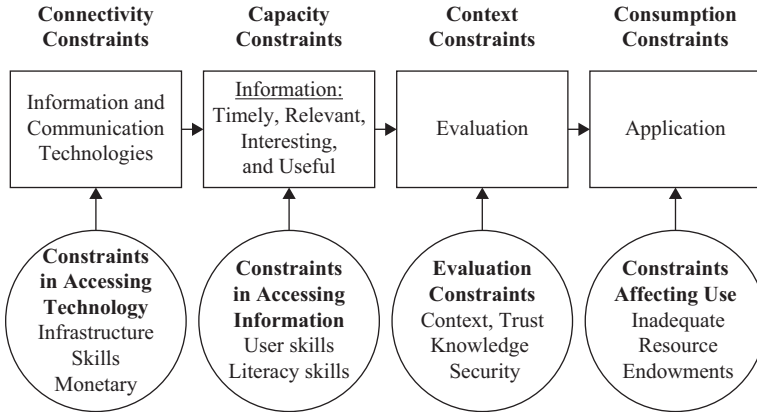
Technology enthusiasts are pushing ICTs vigorously under the guise that technology *per se* is development (Sachs, 2005b). However, we must separate the technology from the information it produces and examine people's capacities to receive, process, use, and transmit information. Our analysis¹⁰ of the challenges faced by the rural poor, small entrepreneurs, and other actors in using ICT-based information is summarized in Figure 6.1. The rural poor and small- to medium-size entrepreneurs face many resource constraints that may prevent them from accessing the technology.

These constraints include "a telecommunications infrastructure to make the ICTs work, a skills infrastructure to keep all the technology working, and money to buy or access the ICTs" (Heeks, 1999: 7). In terms of infrastructure, there is the problem of low teledensity and a dearth of Internet nodes in rural areas of developing countries (Mehta and Akthar, 1999; Panos, 1998a). Even though mobile phone access has increased exponentially in recent years, this has not yet translated to Internet access in rural areas and in deprived urban communities. Costs certainly affect women's access, as women tend to be disadvantaged economically compared to men.

Once recipients are able to access the technology, other constraints will inhibit access to the information: the rural poor and the small entrepreneurs may not have the usage skills and knowledge

Figure 6.1

Constraints in the Use of ICT-based Information by the Poor



Source: Adapted from Heeks (1999).

of English or the language in which the Internet messages are usually encoded (Heeks, 1999). At the stage at which the information is evaluated, the rural poor encounter a host of other constraints, which may be broadly categorized as a lack of cultural capital and/or time (Heeks, 1999; Panos, 1998b; Straubhaar and Duarte, 2005; World Bank, 1998):

- Much of the received information is meaningful and relevant only if the source and the receiver share a common culture, status, and the same set of priorities. Unequal class status or incompatible cultures make a huge difference in finding common ground in communication, a problem that has been discussed extensively by scholars writing about PAR and about feminist method;
- Some prior knowledge is necessary to locate and evaluate the importance, utility, and relevance of the information received;
- A certain amount of trust between the receiver and source is necessary to accept new information; and
- The receiver must feel secure enough to be able to take the risk of using the new information.

Finally, the rural poor may not have sufficient resources to use or apply the new knowledge (Kwami, 2010; Thussu, 2000). Material

resource inequalities can include monetary resources such as startup capital, maintenance costs, taxes, etc., and infrastructure resources such as inadequate production capacity, and lack of skilled personnel. Nonmaterial resources include time, training, and literacy. As in other resource areas, poor, often illiterate women, are among the least likely to have Internet access (see ITU, 2013b; also see Gersch, 1998; Kwami, 2010; Steeves, 1996; Steeves and Kwami, 2012).

In the end, new ICTs may be no different from other technological remedies promised to be development game-changers. These include, for instance, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Media Lab's invention of a rugged, low-cost laptop intended for poor children in developing countries, with the optimistic vision that these laptops would improve education and help move these countries into the digital age.¹¹ Unfortunately, in at least some instances, laptops were inserted in communities without adequately understanding: (a) the complex challenges that would be necessary to sustain the project financially, including government funding for proper maintenance of the laptops, (b) the availability of expertise necessary to teach with them, and (c) the gendered rural and urban contexts into which the laptops were introduced. Steeves' (2013) documentary narrates how the One Laptop Per Child (OLPC) pilot project in Ghana failed to successfully address any of the five principles of the project. Further, in the planning stages, the project failed to consider the local contexts into which laptops were deployed. All in all, the analysis of the project revealed slightly more success in the rural pilot school, which is located in a Millennium Villages Project community, and, therefore, has additional resources to help projects in relation to the eight MDGs, including promoting primary education and gender equality.

The great optimism about the potential of new ICTs for development is, in many respects, similar to the crusade for the mass media in the 1950s and 1960s. The advocates of the mass media believed that exposure to the new media would bring about speedy development of the Third World. Yet, today, the plight of the urban and rural poor in the Third World has not improved significantly despite the widespread adoption and use of radio and television. In the absence of drastic changes in international and national economic, social, political, and legal structures, one wonders whether the effects of ICTs in accelerating development will be any different from that of the earlier mass media.

As we have discussed earlier, many old and new ICT projects and campaigns in diffusion, social marketing, and/or EE traditions reveal modernist goals in their presumption that inserting ICTs will almost single-handedly bring change, for example, toward meeting the MDGs. They are also often characterized by biases regarding who is included or left out, and they may neglect other contextual considerations in ways that set them up to fail. In general, while the dialogue on ICT uses much rhetoric of inclusivity, a closer look often reveals serious gaps and problems.

Challenges at the Macro Level

There are several challenges at the macro level that need to be carefully analyzed to assess the overall benefit of new ICTs in development (Panos, 1998a). These include development opportunity costs, technology opportunity costs, socioeconomic costs, and political costs (Heeks, 1999: 15–16). Development opportunity costs mean that money to develop ICTs comes at the cost of some other inputs for development:

The debate centers on prioritizing need; how important is Internet access in an area without safe water or even an affordable telephone service? While some health workers praise the satellite system that has brought them e-mail connections and cheap access to health information, others complain that Internet connections will not pay for aspirin or syringes. (Panos, 1998a: 1)

Technology opportunity costs mean that in the race to install the Internet, for instance, other technologies that are already in place may be ignored, such as community radio (Pavarala and Mallik, 2007). In terms of access and coverage, radio is superior and is often more influential than certain new ICTs (Heeks, 1999; Mefalopulos, 2008). The new ICTs are far from achieving universal service or access according to a report of the 9th UN Round Table on Development Communication (FAO, 2005). We note, however, that the increased availability of radio on mobile phones enhances the availability of radio via the new platform.

Socioeconomic and political costs relate to the issue of power. People, countries, and organizations with power can present ICTs as the panacea for development. Thus, the attention of the populace may be

deliberately drawn away from social and economic inequalities. Technology advocates will underplay the larger social/political/economic resource inequality issues in the process of marketing the ICTs as the new weapons in the war against underdevelopment.

Another challenge at the macro level deals with the issue of technology planning. It is no longer a local affair. The process of globalization is largely determining the field for actors even at the local level. Global negotiations will have significant impact on national technology planning processes. This means that in the future, planning will be influenced by trade-related policies developed by the WTO. As a result, local planning has to take into account the effects of global forces. Hamelink (2001) cautions that unless developing countries are well-prepared and coordinated, they will have to continue to accept policies framed by countries of the North. It is, therefore, important that the countries of the South participate more effectively in global negotiations dealing with technology planning. "This asks for policy coordination among developing countries.... This can be done effectively when planners in the periphery mobilize resources and join a constituency that counteracts the northern dominance in global planning" (ibid.). With the passing of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), a global forum friendly to the developing nations, to global institutions such as the WTO, WB, and IMF, the need for a well-coordinated policy response by the South has become more pressing and urgent.

Multi-stakeholder Approach

In the near future, it is unlikely that the poor and marginalized will be able to directly use all information technologies. This is the case with Internet access in many countries, and gaps between the haves and have-nots will only increase. The greatest potential for the use of ICTs in development, then, resides within a multi-stakeholder approach:

These intermediaries are needed to bridge both the overt and the social resource endowment gaps between what the poor have and what they would need in order to use ICTs. Indeed, ICTs currently have a far greater enabling value in building capacity within intermediary institutions than in directly affecting the poor. (Heeks, 1999: 18)

Academic and research institutions and progressive organizations such as the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), GreenNet, and the Institute for Global Communications were among the early users of ICTs, and these networks provided links to NGOs and local civil society groups in developing countries. They also provided links between like-minded individuals and groups in the First and Third Worlds. In civil society, the APC stands out for its activism both during and after WSIS.¹² APC's projects since WSIS are numerous and include initiatives to monitor progress in meeting WSIS goals and support: access to ICTs in developing countries, open access, broadly participatory Internet governance, environmental sustainability via ICTs, and gender equality (APC, 2011b).

As illustrated by the work of APC, some ICT projects contest modernization and Westernization and aim for inclusivity by gender, ethnicity, age, class, nation, and religion. In another example, planning and follow-up efforts by women's groups for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing made extensive use of the Internet globally. These intermediary organizations in turn championed the causes of greater democracy, social and gender equality, and environmental protection (Panos, 1998a). However, Heeks (1999) cautions that the locus of control of ICTs should reside in organizations within communities. "Poor communities with the highest 'social capital' of effective institutions will, therefore, be the most effective users of ICTs. Initiatives in which technical and contextual knowledge are disconnected, with intermediaries and control located outside the community, are more likely to fail" (*ibid.*: 18). It is imperative that the people themselves or their representative organizations directly control the use of ICTs and be able to employ participatory processes to design and interpret the information systems and the attendant technologies to derive the greatest benefit.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has extended the arguments of previous chapters showing that the critiques of the modernization paradigm apply to communication strategies under modernization. As notions of

development began to change as a result of critiques, the role accorded to media and communication therein likewise began changing in the 1970s. There was a greater focus on active participation by people at the grassroots, an appreciation for the agency of local communities, and user-initiated activity at the local level was considered essential for successful and sustainable development and change. In Chapter 9, we will further discuss a participatory paradigm and accompanying communication approaches to facilitate more qualitative, collaborative, and epistemologically plural models in directed change. Finally, this chapter discussed new ICTs and rise of mobile and social media in development. ICTs are not the panacea for all the ills of development and their use may be vulnerable to critiques of technological determinism, much the same as critiques of many modernization projects. Like any technology or solution, each ICT needs to be carefully evaluated in the full context of each possible development problem.

NOTES

1. Material in parenthesis inserted by the authors.
2. The elite in Third World countries.
3. For current literacy rates globally, see UNDP (2013). The word illiterate generally references adults without basic reading and writing skills beyond the fourth grade level. Preliterate references children and adults in the process of becoming (or soon to be) literate, and nonliterate refers to those without access to a written language.
4. Defined by Rogers as an individual who links two or more cliques in a system (Rogers, 1976a: 221).
5. "It's Not Easy," produced by AIDSCOM, USAID, and Uganda Television, 1990.
6. "Marketing Ideas, Selling Nutrition," produced by the Academy for Educational Development for USAID and the US Department of Agriculture.
7. Some of them were the Expert Group Meeting sponsored by the International Planned Parenthood Federation and UNESCO in London (1972); the New Delhi Seminar and Workshop on Folk Media sponsored by UNESCO and the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (1974); and the East-West Communication Institute Seminar on Traditional Media (1975).
8. "The field reaction to the message-bearing medium was disturbing; it even became hostile...the new content of the songs to them was not merely incongruous but sacrilegious" (Ranganath, 1980: 21–22).
9. Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve

- maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and develop a global partnership for development.
10. This analysis has benefited from the critiques of Granqvist (2005), Rao (2005), Heeks (1999), Richardson (1998a, 1998b), Panos (1998a), and Hudson (1998).
 11. See the website of the OLPC organization: <http://one.laptop.org/>
 12. APC describes itself as “both a network and an organization” that aims to empower and support organizations, social movements, and individuals in and through the use of ICTs to build strategic communities and initiatives for the purpose of making meaningful contributions to equitable human development, social justice, participatory political processes, and environmental sustainability (APC, 2011a).

IV

**LIBERATION PERSPECTIVES AND
PRACTICES IN DEVELOPMENT**



CHAPTER 7

LIBERATION THEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

... if the religions of the world can recognize poverty and oppression as a common problem, if they share a common commitment to remove such evils, they will have a basis for reaching across their incommensurabilities and differences in order to hear and understand each other and possibly be transformed in the process.

Knitter (1987: 186)

Whether grounded in critical thought (from Marxist, neo-Marxist, and postcolonial theories) or modernization (from neoclassical and neoliberal economic theories), or a combination of these approaches, most discussions of development have taken place within an overall economic framework concerned with how material resources are allocated in society. While critical and postcolonial arguments do increasingly concern themselves with ideological influence (such as issues of cultural expansionism and imperialism, as previously discussed), these arguments usually are subordinate to larger questions of power and control over capital resources.

Nonmaterial considerations that move development to a different depth, that is, to the realm of the spiritual, are seldom priorities in the scholarship or practice of Western development aid. Few of the writings on devcom in mainstream traditions consider the positive impact of religion and spirituality. At best, devcom texts usually provide just passing references to religion, for example, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism, and often as a simple demographic or in a negative sense, as an obstacle to development. Yet, religious groups offer complex examples of local activism and influence. At times, religious organizations may support modernization. This support may help or harm women, minorities, or the environment

depending on the context. At other times, religious groups may resist a modernizing influence. Again, the meaning of this resistance may be helpful or harmful with regard to particular demographic groups and the environment.

There has been a renewed interest in studying the positive role of religious traditions and organizations in progressive social change (Babbili, 2001). The dominant paradigm has been criticized for the negative way it has conceptualized the role of non-Western cultures, especially their religious traditions. Theorists believed that religion was necessarily in conflict with progress and change. However, this view is unrealistic and empirically incorrect in many instances (Gusfield, 1971; Servaes, 1999; Wang and Dissanayake, 1984a). Wang and Dissanayake (1984a) posited that religion and other facets of local culture are essential not only to provide a context for development and change but also to maintain continuity. Denying the role of religion and culture would deny the continuity that they provided during all periods of change, and, thus, deny history and meaning to the people or nations involved.

Increasingly, there have been calls for approaches to development that are more open-ended and flexible than the deterministic and prescriptive models of the dominant discourse and which reconceptualize the role of religion and local culture in change (Servaes, 1999). Grassroots activists argue for reaffirming and strengthening local people's space and cultures to counter harmful effects of development-related interventions. Religious activists, feminists, postcolonialists, environmentalists, grassroots workers, and activists for other social and cultural causes have articulated their visions for the future. A common theme in these visions is their critique of the ethnocentrism of the dominant Western development discourse and the violence inflicted upon indigenous ways of life, cultural arrangements and knowledge structures. Braidotti et al. (1994) call for "locally sustainable lifestyles, participatory democracy, and recovery of dominated people's subjugated knowledge" (ibid.: 170). Other groups such as social ecologists argue for a nature-society reconciliation. This calls for the elimination of hierarchical thinking and an end to subjugation of nature by human societies.

This chapter discusses the meaning of development from spiritual perspectives and the nature of the arguments within different religious traditions. The type of theology that actively supports development for personal and collective empowerment often is called

liberation theology. While liberation theology has been traditionally associated with Christianity, there are, in fact, emancipatory—or *liberation*—arguments and sectors within every major religion that speak to specific issues of poverty, racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination. These arguments and their proponents are consistent in drawing on sacred texts to reject exploitation and injustice and promote compassion and tolerance. Proponents often work together for common goals, as described in Farid Esack's (1997) discussion of the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. As, Selwyn Gross (1990: 2) notes: "It is not uncommon for religious believers in the struggle to discover that they have more in common, theologically speaking, with comrades from very different religious traditions than they have with members of their own communities who are not involved in the struggle."

In this chapter, we first address the biases in the dominant development paradigm in more detail with respect to the role and place of religion in social change, using Hinduism as a primary example. Next, we summarize liberation perspectives expressed within Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Gandhian Hinduism, as these constitute the most significant belief systems that affect development. Together, they comprise over 90 percent of the world's people (Pew Research Center, 2012). We recognize that other religious organizations, beliefs, and motivations play important roles in development, including Baha'i, Shintoism, Taoism, Sikhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, indigenous North American and African religions, and more, but space does not allow an exhaustive discussion. We additionally discuss the relationship between Marxism and liberation theology, as the two systems of thought have been mutually reinforcing. At the same time, areas of conflict and contradiction remain. In Chapter 8, we show how arguments from liberation theology translate into communication strategies of development projects.

RELIGIOUS BIAS IN THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

In Chapter 3, we noted that Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and other religious frameworks are usually perceived as barriers to development under the dominant paradigm of modernization. Chapter 3 revealed

popular notions among sociologists and anthropologists regarding the normative structures of communities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The blame for relative economic backwardness in the Third World was ascribed to traditional values and institutions, especially the dominant religions. German sociologist Max Weber and a host of sociologists who followed him regarded Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Islam as fostering values and beliefs that were incompatible with modern science, technology, and the ideology of progress (Singer, 1966). Here, we use Hinduism as an example to address some of the biases and errors inherent in these perceptions.

Leading anthropologists argue that Weber downgraded the importance of political and economic factors in change, and that his ideas were simplistic and even ahistorical (Singer, 1972; Srinivas, 1973). For instance, Srinivas asked why Weber singled out the concepts of *samsara* (rebirth) and karma and not others as the *dogmatic foundation* of Hinduism. Srinivas even questioned if Hinduism has a dogmatic foundation:

Hinduism is so fundamentally different from Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the three Mediterranean religions that ideas and biases carried over from them may stand in the way of understanding it. Hinduism is an acephalous religion. It has nothing corresponding to the religious hierarchy of Christianity or even Islam. It does not state that it is the only true religion and all others are false. There is no formal provision of conversion. It is not congregational. Crucial ideas such as *samsara* and the sanctity of the *Vedas* have been rejected by one or another sect which has managed to remain within the Hindu fold. (Srinivas, 1973: 279–280)

Weber projected a view of Asian religions in general and Hinduism in particular, as incapable of change. This view is patently ahistorical. Hinduism, the oldest continuous religion in the world, has been changing and adapting since 5000 BC. The ideas in the earliest holy text, the early Vedas, changed in the later texts, the later Vedas and the Upanishads. The dominant ethic of Hinduism changed since the days of the Indo-Aryans, who ate meat and drank liquor. Today, vegetarianism and abstinence from liquor are practiced by many Hindus (Srinivas, 1973). Also, during its long history, there have been several religious revivals, as we will note later in this chapter. Importantly, Hinduism survived the enormous challenge posed by Buddhism

(which had almost eclipsed Hinduism) to come back as the dominant religion of the region. Moreover, the fact that it survived almost 700 years of Islamic and then Christian rulers in India speaks volumes of its adaptability and resilience.

There were other conceptual problems with Weber's thesis. He and other Western scholars erroneously equated Shankara's *advaita* philosophy with Hindu theology. *Advaita*, which centralized asceticism and other-worldliness, is not the only school of Hindu philosophy or even the most important. However, indologists who regarded *advaita* as the dominant idea in Hinduism criticized it for its emphasis on asceticism or other-worldliness, completely overlooking the diversity of thought in Hindu theology. Much of the content in Hindu texts, literature, and folklore deals with duties and action in this world. For example, in the Bhagavad Gita, the holy book of the Hindus, a central concern is the problem of action. Srinivas (1973: 282) has noted:

It must be mentioned that there is in the *Gita* an undoubted emphasis on performing the duties of one's caste and status. Duty conscientiously performed, without attachment to the fruits of the action, leads to salvation.... Duty properly performed makes the entire life an offering to God. It is interesting that during the last 70 years or more, Indian leaders and intellectuals, including Tilak, Gandhi, and Aurobindo, turned to the *Gita* to justify their involvement in political and social action.

Attainment of salvation or eternal life in the other world is just one goal in Hindu texts. The other three goals stress a person's obligations in this life. They are *dharma* (morality), *artha* (pursuit of wealth), and *kama* (sex within marriage). Singer and Srinivas note the compartmentalization that characterizes Hindu society and makes the religion quite flexible. The office and factory symbolize modern life, whereas the home is a place for traditions. Thus, many Hindus readily move from tradition to modernity without schizophrenia (Singer, 1966). These observations indicate coexistence of traditional and modern lifestyles and discredit the widespread belief among certain Western sociologists that traditional beliefs and practices necessarily obstruct modernization.

Anthropological research shows that other religions such as Islam and Buddhism do not necessarily foster piety, resignation, or fatalism either. Such stereotypes of Buddhists, Muslims, and/or Hindus often

proved false. Goldthorpe (1975) notes many examples of traditional Chinese, Islamic, and Asian Indian groups, who migrated to other lands and became associated with entrepreneurial zeal and innovative energy without necessarily giving up their religion or cultural habits. Also, traditional forms, arrangements, and institutions do not necessarily undermine and may rather support progressive social change. Singer and Srinivas show how caste, joint family, and other traditions contribute to profitable entrepreneurial behavior and rational bureaucracy.¹

In general, the dominant paradigm of development disparaged tradition, including religion, as exemplified in Lerner's (1958) classic research. Since then, the central role of tradition in development has been recognized by many. As Eisenstadt points out, "The mere destruction of traditional settings—the family, the community, or even the political order—led to disorganization, delinquency, and chaos rather than to a viable modern order" (1976: 35). Further, the assumption that Westerners are rational has often proven equally false. Traditional attributes such as particularism, favoritism, belief in astrologers, and lavish expenditures on social/religious occasions are widely prevalent in Western countries, whereas modern attributes such as universalism, secularism, and strict criteria for merit may be found in developing nations. For example, Abraham (1980: 76) noted that:

- Several practices in the US make the political system there very particularistic: influence of family tradition on voting, preferring individual candidates over political parties and letting elected officers such as the president or mayors return political favors by rewarding friends with administrative assignments.
- Serious contradictions prevail in terms of attributes fostered by traditional cultures vis-à-vis the value orientations instilled by modern societies. For example, even the most orthodox Hindu person exhibits religious tolerance and the belief that all religions ultimately lead to the same destination, thus, exemplifying universalism of the highest order. However, many *progressive* individuals in Western nations exhibit particularism as reflected in their attempts at proselytization and conversion to their *true* religion.

Many more observations could be posited to highlight the inconsistencies and contradictions in the cultural model proposed by the old paradigm. For example, the observation that top government officials in developing countries consult astrologers and look at the position of the stars for planning of important projects is hardly unique to the Third World. In the summer of 1988, mass media globally reported how US President Reagan consulted an astrologer in San Francisco to plan his duties and even marked his personal calendar with different colored pens to signify good, bad, and neutral days. Furthermore, while people in traditional cultures have been faulted for spending extravagantly on social and religious ceremonies, this behavior is quite common in the West too, especially at Christmas time. All of these observations are intended to demonstrate that value-laden labels such as *traditional* and *modern* may be misplaced, and in many situations, the line dividing the two is very thin indeed.

Unfortunately, the prominence of religion in global news has created a negative outlook in popular perceptions in recent decades. Continued religion-based violence in the Middle East and North Africa, and the emergence and endurance of groups such as Al-Qaeda and its offshoots, which operate in multiple countries and have carried out attacks on civilian, political, and economic targets around the world,² have undoubtedly reinforced views of Islam as the enemy of development. An outmoded *Islam versus the West* concept permeates the popular imagination, despite the reality of a globalized world with no one Western *center* and the fact that the overwhelming majority of the world's Muslims and people of other faiths simply seek economic and political justice and peace (Dabashi, 2008). Contrary to widespread negative attitudes and misconceptions regarding religion and progressive social change, every major religion does concern itself with poverty and human rights, as evidenced by major charitable organizations. Examples include: World Jewish Relief, Muslim Aid, *Caritas Internationalis*, Buddhism for Development, and BAPS Charities (a Hindu faith-based organization).³

Furthermore, most who spend time in developing countries observe that religious affiliation and spiritual motivation frequently play key roles in project success. The projects with the most community participation and dialogue and the least corruption are the smaller ones carried out at the grassroots by organizations with religious affiliations.

Both authors of this text have made numerous similar observations in South Asia and in sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, for centuries, organized religions have sought to improve the material as well as the spiritual lives of individuals and communities. As Clarke (2011: 3) points out, “A strong case can be made for suggesting that religious organizations and faith-inspired individuals were undertaking ‘development’ long before the term came into being.”

These observations are difficult to reconcile with the overwhelming secular orientation of Western scholars and practitioners, who often assume a separation between material and spiritual concerns. The unspoken modernization assumption is that economic aid addresses material needs, and religion speaks primarily to spiritual needs, needs that may be in conflict with material gain. Material development goals require a set of message and media strategies to assist in achieving objectives. In large projects, communication campaigns often are scientifically planned via social marketing research as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The idea that religion may play a positive role is seldom considered. Rather, if anything, religion usually is considered a barrier or a *resistance point* that needs to be overcome by creative strategizing.⁴ Religion is considered more problematic than helpful in much of critical or Marxian thought. It is the opiate of the masses, blinding people to material inequalities and injustice.

There is no question that women’s and men’s lives often are seriously constrained by religious beliefs that legitimize, rationalize, or deny those constraints. Much theological writing and practice indeed focuses on spiritual issues with little or no attention to social injustice. Yet, a closer look shows a more complex picture. The practice of hermeneutics, that is, the interpretation of sacred texts within historically specific contexts and by subjective individuals, shows that no religion may be reduced to a stereotype, as we have shown above in research on Hinduism. Within every major religion, there are branches with intellectual and spiritual leaders making strong theological arguments for development as a process of liberation from injustice, discrimination, and prejudice wherever they occur, including within religious organizations.⁵ These arguments—and accompanying faith—frequently catalyze activism and provide important openings for individual and community empowerment, openings that have led to real social change. Next, we summarize liberation perspectives in the some of the world’s prominent religions.

JEWISH LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Judaism is considered as one of the world's older religions. Its foundational importance lies in its giving rise to the two largest religions in the world, namely Christianity and Islam, which share a common ancestry with Judaism up to the time of Abraham. Like them, it is also a monotheistic religion. Further, Judaism has played an important historic role in centralizing a cry for justice, which is evident also in Christianity and Islam (Clarke, 2011: 97).

Judaism originated in West Asia (Middle East) around 1900 BC, and the earliest texts of the Old Testament appeared around 1300 BC. Jews were persecuted by the Romans during the early years of Christianity, and, therefore, departed to create a Jewish Diaspora. In 1948, Israel was established as a Jewish state following the Holocaust at the end of World War II. Judaism is often considered an ethnicity as well as a religion as Jews have been labeled and persecuted regardless of their religiosity. Approximately 5.6 million Jews live in Israel, and millions more live elsewhere in the world, predominantly in the US, also with about 5.6 million (Pew Research Center, 2012). Although Jews make up a small percentage of the world's people (there are about 15 million Jews living worldwide), Judaism is important to include here because of its historic significance, noted above, and the strong voices for liberation within Judaism.

Arguments for a Jewish liberation theology stem from a long history of persecution: from enslavement by the Egyptians around 1700 BC to the atrocities of the Holocaust in the 20th century. Lerner (1991), Ellis (1990, 2004), and Clarke (2011) trace this history, pointing out the common roots of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim liberation theologies, as well as issues unique to the Jewish population. Certainly, there exists a continuity of Judeo-Christian beliefs and traditions. The Exodus story is central to Jewish liberation theology and has also had a strong influence on the development of Christian liberation theology, as discussed below. Ellis notes the many ways in which the Exodus tradition inspired Latin American liberation theology, as well as African American liberation theology. "The songs of African slaves in nineteenth century America calling on God for freedom echo the lamentations of the Jews in Egypt" (Ellis, 2004: 1).

In that liberation theology arises from the context of human experience, Holocaust theology emerged to address questions of survival

and empowerment in the aftermath of the genocide. Ellis argues that new forms of Jewish liberation theology are needed to deal with ethical concerns of the present. Particularly significant is a recognition of Israeli expansionism and its consequences for oppression globally (Ellis, 2004). Ellis (1990, 2004) provides considerable evidence of efforts to operationalize a new Jewish liberation theology for the 21st century, a theology that moves beyond Exodus and Holocaust survival themes to emphasize inclusivity, that is, to negotiate and transcend the “tension between particularity and universality as a self-critical voice that comes from the depth of Jewish tradition and seeks to serve the world” (Ellis, 1990: 111). Examples of Jewish *renewal* or liberation praxis include acts of civil disobedience to protest nuclear weapons tests, American and Israeli involvement in Central America and Apartheid in South Africa, and in sustained efforts toward middle ground and compromise to resolve the decades-long Palestinian–Israeli conflict.⁶ Additionally, feminism has influenced these movements, as in the Israeli peace movement seeking to end the oppression of Palestinians.

CHRISTIAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Christianity emerged from the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and his followers approximately 2,000 years ago. It is a monotheistic religion, which is grounded in the God of Abraham in the Old Testament. Hebrew scripture prophesized that a Messiah (Christ) would be sent by God to teach and save humanity. Christians believe that God sent his son, Jesus Christ, to Earth in fulfillment of these prophecies. They further believe that Jesus lived, taught, suffered, and died to atone for the sins of humanity. The life and teachings of Jesus are contained in the New Testament of the Bible, including the four Gospels, written by disciples of Jesus. A central Christian doctrine is that of the Trinity, that one God takes three forms, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Jesus is believed to be the incarnation of God, that is, the manifestation of God in human form: “The Word became a human being” (John 1:14).⁷ Later, after Christ’s crucifixion, God sent the Holy Spirit to dwell within all who proclaim the Christian faith. Hence, Christians believe that individuals as well as Christian communities serve as God’s temple (1 Cor. 3:16–17). Jesus supported the

Ten Commandments of the Old Testament, but additionally taught that the greatest commandments are to love God and to love one's neighbor. Today, Christianity is the largest global religion, embraced by 2.2 billion people worldwide. Three major branches are Roman Catholicism, the largest, Protestantism (numerous denominations), and Orthodox Christianity (including Greek, Russian, and Ethiopian Orthodox churches).

The assumptions that ground Christian liberation theology come substantially from the New Testament's emphasis on a life of prayer and service to one's neighbor, appropriate to the context of each situation. Hence, it is important to emphasize that liberation theology must begin with an analysis of the specific context involved, then respond with prayer and active service in a contextually appropriate manner. The Christian liberation theology movement gained initial momentum in Latin America, in large part because it is a continent characterized by majority identification with Christianity, primarily Roman Catholicism, though Protestantism is on the rise. However, there have been Christian liberation movements on every continent, in response to the specific circumstances of oppressed groups, usually identified by some combination of class, caste, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, or nation.

The origins of key elements of Christian liberation theology are impossible to pinpoint. For instance, numerous Christian writings through the centuries since Christ (e.g., the writings of St Augustine) have been context-based, that is, inspired by and directed to particular historical and political-economic contexts of oppression. Additionally, many clerics and lay workers within Christian traditions have followed the tenets of liberation theology in their identification with and activism on behalf of the poor and oppressed. A prominent example is Bartolomé de las Casas, a priest who dedicated his life to protecting the rights of the indigenous peoples of South America from 16th century Spanish conquest and exploitation (Casas, 1992).

A key event that catalyzed the 20th century liberation theology movement in Latin America was the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held at Medellín, Colombia, in August 1968. The overwhelming preponderance of poverty and injustice in Latin America was the major theme, and the idea of the *Christian base community* as one response was formally sanctioned (to be discussed in Chapter 8). In 1971, Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian priest

and theologian, synthesized the arguments that have grounded the liberation theology movement in his groundbreaking book, *A Theology of Liberation* (1973).⁸ Gutiérrez points out that liberation theology derives most significantly from unjust suffering, not from abstract arguments. The struggles for survival of millions of Latin American Christians prompted their religious leaders to rethink Biblical teachings and their priorities in light of those teachings. The overwhelming emphasis of liberation theology is *practice*, that is, direct work with the poor and oppressed. It is impossible to understand liberation theology without practicing it. Along with this experience, selected Biblical passages and prayer can provide further enlightenment and support, especially in group contexts. Liberation theology is a combination of work with and activism on behalf of the poor, Bible study, and prayer.

Gutiérrez (1973) systematically cites the Old and New Testaments of the Bible to weave the above argument. There are essentially three assumptions: that God is close to and committed to humanity, that to love God is to love your neighbor and vice versa, and that spiritual practice is essential to catalyze and sustain the love of God and neighbor. It is important to recognize that similar arguments and many of the same passages are cited by other advocates of Christian liberation theology, whether in reference to Latin America or other continents and contexts.

Especially relevant for devcom and development education are the views of the Brazilian educator Paolo Freire, first articulated in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. Beginning with the assumptions of Latin American liberation theology,⁹ as described above, Freire argues that development communicators and educators should reject models and strategies characterized by one-way flows of persuasive and informational messages, but rather should engage in *dialogue for liberation*, an open, affirming, and equitable dialogue that is supplemented by religious practice. The result is expanded consciousness and power for everyone involved.

In the geographical context of Latin America, there are other emerging liberation theologies. Independent of the liberation theologies of the settler groups, the indigenous peoples and the black population have turned toward other empowerment theologies anchored in their earlier spiritual ideas and their histories. Other overlapping

arguments include feminist liberation theologies globally, African American liberation theology in North America, and anti-Apartheid liberation theology in South Africa. These context-based variations are clearly illustrated in overviews by Deane William Ferm (1986a, 1986b) and by McFarland et al.'s (2011) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*.¹⁰

ISLAM AND LIBERATION

Islam shares beliefs with Judaism and Christianity up to the time of Abraham (see Clarke, 2011: 144–145). Muhammad, born in Mecca in AD 570, is regarded by Muslims as God's final prophet. Muhammad received messages from God via the angel Jibra'eel (Gabriel) outlining fundamental principles for life as well as more nuanced rules for spiritual practice. Muslims believe that Qur'an, their holy book, was written by God and revealed to Muhammad. The Qur'an guides and inspires over a billion Muslims living worldwide.¹¹ The five major principles or pillars for regulating the Muslim life are especially significant. The Muslim must, first and foremost, believe that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet. Second, every Muslim must pray five times per day and Friday afternoons in the mosque. Third, Muslims must give alms to the needy. Fourth, Muslims who are physically and economically able must fast from dawn to dusk throughout the holy month of Ramadan. Finally, if possible, each Muslim should make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in his or her lifetime.

Muslims believe that the Qur'an is not merely a divinely inspired work, but rather the direct speech of God as revealed to Muhammad. Yet, like the Old and New Testaments of the Bible and other sacred texts believed to contain the speech of God, the Qur'an reflects the context in which it was written. It is generally accepted by Qur'anic scholars that its contents are "vitally related to the taste and temperament, the environment and history and customs and usages of Arabia" (Maududi, 1988: 26–27). Further, Esack (1997: 59) observes contextually meaningful differences and contradictions between certain verses written in Mecca and Medina. In addition to contextuality, history shows that every generation and branch of Muslims has produced its own perspective on the Qur'an, consistent with its experiences and observations.

Beyond agreement that the Qur'an remains relevant as God's word yet reflects the historic context in which it was written, contemporary interpretation and subsequent practice vary widely. The two major branches of Islam are Sunni (87–90%) and Shia (10–13%), which vary much like Catholics and Protestants in their beliefs about leadership, as well as in beliefs about hadith, that is, aspects of Muhammad's teachings not clearly specified in the Qur'an (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Some groups have used the Qur'an to justify oppression and violence,¹² as in the case of a few governments' and terror sects' adoption or tolerance of extreme punishments (e.g., amputations, hangings, and beheadings) for crimes such as robbery and adultery, or even for non-conformity with sanctioned beliefs. Unfortunately, these are the images of Islam that dominate the imagination of many around the world, particularly since the 1980s and 1990s with the rise of the Taliban government in Afghanistan and Osama Bin Laden's initiation of the radical, militant movement Al-Qaeda and its terrorist attacks, and militant Islamic movements in the 21st century, such as *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, *Al-Shabaab* in Somalia, and ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria).

Alongside these extreme interpretations of Islam exist a range of more liberal interpretations, reflected in Islamic practice by the overwhelming majority of the world's Muslims. In addition, many scholars and activists draw on the text to argue persuasively for a Qur'anic theology of liberation, a theology that reflects the concerns of the interpreter. Malcolm X preached and practiced a form of Qur'anic liberation theology on behalf of African Americans during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Fatima Mernissi (1987), Leila Ahmed (1992), Omar Naseef (2007), and others have made gender-sensitive interpretations of the Qur'an, contributing new perspectives on women's role in Islam.

Farid Esack (1997) details a Qur'anic hermeneutic of liberation in the context of South Africa, though his analysis applies to struggles in other contexts of oppression as well. Through both his own careful reading of the Qur'an and his analysis of other progressive interpretations, Esack draws a number of overlapping conclusions that are remarkably similar to those of Gutiérrez (1973). He argues that Allah (i.e., God in Arabic) is very close to humanity, especially the oppressed, and that God's central priority is justice for the oppressed.

Further, religious enlightenment necessitates work on behalf of the oppressed in that prayer and progressive involvement with people are dialectically linked.

In addition, Muslims who are committed to the liberation of the poor and oppressed must work closely with similarly committed non-Muslims. An acceptance of pluralism is necessary for the realization of a democratic, nonsexist, and nonracist society (Esack, 1997: 258). The Muslim can do this while still constantly seeking inspiration and strength from the Qur'an. Esack (1997) acknowledges that there may be limits to a postmodern theology of pluralism, as such a perspective begins to threaten traditional rituals, for instance. Hence, there is a need for ongoing interpretive work to consider categories of inclusion and exclusion under different circumstances.

GANDHIAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Liberation theology in the Hindu tradition is often credited to Mahatma Gandhi, who remained staunchly Hindu, but borrowed key ideas from Christianity, ultimately influencing the development of Christian liberation theology as well. The practice of borrowing ideas from other religions is completely consistent with Hindu thought, discussed earlier in this chapter, as Hindus accept the validity of other religions and fully recognize that there are many paths to God.

Hinduism is perhaps the oldest religion in the world, and is unusual in having no original founder. It emerged in the Indus Valley (South Asia) from indigenous Indian religions around 3500 BC, and evolved via contact with other peoples and religions over the centuries. In fact, one of the central qualities of Hinduism is its tolerance of and active interest in other religious perspectives. The Hindu accepts the reality and validity of other perspectives, and may borrow and incorporate elements of other perspectives. Today, there are approximately 1 billion Hindus living worldwide, and constituting the majority religion in India, Nepal, and Mauritius (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Hinduism has a number of sacred texts. The most significant are the four Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Bhagavad Gita. There are many Hindu sects. The doctrine of karma is central to Hindu belief. Karma assumes that the human soul transcends human life, and is



Photograph 7.1: Mahatma Gandhi

Source: Wikimedia.org

reborn in multiple physical forms. The main goal of a devout Hindu is release from reincarnation by practicing yoga, following the scriptures, and seeking the counsel of a personal guru. Numerous deities are worshipped, including Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Shiva the destroyer (BBC, 2013; Knott, 1998; Social Studies, 1969).

Mahatma Gandhi is the central figure in Hindu liberation theology in recent history and he has had a powerful influence on other liberation theologies and on development. Therefore, we briefly summarize his life, insights, and accomplishments. It is important to acknowledge, however, that there have been others struggling for liberation, equality, and justice within the Hindu tradition.¹³ These include activists on behalf of women and Dalits (untouchables), as both groups have experienced discrimination and oppression (Clarke, 2011; Knott, 1998: 81–94).

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (later known as Mahatma or *great soul*) was born in 1869 in western India. He was the youngest child

of deeply religious merchant-class parents. His parents placed great value on truth and devotion to family. They also respected other faiths and openly discussed their religious beliefs. It was common for Hindu and Muslim religious leaders to visit and engage in dialogue with Gandhi's father (Jesudasan, 1984: 8–9).

At age 18, Gandhi went to England for legal studies. While there, he also systematically studied other religions and was especially impressed by the Bible and themes of non-retaliation and non-resistance. Shortly after completing his legal education, he was invited to go to South Africa as a legal interpreter for an Indian company. He eventually spent 23 years in South Africa (1891–1914), developed his liberation theology, and became a champion of South African Indians. Among other successes, his movement gained legal recognition for Hindu marriages, overturned laws limiting the economic and civil rights of Indians, and ended indentured immigration from India.

Gandhi's theology and methodology were shaped both by his comparative study of religions and his experiences and observations of oppression. The story of the life of Jesus made an impact on Gandhi, but he was not impressed by the dogmatism of many Christians and their ignorance and intolerance of other religions. The universal compassion of the Buddha also played a role in Gandhi's evolving consciousness, as did the teachings of Islam and its emphasis on serving the poor. Eventually, Gandhi was led back to Hinduism, though his interpretations certainly were influenced by his studies.

In South Africa, Gandhi increasingly simplified his life, owning nothing beyond necessities, praying, meditating, and practicing physical labor daily. Though married, he took a vow of celibacy at the age of 35 years. His increased identification with the poor led him to cancel his life insurance policy and direct all his savings to community service (Jesudasan, 1984: 14–16). While in South Africa, Gandhi developed the two concepts of *swaraj* and *satyagraha* that would direct his later activism in India. The concept of *swaraj* or liberation was first developed in Gandhi's book *Hind Swaraj*, written in 1908. Eventually, this became Gandhi's central idea in his fight for the liberation of India. Put simply, *swaraj* meant a democratic, self-determined society, grounded on belief in God, tolerance of multiple faiths, and rejection of all forms of oppression and exploitation. Gandhi's emphasis on spirituality and rejection of oppression led him to condemn modern civilization, including modern

professions, as materialistic and exploitative. In 1910, he gave up his law profession permanently and started a communal farm near Johannesburg. Residents gained strength for the liberation struggle via daily disciplines of spiritual practice and communal work (Jesudasan, 1984: 19).

The concept of satyagraha served as Gandhi's primary philosophical and methodological guide in achieving Swaraj. Satyagraha combines the two Sanskrit words *satya* (truth) and *agraha* (firmness or force). Hence, satyagraha means the force (or firmness) of truth. Satyagraha grounded Gandhi's leadership in many acts of passive resistance and civil disobedience against laws and practices that discriminated against Indians (Jesudasan, 1984: 18–21). Additional component concepts were *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *tapaya* (self-suffering). Ahimsa that has Buddhist, Jainist, and Hindu origins combines an attitude of love with rejection of injury to living beings. It assumes that truth is impossible without love. Tapaya is an extension of ahimsa and means that an acceptance of self-suffering may be necessary to achieve love and nonviolence. One willingly accepts suffering as preferable to inflicting pain on others (Jesudasan, 1984: 95–98).

In 1914, Gandhi returned to India and led the struggle to free India from British control. His dream to achieve India's independence was realized on August 15, 1947. In 1948, he was assassinated on his way to a prayer meeting. As the leader of India's independence movement, he promoted a number of strategies consistent with satyagraha, including the mass education of laborers and villagers, boycotts, and acts of civil disobedience. Gandhi believed strongly that India could not be free without economic self-sufficiency and a rejection of oppression and discrimination within the country. Hence, he developed three pillars or themes in his movement toward Swaraj or liberation, to be achieved via satyagraha. First was the promotion of daily hand-spinning of cloth called Khadi. This supplied a daily discipline while also reducing the need for foreign cloth. Second was the removal of untouchability. Gandhi argued that no one can be free until the suffering of the most oppressed is alleviated. He saw sanctioning untouchability (via interpretations of karma) as a sin. The third was encouraging peace and unity between Hindus and Muslims, as an internally divided nation cannot effectively rule itself. He urged the forgiveness of past offenses and forging unity based on mutual respect and common goals.

Gandhi's historic global influence cannot be underestimated. His life and work transcended religious, ethnic, and political boundaries and has served as an inspiration to many other religious leaders committed to liberation ideals.

BUDDHISM AND LIBERATION

Buddhism is a younger religion than Hinduism and has its origins in India. Its founder was Gautama Buddha, who lived in ancient northern India in the 5th and 6th century BC. The name Buddha means *enlightened one*. Buddha's birth name, however, was Gautama Siddhartha. He was born to a royal Hindu family and had a privileged upbringing, but felt dissatisfied with the extravagant lifestyle of the royal court and eventually chose to dedicate his life to seeking enlightenment. Buddha left his royal life and spent several years practicing meditation and asceticism, none of which eased his mental suffering or led to enlightenment. Finally, at the age of 35 years, he decided to assume a lotus position and remain there until he attained enlightenment. His deep meditations in this position eventually led to his discovery of a true path to liberation from suffering. This was a *middle path*, a path of neither extravagance nor asceticism (Mahathera, 1998).

It is important to note that Buddha was not a god and never claimed to be one. He was a human being who became enlightened. By following his tenets, Buddhists believe that many others may become Buddhas as well. As a religion, Buddhism does not believe in the idea of worshipping a central creator or God. Nor does Buddhism have a dogma. Rather, Buddhism is a process for spiritual growth leading eventually to enlightenment, that is, deep insight into the ultimate mysteries of life.

Buddha's primary concern was life as a process of suffering and the steps necessary to overcome suffering, ultimately resulting in nirvana. As Buddha sought to simplify life, he rejected much of the Hindu teachings of the time as outlined in the Vedas, especially regarding caste categories and sacrifices. He also started an order of monks that aimed to be a model of simplicity and democratic organization.

Today, there are several sects of Buddhism. There are around 488 million Buddhists worldwide, living mostly in Sri Lanka, Myanmar

(Burma), Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, China, Bhutan, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan (Pew Research Center, 2012). Though there are different branches of Buddhism, all adhere to the Four Noble Truths taught by the Buddha: that life is characterized by suffering, that the cause of suffering is human desire—for pleasure, material gain, and recognition, that suffering can be ended only by achieving freedom from human desire, and that there is a Noble Eightfold Path that may end suffering. The Noble Eightfold Path specifies right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Additionally, Buddha emphasized the importance of four lofty states of mind, or qualities of heart, essential to successfully follow these steps and achieve the highest spiritual level. These are *metta* (loving kindness), *karuna* (compassion, or the wish to free others from suffering), *mudita* (sympathetic joy in the happiness of others), and *upekkha* (equanimity, or tranquility under pressure) (Mahathera, 1998).

Buddhism's central concerns with compassion for all, with suffering and liberation from it, translate readily to a Buddhist liberation praxis, often called *engaged Buddhism*. Although some Buddhists may seek to bypass concern with human suffering via focusing on nirvana (as Christians may focus on heaven), many others centralize liberation perspectives. The key is to find sufficient hope in suffering for systematic involvement with oppressed groups. Engaged Buddhism is often associated with Sulak Sivaraksa, who started an indigenous NGO movement in Thailand by creating a variety of grassroots social welfare and development organizations (see Higgins, 2007; Rothberg, 1993b). These organizations reject Western consumerism in favor of traditional culture and also emphasize spiritual practice. Sivaraksa also helped start the International Network of Engaged Buddhists, which now includes hundreds of members and groups working in 59 countries.¹⁴ Another key leader in the engaged Buddhist movement has been the social activist and exiled Vietnamese monk, Thich Nhat Hanh. Cambodia's Dhammayietra or annual peace walk constitutes yet another example (Poethig, 2002). Particularly significant in this category is the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka (see Ariyaratne, 1987; Bond, 2004; Liyanage, 1988), to be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. This countrywide movement is now over 50 years old, and has spread to other countries as well. It is a grassroots, village-level self-development movement that aims to simultaneously

awaken and empower individuals and address pressing issues of rural poverty.¹⁵

Beyond small group empowerment and social change, some Buddhists have engaged dramatically in protest and freedom struggles, even paying the ultimate price in the service of liberation. Examples include the activism of Buddhist monks against the dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem during the 1970s in South Vietnam and more recently against Chinese authorities in Tibet. Protests even included self-immolation to mobilize global resistance against brutality and exploitation (Wielenga, 1999). Tibetan Buddhist nuns have actively resisted the Chinese occupation of Tibet, as portrayed in a film by Ellen Bruno: *Satya: A Prayer for the Enemy*.¹⁶ Countless nuns have engaged in nonviolent demonstrations favoring Tibetan independence and against religious oppression and human rights abuses by the Chinese State. And in Myanmar (formerly Burma), Buddhist monks have taken the lead in antigovernment demonstrations over the past decade (Higgins, 2007).

LIBERATION THEOLOGY AND MARXISM

Liberation theology's historic association with Marxism requires some discussion as it has been controversial, resulting in statements of condemnation and concern from the Vatican (Smith 2002; Turner, 1999, 2007). Liberation theology's call for social action on behalf of the poor requires political involvement and activism in collaboration with other groups that challenge oppressive social structures. This collaboration additionally necessitates consideration of political-economic theory that grounds the actions of these groups. As Zweig (1991: 16) notes, "The call to confront institutional sin brings theology fully into the secular world as an active, conscious agent and requires of theology some familiarity with the doctrines of social science."

It is important to recognize that regimes grounded in every social science or religious doctrine have sanctioned oppressive and brutal social policies and acts. Every doctrine is open to varied interpretations, distortions, and consequent actions. However, many proponents of liberation theology find far more common ground with Marxist philosophy than with mainstream, capitalist models. This is because mainstream economics is based on values of individualism

and individual opportunities to accumulate capital, discussed in Chapter 3. As a result, “It is blind to the social relations established in economic processes and can only promote the blame-the-victim conclusion that those who suffer economic privation do so voluntarily or in some way through their own fault” (Zweig, 1991: 28). In contrast, Marxist economics foregrounds an analysis of social relations in their proper historic context. The individual cannot be understood except as a social creation. The relations of economic production have an especially important bearing on the quality of human existence.

An alignment between liberation theology and Marxism recognizes that they share common ground yet provide unique insights in the struggle against oppression. Most fundamentally, both emerged from observations and experiences of social injustice, especially by economic class. Both have taken sides favoring the exploited poor. Both favor remedies beyond the charitable actions of individuals, recognizing that social problems require collective actions. Despite these commonalties, there has been much resistance to collaboration. Some conflicts have historic origins. For example, Zweig (1991) points out that organized religion has a long history of hostility to science, including biology, astronomy, and the social sciences. Moreover, religious leaders have often been aligned with the oppressive ruling elite that Marxists, or others (including those within the same religion operating from a liberation framework) have sought to overthrow.

Additional conflicts between liberation theology and Marxism have been primarily in three areas (Turner, 1999, 2007; Zweig, 1991). First is the place of God. God is central to most religious belief; yet, Marxism embraces atheism and rejects religious claims about the role of God or any spirit in the material world. This and related problems are confronted via extensive criticisms of Marxism’s economic determinism—by neo-Marxists such as Althusser and Gramsci, as well as by liberation theologians. These groups and others point out that a major flaw of orthodox Marxism is its simplistic base-superstructure assumption, that the economic *base* drives society, including all political and cultural phenomena that comprise the *superstructure*. They additionally argue that nonmaterial facets of society including media representations, popular culture, and religion have the potential to catalyze or contribute to change (Zweig, 1991: 40–41).

Second, many resist Marxism's call to revolution on ethical grounds, as a part of a general rejection of violence. They argue that the practice of Marxism must be guided by ethical norms. Most liberation theologians who align with some of the tenets of Marxism promote nonviolent remedies for social change. Key examples are Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr (Zweig, 1991: 43).

Third, many say that Marx goes too far in assuming the social (e.g., class) determination of the individual, therefore, denying the unique value of each individual. Vatican documents, for instance, argue that social structures are human products, and that individuals must be freed from sin before social structures can be reformed. Individual acts of charity constitute the keys to reform (Turner, 1999, 2007). Advocates of Marxism, however, argue the other way: that the excess individualism in capitalism denies individuality by failing to recognize that individuality is meaningless except in the context of community. Obviously, Marx was most interested in relations among people in processes of economic production. He argued that capitalist production is dehumanizing and alienating, separating workers from one another and from the products of their labor. Social change of any significance requires collective effort, not isolated individual acts. Likewise, liberation theology is concerned about the plight of the individual in a web of historically grounded social relationships, with the assumption that individual oppression cannot be resolved without simultaneously considering the larger social context.

Today, most recognize that Marxist theory has serious weaknesses that have resulted in failed social experiments, as it became abundantly evident in 1989 with the fall of most socialist states. Yet, Marxian traditions still provide a basis for social action in collaboration with others who share Marxism's fundamental structural concerns. These collaborators include followers of liberation theology. Contemporary theorists and activists continue to grapple with the weaknesses of Marxist-based dependency theory, which many argue extends to liberation theology. Smith (2002) points out that while liberation theology's link to Marxism may pose political and other conundrums, there is also a danger in breaking the link.

Yes, liberation theology can conscientize and empower people at the grassroots to become the subjects of history. But that alone is not enough—otherwise, one is assuming that Latin America's ultimate problem is merely

the fatalistic culture of the poor, which sounds vaguely reminiscent of 1950s-style modernization theory. So, empowerment to what end? What specific structural transformations will the conscientized demand or pursue, and why? (Smith, 2002: 72)

Social and collective action is the common link between liberation theology and Marxism for changing the structures of oppression. We will elaborate on this in more detail in the final chapter.

FORMING ALLIANCES

This chapter has shown that within every great religion, and nearly every religious tradition, there are groups concerned with social injustice who make contextual interpretations of sacred texts. These interpretations yield common and overlapping conclusions, notably, that humans fundamentally need human and divine relationships, that oppressive social and psychological conditions often thwart these crucial relationships, and that overcoming oppression requires a combination of spiritual practice and political action.

These interpretations yield political and spiritual alliances with like-minded religious groups concerned with injustice and oppression, evident in numerous organizations. Current organizations that represent global or regional alliances include The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT), The World Council of Churches (WCC), The World Congress of Faiths, The Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions, and ecumenical organizations specific to particular regions, for example, the Conference of Churches in Asia (CCA). Alliances often go beyond diverse religions to include more traditionally secular groups, such as Marxists and feminists. For instance, in 1971, the Christians for Socialism Movement was initiated in Chile when 80 Latin American priests met to find common ground between Christianity and Marxism, leading to continued dialogue between Christians and others concerned with the excesses and abuses of capitalist systems that privilege wealthy minorities (Christians for Socialism, 1986). Just as liberation theologies challenge religious traditions that emphasize spirituality without social awareness, many who identify with Marxism and feminism

deviate from their antireligious peers by acknowledging the importance of spirituality as a resource for challenging class, gender, and other forms of oppression. In short, many advocates of liberation theology additionally identify with Marxism or feminism or both. How these labels are defined, however, and even whether they are used, varies with the history and context of each situation.¹⁷

In the 21st century, large secular aid organizations, even WB, are increasingly recognizing the importance of understanding and collaborating with religious organizations, as demonstrated by a major Parliament of the World's Religions conference held in Barcelona in July 2004, with nearly 9,000 participants from 75 countries. One symposium focused specifically on *Religion and International Organizations*, such as the UN and WB (Parliament of the World's Religions, 2004).

It is clear that every major belief system and social movement is complex, with many interests and concerns. Hence, there is no one simple characterization. We also caution, as White (2004) points out, that even the most noble, spiritually grounded groups and causes are susceptible to co-optation by hegemonic interests, as they may be perceived as threats to the status quo, underscoring the importance of collaboration and coalition building.

CONCLUSION

Few writings on devcom in mainstream (modernization) traditions have considered the impact of religion and spirituality, except in a negative sense, as an obstacle to development. Yet, observation and experience around the globe shows that religious organizations and motivations often are crucial for project success, especially projects that aim to empower people. The theology that supports development as a process of liberation from injustice, discrimination, and oppression is called liberation theology. While liberation theology traditionally has been associated with Christianity, especially in Latin America, there are liberation theologies in every major religion. Religious feminists also have made liberation interpretations. Liberation activists from different religions often work together toward common goals.

This chapter examined context-inspired liberation interpretations of sacred texts central to Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. These interpretations yield a number of overlapping conclusions:

1. God (ultimacy) is actively involved in human affairs;
2. Humans fundamentally seek freedom from internal and external forms of oppression;
3. Oppressive social and psychological conditions and suffering in general constitute barriers to relationships with others and with God, or with ultimacy (in the case of Buddhism);
4. Social and divine relationships are dialectically linked, such that spiritual practice inspires service to the oppressed, and God is discovered via this work;
5. Service to the oppressed includes recognizing the role of corrupt institutions in sustaining oppressive conditions; and
6. Actions to confront institutional evils may be necessary as a part of this divinely sanctioned work.

In essence, liberation theology involves work with and activism on behalf of the poor, the study of sacred texts, and spiritual practice. The combination of progressive involvement with people and spiritual practice is crucial, as these two endeavors are assumed to be dialectically linked and both are essential for spiritual enlightenment.

In Chapter 8, we will examine how liberation motivations may be conceptualized and operationalized in devcom projects, many of which involve collaborative efforts by a number of organizations.

NOTES

1. The joint family, for instance, provides a pool of trusted personnel for commercial and industrial activity in India today, just as in the rural setting it enables large farms to be managed at a particular technological and organizational level. Since the running of big farms, commercial undertakings, and industries needs political backing and bureaucratic clearance, one or more members of the joint family are allowed to specialize in the cultivation of politicians, bureaucrats, and influence-peddlers (Srinivas, 1973: 283).
2. Several non-Western countries such as India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, the Philippines, and others have been targeted by violent terrorist groups.

3. See Clarke (2011) for detailed discussion of each of these organizations.
4. See examples in Manoff (1995), especially Chapter 10, “Case Histories,” and Chapter 11, “Cultural and Structural Impediments to Social Marketing.”
5. However, the ability of these theologies or intellectual and spiritual leaders (whether they be Christian, Muslim, Hindu, or Buddhist) to make a lasting impact on the conditions of practice will depend on both historical and geographical considerations. Thus, the practice will differ from region to region and from one historical period to another. Our intention is to identify and describe elements of liberation theology in the different religions and not to imply that they are a force to reckon with in every religion, region, or historical period. See also Clarke (2011) and Tyndale (2006) for an overview of liberation perspectives in the world’s major religions.
6. See Ellis (2004), particularly pages 218–225, for a frank discussion of barriers to reconciliation between Israel and Palestine in a globalized world with many vested interests in the region and the unpredictability of terrorist acts and retaliatory actions that further complicate the situation. See also Robson (2010) for a discussion of Palestinian liberation theology in the context of Muslim–Christian relations and the Arab–Israeli conflict.
7. This quote is from the Gospel of John in the Bible. We will be making references to the Bible frequently in this chapter. For more information, see *Good News Bible: Today’s English Version* (1992).
8. His book was first published by CEP in Lima, Peru, in 1971, titled *Teología de la Liberación, Perspectivas*.
9. For a discussion of the theological foundations of Freire’s work, see Thomas (1993).
10. For discussions of feminist liberation theology in Latin America, see Isasi-Diaz and Tarango (1988). There is quite a large literature of Christian feminist theology challenging women’s oppression in religious organizations, e.g., Rosemary Radford Ruther’s many books. Some, not all, of this literature focuses primarily on issues of poverty and women’s rightful place in liberation movements. For overviews of feminist liberation movements, see Grey (1999) and Brubaker (1991). For a discussion of Christian Liberation Theology in Asia, see Ateek (1990). For an overview of African American liberation theology (the North American context), see Cone (1969). The South African perspective is articulated by Boesak (1987).
11. According to the Pew Research Center (2012), there are approximately 1.6 billion Muslims, comprising 23 percent of the world’s population. Approximately 62 percent of Muslims live in the Asia Pacific region, though that percentage is a bit misleading, as Muslims are much more concentrated in North Africa and the Middle East, where 20 percent of the world’s Muslims reside. Another 16 percent live in sub-Saharan Africa. Muslims constitute small minorities in North America and Latin America.
12. Just as some Christian groups have used the Bible to justify oppression and violence.
13. For example, Tilak, Aurobindo, and Annie Besant were activists who used tenets from Hinduism.
14. For more information and sources, see the website for the International Network of Engaged Buddhists: <http://www.inebnetwork.org/>

15. For an overview of Buddhist liberation movements in India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tibet, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Japan, see Queen and King (1996).
16. For more information, contact Film Arts Foundation, 396 Ninth St., 2nd Floor, San Francisco, CA 94103.
17. As Grey (1999) points out, the term feminist theology is seldom used outside of North America and Europe. Elsewhere, the labels that women choose and their priorities vary considerably. Even in North America, the term Womanist theology refers to the theology of African American women, and Mujerista theology the theology of Hispanic women. See Fulkerton and Briggs' (2012) excellent edited collection for commentaries on feminist theology globally in the 21st century.

CHAPTER 8

COMMUNICATION AND SPIRITUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT

Critical and liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation. The content of that dialogue can and should vary in accordance with historical conditions and the level at which the oppressed perceive reality. But to substitute monologue, slogans, and communiques for dialogue is to attempt to liberate the oppressed with the instruments of domestication.

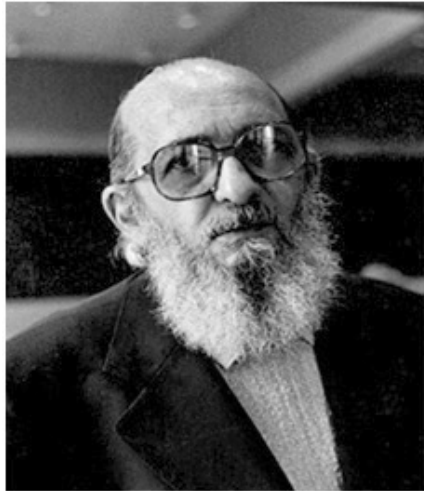
Freire (1970: 47)

In this chapter, we provide examples of movements and projects grounded in liberation theologies and describe how these foundational beliefs shape devcom practice. In general, projects motivated primarily by emancipatory philosophical and spiritual concerns share certain overlapping characteristics, regardless of the religion involved. First, goals of individual spiritual growth and empowerment are as important as alleviating material needs; the two areas of need are assumed to be dialectically linked. Second, these projects reject the development diagnoses of outsiders and insist on a process of community discussion and decision-making, consistent with the community's cultural and spiritual values. Third, this process necessarily includes an important role for religious leaders and religious practice. Fourth, the projects ideally involve people from varied economic classes and other social strata, assuming that all are in need of spiritual awakening in a manner that can contribute to addressing broad social problems. Finally, while outside governmental and nongovernmental organizations and their funds may be involved in project support, fundamental values are not compromised as a result of this involvement.

PAOLO FREIRE AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Probably the most influential scholar to apply liberation theology specifically to education and communication practice in development contexts is Paolo Freire (1970, 1973).¹ Although his ideas emerged primarily from Christian liberation theology, he drew upon the writings and actions of liberation leaders from other traditions as well, especially Gandhi (1967), as discussed in Chapter 7. The impact of Freire's arguments and methodologies has been broad, beginning in Latin America and spreading globally. Freire's signature work, in which he outlines his central argument for a pedagogy of liberation, is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Following from liberation theology, Freire's assumptions about what devcom should do are radically different from the assumptions of development projects under modernization and globalization, which emphasize the transmission and spread of messages to support persuasive goals that are believed to be in the best interests of *target* audiences.

First, from liberation theology, particularly Teilhard de Chardin,² Freire assumes that people innately want to become fully human, which means free from internal and external forms of oppression.



Photograph 8.1: Paolo Freire

Source: Wikimedia.org

Hence, the central purpose of development should be liberation from oppression. But, what is oppression? Oppression is not the same as dissatisfaction or unhappiness, but rather is complex, entwined, and systemic. Feminist scholar Marilyn Frye uses a birdcage metaphor to define oppression as the state of being caught among systemically related and intersecting *forces and barriers* that restrict one's options, *immobilize, mold, and reduce* (Frye, 1983: 2). Sources of oppression are many. They include social intersections such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, nation, disability, age, education, and much more, depending on context. Further, oppression is not just externally imposed but also internal (psychological); but external and internal oppression usually are closely entwined in that externally imposed limitations may affect one's internal sense of empowerment.

Poverty as a function of oppression is particularly salient in that Gandhi, Freire, and others believed that growing gaps between extreme wealth and poverty would always impede social stability and peace, leading to violence and deceit. Large organizations that aim to persuade and/or make a profit constitute one significant source of oppression, as their success depends on maintaining a class system such that the privileged few exploit the labor and material needs of the majority. These organizations may certainly include multilateral, bilateral, or nongovernmental aid organizations that follow the modernization paradigm. Another major source of oppression, critiqued extensively in Freire's writings, is the traditional system of education, called *banking education*, where "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing." In this system, students are empowered to do little beyond "receiving, filing and storing the deposits" (Freire, 1970: 53). This system regards people as passive, malleable beings, who should be prepared to do little beyond adapting to their surroundings via categorizing and applying the knowledge fed to them. Creativity and critical thought are discouraged in banking education, as such capabilities might lead to challenging the status quo and role relations within the system. Banking education works alongside other institutions, including the social welfare system, to maintain class and power relations that do not threaten the positions—of possessions—of the oppressors (Freire, 1970).

Freire (1970) argues that teachers, communication specialists and others who participate in oppressive organizations are just as

oppressed as their victims, because such individuals do not realize that acts of domination are dehumanizing; therefore, they dehumanize themselves in the process. In reality, a teacher's—or communication specialist's—credibility can never exist on its own merit. “The teacher's thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the students' thinking” (Freire, 1970: 58). It is against authentic human nature to relate from a position of repressive control. Given these and additional assumptions, Freire builds an argument for a *dialogic* process of liberation. Consistent with liberation theology, he argues that individuals have the internal capacity to develop themselves on their own terms, but need relationships to recognize and act on this capacity. Relationality is never instantaneous, but requires a process of communication (or education). Communication involves shared meaning between people. It also includes spiritual practice, or communication with ultimacy according to the religious tradition involved. As a relational process, communication may be unequal and exploitative, or it may be equitable and empowering for all participants.

Therefore, according to Freire, devcom should be practiced not as message communication but rather as emancipatory dialogue, a particular form of nonexploitative, egalitarian dialogue, which is carried out in an atmosphere of profound love and humility, and which progressively examines contexts and experiences of oppression. Freire's concept of dialogue emerged largely from Martin Buber's work, especially his book *I and Thou* (1958). In this book, Buber distinguishes between *I-Thou* and *I-It* relationships. The former relationship involves equality, openness, and mutual affirmation, both in conversation and in action:

It is in the actual reaching out to the other, in the affirmation of the otherness of the other, that genuine dialogue takes place. And, the act of dialogue is the act of making oneself whole, of freeing oneself from the shackles of individualism and emerging in the full personhood in a community. (Thomas, 1993: 53)

The latter, the *I-It* relationship, is the opposite, a relationship of inequality, distance, and detachment. Buber (1958) argues that the experience of acceptance and affirmation in *I-Thou* relationship liberates and strengthens participants to act. It also leads to communion, which is crucial to community and to the liberation and development of the

community. In contrast, the domination of the *I-It* relationship merely reinforces existing power relations.

Freire (1970) assumed that genuine dialogue in the spirit of Buber's *I and Thou* ultimately frees people and communities to determine their own futures. Freire labeled this radical outcome *conscientização* (or conscientization), which has been translated from Portuguese to mean "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (ibid.: 17). Ideally, participants in dialogue should include not just so-called disadvantaged groups, but everyone involved in systems of oppression. However, participation in emancipatory dialogue is not easy if taken seriously, as expanded consciousness leads to potentially transformative choices, hence, risk, change, and loss.

So, for Freire, devcom ideally is emancipatory dialogue that leads to expanded consciousness and power. Freire assumed that once people got in touch with their sources of oppression, as well as their sources of power, they would then be able to determine their own solutions—both collectively and individually. His many books specify varieties of interpersonal and small group methodologies that enable participants to identify and explore issues that have meaning for them.

It is important to recognize that many scholars and activists with very similar views remain secular in their assumptions. For instance, consistent arguments rejecting *banking education* have been made by other leading scholars of pedagogy, even scholars writing earlier, such as John Dewey.³ Additionally, Freire's views are referenced by many feminists and Third World scholars who believe in the importance of context-based dialogue as a means of challenging unequal power relations, as we will discuss in some detail in Chapter 10.⁴

Yet, the theological origins of Freire's ideas are clear. For devcom practice, the central focus should be face-to-face emancipatory dialogue. The success of the awakening process via dialogue requires spiritual practice, which also is communication, though a form of communication seldom examined by devcom specialists. The assumption from theology is that spiritual practice by individuals and groups taps resources that provide the necessary energy and motivation for change. Awakening via face-to-face dialogue is crucial. But, awakening suggests personal change that requires divine as well as human intervention.

This chapter shows just how central the combination of dialogic communication, spiritual practice, and other forms of religious communication may become in development strategy. Three case studies are discussed in some detail below. The first two are broad umbrella movements with regional, national, and grassroots components: the Base Ecclesial Community or *Comunidades de Base* (CEB) Movement in Brazil, a movement motivated by Christian, historically Roman Catholic, religious beliefs; and the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka, grounded in Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, and including other traditions as well. The CEB Movement is an important case study, though historic, having reached its peak in the early 1980s; the second, also historic, continues to evolve and thrive in the 21st century. The third example is the UN Population Fund's (UNFPA) ongoing reproductive health programs in Ghana involving several major organizations, each of which largely determines project goals and strategies. The focus in our case study is on the Muslim component of the projects.

BASE ECCLESIAL COMMUNITY MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL

In Latin America, liberation theology has been largely manifest in the emergence of CEBs,⁵ particularly in the late 20th century. These communities of worship, social analysis, and activism have played important roles in development for liberation throughout the continent. Dawson (2007) emphasizes that the evolution and character of these communities have varied from country to country. Brazil provides a good case study of some of the key factors involved, as it eventually produced many of the greatest intellectual and activist leaders of the liberation theology movement, including Paolo Freire.⁶

For many decades, Roman Catholicism gained steady headway in Brazil and was transmitted unchallenged to new generations. The postwar years of the 1950s brought rapid urbanization and accompanying demographic shifts, as well as population growth in general. Protestantism began securing converts, especially among the wealthier classes. Additionally, the Cold War plus the geographic proximity of Cuba resulted in a perceived communist threat by both the government and the church hierarchy (Dawson, 2007; Petrella, 2004). A severe shortage of priests accompanied all these changes. As priests are essential to the sacraments in Catholicism, people in

outlying areas often had to wait months to practice key elements of their faith. To both address the priest shortage and help sustain Catholic tradition and communities, a *catechetical experiment* was initiated in the 1950s. The experiment involved selecting and training lay people to gather the faithful several times per week and lead prayer meetings, called *priestless masses*. Crude houses were built for these meetings. As time went by, these buildings were used for much more than prayer. The broad secular community increasingly used them for many additional purposes, including food cooperatives and non-religious social events. The catechetical experiment initially produced around 475 such meeting houses in Brazil (Dawson, 2007).

Dawson (2007) and Cook (1985) trace how the proliferation of meeting houses combining religious and nonreligious events under lay leadership was very important in setting the foundation for the CEB as a place combining Christian faith and social activity. The Second Vatican Council in Rome (Vatican II, 1962–1965) under Pope John XXIII further reinforced an enhanced role for the laity in church leadership, and called for greater participation by all via the reduced use of Latin and increased use of local culture in religious practice. Especially significant was Vatican II's call for the decentralization of large parish structures to foster greater intimacy, that is, the creation of communities within communities. Vatican II was followed by the issuing of follow-up documents and responses, showing how the church on each continent and in each country would implement the new ideas.

In Latin America, the idea of the Christian base community was formally sanctioned at the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held at Medellín, Colombia, in August, 1968. Hence, in much of Latin America, including Brazil, plans were drawn to transform large parishes “into a confederation of small base communities,” a confederation already established in many places because of the earlier experiments. Hence, these base communities now were considered official church infrastructure. In Brazil, by the mid-1970s, there were an estimated 40,000 base communities in about 40 dioceses (Dawson, 2007). This number grew to over 100,000 by the mid-1980s (Cook, 1985).

The political and activist role of the base communities in Brazil began evolving in the late 1960s through the mid-1970s following the coup of 1964, which replaced a democratic government with a

repressive military dictatorship. Thousands were arrested, tortured, or killed, unions were banned, and censorship became absolute. Hence, traditional avenues for protest were closed. Pastoral workers at the base increasingly recognized the importance of spiritual communities for political consciousness-raising via biblical analysis, as well as meeting ongoing spiritual and material needs. It was not sufficient to merely pray and carry out church rituals, but to connect words and rituals to social organization and change.

In 1975, the first national meeting of base community leaders was held in Brazil.⁷ This and subsequent national meetings helped reveal common issues and transform the base communities into a national movement that lobbied for progressive social change. Additionally, intellectuals, including Leonardo Boff, Carlos Mesters, Gustavo Gutiérrez, and many others attended these meetings as both students of the movement and advisers. The meetings helped them further articulate the tenets of liberation theology, foregrounding the needs of the poor and minimizing the role of church tradition and hierarchy. Two highly influential books that emerged from papers developed as a part of these meetings were *Ecclesiogenesis: The Base Communities Reinvent the Church* (Boff, 1986) and *Defenseless Flower: A New Reading of the Bible* (Mesters, 1989). Ultimately, the CEB movement played a major role in overthrowing the military government of Brazil and restoring democratic elections by 1986.

As Dawson, Cook, and others describe, the intellectual, spiritual, and political leaders of the liberation theology movement in Latin America and elsewhere embraced their positions in opposition to government on the one hand and church hierarchy on the other only at great personal sacrifice and risk. During the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, many activist educators and pastoral leaders were imprisoned and martyred for their opposition to the government. Paolo Freire was among those arrested for subversive activities following the military coup of 1964.⁸ Although the Catholic Church initially supported the CEB movement and associated theological writings, this began to change as theologians increasingly criticized church hierarchy. For instance, Leonardo Boff (1986) was censured and silenced by the Catholic Church for arguing for the application of democratic principles to church structures (Dawson, 2007).

The CEB process is profoundly nonhierarchical. Typical meetings use a three-part methodology, following an opening prayer.

In addition, meetings involve a process of dialogue consistent with Freire's teachings. The three-part methodology, first encouraged at the Medellín conference of 1968, has been called *See—Judge—Act* (Cook, 1985; Dawson, 2007). In the seeing phase, each individual is invited to share his or her concerns or troubling experiences from the previous week. These concerns are often communal in nature, including issues of malnutrition, illness, sanitation, or poor working conditions. Next, in the judging phase of the meeting, a passage from scripture is typically read aloud and discussed in light of experiences shared in phase 1, especially experiences of hardship, suffering, and oppression. The judging phase is extended by a reflection given by one member of the community, who synthesizes and summarizes the points made in the previous discussion. Another follow-up discussion seeks to further examine the scripture for ideas on how to address the community's needs via short-term and long-term actions.

If the seeing and judging phases are successful in providing spiritual and community acceptance, encouragement, affirmation, and inner strength, these phases are naturally replaced by an action phase in the days following the meeting. Individuals become motivated to apply their new insights in concrete action in their neighborhoods. They no longer perceive themselves as passive victims, but feel confident to act, based on the collective experience and energy provided by the CEB and the shared belief that this is what the Gospel demands.

This description of the CEB process masks the difficulties encountered in actual practice. Illiteracy is a major constraint, as Bible reading and analysis is central to the CEB process (Mesters, 1983). There are many ways to overcome this, including using traditional forms of communication such as songs, stories, pictures, and plays. Nonetheless, Brazilian CEBs have been criticized for leaving out the poorest of the poor due to literacy expectations (Petrella, 2004: 61). Another obstacle is a *slavish literalism* in interpreting the text. It takes much practice before participants understand how to make interpretations that are sensible for their circumstances. Most participants come to the CEB meetings expecting to be taught in an authoritarian manner, as in their past experiences with clergy, teachers, and other experts. Often, they actively resist the idea that they might have knowledge and information of value: "You often hear people say something like this: 'I don't know anything. You or Father should do the talking.

You're the ones who know things. We folks don't know anything.” (Mesters, 1983: 125).

CEB practice in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America has changed considerably over time. Protestant base communities that have much in common with Roman Catholic CEBs have emerged (Cook, 1985, 1994). Additionally, following open presidential elections in 1986 and increased democratization in general, issues of party politics and unionization moved away from CEBs to other channels in society. These changes have led many to describe CEBs today as less concerned with political than with spiritual issues, and, therefore, much less politically salient. According to Petrella (2004: 60), “the hope that in the process of re-democratization CEBs would emerge as the vehicles for a new social and participatory democracy has vanished.” In Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, national security states have gradually been replaced by restricted democracies that no longer engage in mass torture and execution and have restored some rights and freedoms. Yet, they continue to sustain enormous gaps between wealth and extreme poverty, hence serving as little more than a “thin veil for the interests of the globally and locally powerful” (Apple, 2011: 13). Ironically, popular democratic movements such as CEBs have been sacrificed in the process of moving to democratic rule, ensuring that democracy would not threaten elites' social and economic standing (Petrella, 2004: 62). This is not surprising as hegemony works because it accommodates some alternative or resistant demands in order to win consent, while still maintaining its primary interests.

Nonetheless, the CEB movement still has grassroots and national relevance in Brazil and elsewhere. As Dawson (2007: 154) points out, Brazil's “politics of democracy...continues to rest upon the unbridled exploitation of the many by a small minority.” In contrast to the elite and middle classes, these urban and rural millions experience daily unemployment or low pay, poor housing, illiteracy, and inadequate health care. Homeless children struggle daily to survive in contexts of violence and with few sources of material or spiritual support. Hence, there remains a grassroots and national role for the CEBs in Brazil, as elsewhere in Latin America.

In sum, the CEB movement is grounded in critical pedagogy and Christian liberation theology, with Biblical scripture as the catalyst. It is only as the oppressed begin to recognize their own areas of strength and the vulnerabilities in their oppressors that they gain confidence

in their own interpretations. These insights are attained through a process of prayer and critical dialogue, followed by action. Even at times when strong local and global forces appear to wield overwhelming control, Freirian pedagogy inspired by Christian thought may be powerfully counter-hegemonic in foregrounding the plight of the poor and oppressed. Hegemony is porous, and CEBs may yet play a major liberatory role in Latin America.

SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT IN SRI LANKA

Like the base ecclesial movement in Latin America, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka has been well established for decades at the village level throughout the country. It is grounded in a mix of Sinhalese Buddhism and Gandhian interpretations of Hinduism. Certainly, other movements based on engaged Buddhism could be selected for examination here. The indigenous NGO movement in Thailand, started by Sulak Sivaraska, would be an especially good choice because of Sivaraska's extensive use of media and grassroots empowerment strategies.⁹ We think the Sri Lankan Sarvodaya Movement remains a useful case study because it continues to be lauded by many as a model of grassroots, egalitarian, participatory, and environmentally sensitive development, though any successful organization must deal with the challenges from increased bureaucratization (with growth and the acceptance of foreign aid) that may compromise its philosophy. The Sarvodaya movement has been given some attention in devcom as well, where it has been referred to as "beyond development communication" (Ariyaratne, 1987), an "ethical approach," and "a Buddhist approach" (Dissanayake, 1984; see also Daskon and Binns, 2012). It has also been portrayed both in its websites and by scholars as supportive of gender equality and women's advancement, in line with social equality as a central tenet of both Sarvodaya and Buddhism (Bond, 2004; Daskon and Binns, 2012).

The movement began in 1958 when A.T. Ariyaratne first organized a *shramadana* (labor assistance) camp in a poor village. Today, the movement is active in over 15,000 villages in Sri Lanka, nearly two-thirds of the villages in the country, and involving many thousands of volunteers and specialists.¹⁰ The goals and processes of Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement have many similarities to those of the CEB

movement. In essence, the primary goals are individual and collective awakening. These are accomplished via the voluntary sharing of time, resources, and labor. Spiritual practice involving meditation in the Buddhist tradition is an important feature of the movement. Yet, the movement also aims to be inclusive and affirming of all religious traditions.

Inclusivity as a central feature of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement may be traced directly to Mahatma Gandhi, who first coined the term *sarvodaya*, meaning *welfare for all*.¹¹ As discussed in Chapter 7, Gandhi remained a Hindu, but his philosophy and activism drew on his deep knowledge of several religious traditions and certain universal truths that cross most religions. For Gandhi, *sarvodaya* was based upon the concept of *swadeshi*, which expresses the spirit of service in the context of one's immediate surroundings in order to help and to elevate the lives of one's neighbors. His *gospel* of *sarvodaya* emphasized the unity of all people and the need to serve one's neighbor as a necessary part of spiritual life. Gandhi did not believe that spiritual law works in a field of its own. It is actually operationalized through the ordinary activities of life, thus, impacting the economic, social, and political arenas.¹²

Adopting the name and philosophy of Gandhi's *sarvodaya*, the movement in Sri Lanka uses it in conjunction with the Sinhalese and Sanskrit term *shramadana*, meaning "the giving of your time, energy and skills for the benefit of others without any personal gain or benefit."¹³ As we will narrate below, the idea of *shramadana* came first, and joined with *sarvodaya* in the early years of the movement's evolution.

Ariyaratne: The Founder of the Movement

Ariyaratne, the founder of the Sri Lankan movement, was born on November 5, 1931, the third of six children and first son born to Ahangama Tummahewage Hendrick Jinadasa and Roslina Gajadeera Arachchi. Liyanage (1988) recounts Ariyaratne's childhood in detail. He was bright, devoted, and skipped several grades. Later, he studied varied subjects—English, political science, economics, and teacher education—at three different colleges.

Ariyaratne's primary interest in community development (versus teaching) began crystallizing when he was at the Teachers' Training

College near Colombo and in a subsequent teaching position at Nalanda College. Inspired by the Indian philosopher Krishnamurthy, among others, and while still studying to be a teacher, Ariyaratne started an organization called the Council for the Development of Underdeveloped Communities. Later, at Nalanda College in Colombo, Ariyaratne was elected vice-president of the Social Service League and proposed a program to help villages. He carefully selected an impoverished, isolated, low-caste village named Kanatoluwa, and prepared his students to assist with the project. In December of 1958, hundreds of shramadana workers arrived at Kanatoluwa to begin work, including digging wells, building roads and schools, improving agricultural productivity, and starting small businesses. The success of this camp and accompanying publicity led to similar camps in Sinhala areas and later in the Tamil areas (Liyanaige, 1988).

Despite the success of these early projects, Ariyaratne was not fully satisfied with their philosophical foundations and methodologies. Hence, in 1959, he went to India for advice from leaders and educators drawing on Gandhian philosophy. There, he became acquainted with the concept of sarvodaya, quickly realizing that “this term could well reflect a Buddhist conception of human emancipation” (ibid.: 57). In April 1960, Ariyaratne officially changed the name of the movement to *Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement* (ibid.: 67), which is usually shortened to Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement or simply the Sarvodaya Movement.¹⁴

Sarvodaya Philosophy, Goals, and Practice

As noted at the outset, the movement has spread throughout Sri Lanka, encompassing nearly two-thirds of the villages in the country. Sarvodaya philosophy, goals, and practice have evolved over the years and are now firmly grounded in Buddhist values and encoded in a set of goals and a series of recommended stages.

Buddhist teachings that undergird the movement include those discussed in Chapter 7, especially the three key principles of reality that enable individuals to find a *Middle Path* to happiness: that life involves suffering, that the cause of suffering is human ego and desire, and that suffering can be ended only by achieving freedom from human desire. In addition to recognizing these truths, those involved

in the movement are encouraged to follow the Eight Noble Steps to achieve enlightenment and relief from suffering: right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. In order to successfully follow these steps and achieve the divine state, the Buddha stressed the importance of certain qualities of the heart: *metta* (loving kindness), *karuna* (compassion), *mudita* (altruistic joy), and *upekkha* (equanimity) (Mahathera, 1998). These Buddhist tenets constitute key reference points for the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (Bond, 2004; Kantowski, 1980; Liyanage, 1988). At the same time, it is assumed that the central idea of sarvodaya, that is, welfare for all, is at the core of all religions. Therefore, the movement is not just for Sinhala Buddhists, but for everyone, including Hindus, Muslims, and Christians.

Liyanage outlines the goals in detail. The primary objectives of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement are four-fold:

- Develop the [character and priorities of] youth in keeping the values of the culture and ongoing cultural change,
- Awaken rural communities to...social change and help them become agents of such change in keeping with their own culture and interests,
- Achieve national integration by giving opportunities for all irrespective of caste, race, religion or language to contribute their share in the common effort of nation-building based on the principles of truth, non-violence and self-denial and for the objective of realizing fundamental human rights and social justice, and
- Bring about collaboration with people and communities with similar ideas and progressive programs [globally] for world peace, human brotherhood and development cooperation between basic groups. (Liyanage, 1988: 143–144)

To accomplish these goals, particularly the first, individual personality development is crucial, called *paurushodaya* (personal awakening). This entails two forms of liberation. The first is liberation from internal character flaws (*defilements*) and from feelings of low self-worth. Second, *paurushodaya* means a growing consciousness of unjust socioeconomic forms of oppression that keep the poor majority from

improving their lives and experiencing freedom. Liyanage points out that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement cannot succeed without the leadership and participation of individuals fully dedicated to their own personal liberation, as well as the liberation of others. Consistent with liberation theology, the Movement assumes that individual and collective liberation requires a combined process of spiritual practice and direct service to those in need (Liyanage, 1988).

The process of combining spiritual practice and voluntary shared labor is operationalized primarily at the village level, where the goal is community self-sufficiency and empowerment (Ratnapala, n.d.). Sarvodaya Shramadana's website details the five-stage village development model, with numerous examples and photographs.¹⁵ At stage 1 of the model, the beginning of the project, a village requests assistance, and Sarvodaya volunteers arrive to introduce the philosophy and goals of the movement and the concept of shared labor camps. Additionally, local leadership and participation are encouraged. At stage 2, functional groups are formed according to demographics that meaningfully indicate shared needs. Typical groups are mothers, children, youth, elders, and farmers. Training programs are developed consistent with the cultural values of each of these groups. Special attention is given to the youth group with the establishment of a youth development center. At stage 3, a legally registered Sarvodaya Shramadana Society emerges to coordinate the activities of all groups. Groups prioritize their basic needs, assess their resources, and launch work projects accordingly. Beyond basic survival needs, the Sarvodaya Society generates projects to increase community employment and economic development. At stage 4, the community becomes increasingly self-sufficient due to the creation of income-generating activities, alongside social development programs to meet basic needs. At the fifth stage, the community has become economically self-sufficient. An economic surplus results and is used to assist other communities that are not yet as far along in the Sarvodaya process.

In essence, the Sarvodaya camps aim to find ways to address a combination of spiritual, basic survival, and economic needs, eventually leading to community self-sufficiency. The community also is able and motivated to assist other villages that are beginning the process. Sarvodaya recognizes that economic development cannot be sustainable unless individuals undergo a personal transformation as well. Hence, personal awakening is a fundamental goal, and accomplished

via the combination of spiritual practice and shared work. Every day at the Sarvodaya Shramadana camp begins and ends with sharing and meditation. In fact, sharing and meditation are assumed important throughout the day and are inseparable from shared work. As is also true of the CEB Movement, Sarvodaya recognizes the dual importance of addressing internally and externally imposed oppression, and the role of shared spirituality and shared work in the development process.¹⁶

Sarvodaya and Gender

The Sarvodaya movement has taken place in a country where women are usually considered inferior to men and encouraged to focus on traditional roles as wives and mothers. This comes from centuries of Sinhalese tradition and mythology that assume that females are of lower birth than males (Risseeuw, 1988: 273). These traditions also prescribe “virtues of submissiveness, motherhood and self-effacing caring [as] the highest ideals attainable in womanhood” (ibid.). Additionally, there are many examples in Sinhalese history of “women transgressing her womanly boundaries, asserting her sexuality, her will-power and her desire to rule, and thereby leading to the downfall of her family or even her people” (ibid.). These traditions have remained pervasive even though women played an active role in anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles, and there has been an active, though marginalized, feminist movement in Sri Lanka (Abeysekeera, 1991; Jayawardana, 1986; Pace, 1993; Thodok, 2005).

In 1978, a separate *Women’s Unit* was set up to address gender issues in the movement, following the realization that 75 percent of the unpaid Sarvodaya volunteers were women. This was also a result of the influence of the UN Decade for Women. In 1990, the unit became legally independent as the Sarvodaya Women’s Movement (SWM) with objectives to empower women and strengthen their capabilities in their many roles, to provide gender sensitivity training for Sarvodaya workers, and to increase female representation among Sarvodaya leadership.¹⁷ Sarvodaya’s website is inclusive and seeks to empower all regardless of gender, age, ethnicity, or disability. Yet, the organization still remains male-dominated. While women constitute

the majority of the unpaid volunteers, they make up less than half of the full-time workers.¹⁸

Thus far, there have been few studies of women's roles in Sarvodaya. Johanna Macy spent a year living and working in Sarvodaya Shramadana villages in 1979–1980. She reported her ethnographic research results on the overall movement, and also the results of an unpublished 1979 study by the Sarvodaya Research Institute on the role of women (Macy, 1983). Both studies conclude that “the Movement has succeeded in giving women a prominent role in the ‘awakening’ of their villages,” even while acknowledging that the movement “functions in a patriarchal society, where women have been traditionally discouraged from playing a public role in community affairs” (ibid.: 79). Both Macy and the Sarvodaya Research Institute conclude that the work camps often provide women their first opportunity to work side-by-side with men outside of their extended family circle. The Sarvodaya meetings—including both women only and mixed meetings—encourage women to speak up and share their views. Women also participate actively in leadership training at district centers (ibid.: 80–82).

Macy argues that the religious nature of the organization is important in attracting and sustaining women's participation. She gives six reasons. First, the movement's social ethic highlights historical and scriptural evidence of the dignity and equality of women in early Buddhist history and their roles as saints, nuns, and scholars. Second, women have historically been closely associated with local temples in attending to rituals, assisting clergy, and maintaining buildings and grounds. Women have been active in traditional ritual forms of communication that are also used in shramadana camps, including rituals to observe particular days, religious parades, and uses of visual symbols and decorations.¹⁹ Third, Sarvodaya has tried to remain non-partisan. This attracts women, as their fathers and husbands discourage them from becoming involved in partisan organizations. Fourth, the involvement and presence of clergy at camps and meetings reassures parents that it is safe for their daughters to be involved without danger to their reputation or virginity. Fifth, as Sarvodaya does not tolerate drinking or gambling, which are common among men in other settings, women and their families are more drawn to and feel safer in these settings. Sixth, Sarvodaya has started income-generating projects that help women economically (Bond, 2004: 22–23; Macy, 1983: 82–88).

A decade later, Pace (1993) studied Sarvodaya philosophy and interviewed women in the movement, reaching more complex and nuanced conclusions. Pace's study found that the philosophy is conservative with regard to gender roles. While the movement does emphasize the necessity of personal transformation for societal transformation, it also idealizes village life, including traditional family life and gender roles therein.²⁰ Pace also found that these values were evident in Sarvodaya's official literature, including the website for the Women's Movement, and in Ariyaratne's speeches.²¹ They were indicated in the fact that women's predominant historic involvement with the movement is via the overlapping concerns of the mother's group, preschools, and the youth group. The study concluded that the movement is somewhat contradictory. It

remains radical in terms of its ideology around issues of spiritual and community development, yet it is conservative with regards to its perspectives on prescribed roles for men and women. As an organization Sarvodaya has not begun to investigate seriously changing gender constructs in Sri Lankan society. (ibid.: 73)

Additionally, while village-level income-generating projects have been of genuine economic benefit to individual women, these new responsibilities are merely added to women's domestic and subsistence responsibilities with no change in gender roles. Pace found that these projects reflect a WID versus deeper, more critical, gender-and-development approach to social change, and are somewhat out of sync with Sarvodaya's critique of a marketplace economy. Yet, the fact that Sarvodaya emphasizes village self-reliance, humane development, and ecological balance constitutes an ongoing challenge to some of the macro-level causes of women's exploitation, even if women are not aware of this. Also, women's involvement and leadership in new roles is personally empowering even if these experiences do not result in feminist activism.

Pace's study was preliminary and did not focus on communication processes within the movement. Also, her study did not interview men about gender issues. Further, Pace did not look at Sarvodaya partner organizations. These function to spread the values of the organization and inspire similar efforts in different contexts, as well as provide financial and technical assistance. For instance, Sarvodaya USA serves as a clearinghouse, network, and support resource for all individual

and group initiatives that foster the ideals and activities of Sarvodaya, including both fund-raising and trips for volunteer tourism, requiring full participation in camp life.²²

These partner organizations and resulting global Internet connections between women have likely had mutual effects that warrant examination. Further, in the 21st century, the websites of Sarvodaya and the SWM have been revised and no longer reveal an emphasis on women's traditional roles, as was the case when the second edition of this book was published in 2001. Rather, the SWM emphasizes "women's self-reliance through collective action" in ways that are "needs oriented" and appropriate to local contexts.²³ Thodok notes that Sarvodaya's strong commitment to the equality of all individuals has led to an increasingly "holistic approach to gender issues," even when gender is not explicitly foregrounded in projects (Thodok, 2005: 5).

Additionally, microfinance has become a much stronger priority for Sarvodaya, particularly with the establishment of SEEDS (Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services) in 1987, which offers micro loans, banking assistance, and other financial services, and has granted billions of rupees in loans to encourage new businesses and village savings.²⁴ SEEDS' philosophy emphasizes basic needs, full participation, self-reliance, and ethics based on the local value system (SEEDS, 2004; Thodok, 2005). This philosophy has greatly benefited women, who have greater economic needs. Further, as microfinance has helped poor women, benefits extend to children and other family members. Thodok argues that beyond alleviating poverty and helping empower women, microfinance has also encouraged peace: "For communities divided by conflict or caste, developing credit and savings associations could be a way to bring people together, focusing on economic activities and cooperation rather than differences" (Thodok, 2005: 4).

Post-disaster Initiatives

Finally, Sarvodaya's work in fostering peace and supporting healing and recovery in the aftermath of a long civil war and natural disaster, particularly the 2004 Tsunami, is important to highlight. Sarvodaya has worked tirelessly to find ways to encourage peace and alleviate

postwar trauma in Sri Lanka, which endured a decades-long civil war between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority, which finally ended in 2009. On August 29, 1999, Sarvodaya launched a national peace effort in the form of a *Peace Meditation Program* with nearly 200,000 people participating in it (Bond, 2004: 41). Sarvodaya aimed to publicize and lead mass peace meditation sessions that encouraged a meditational focus on values such as nonviolence, loving, kindness, honesty, temperance, generosity, and daily spiritual practice. Sarvodaya's peace efforts have since gone beyond meditation to concrete involvement in potentially volatile situations. Particularly significant was the Kandy Peace Meditation on August 22, 2002, which Sarvodaya initially planned to hold in front of the sacred *Temple of the Tooth*, located in Kandy (Bond, 2004: 97). The plans became controversial, and even though Sarvodaya moved its meditation venue, right-wing protesters attempted to disrupt it with verbal insults, accusing Sarvodaya of supporting the Tamil Tigers and also criticizing the movement for bringing non-Buddhists (Christians, Muslims, and Hindus) to the meditation. However, its largest demonstration in Kandy was significant in generating considerable positive publicity for Sarvodaya, largely due to the calm and deeply spiritual demeanor of the Sarvodaya members. According to Bond, "The Kandy meditation demonstrated again that Sarvodaya comprises a critical mass of individuals who have a spiritual consciousness and are willing to take risks for peace and for their vision of the way society should be ordered" (Bond, 2004: 98).

Sarvodaya peace and reconciliation initiatives have continued in the early decades of the 21st century, always in a manner inclusive of all faiths and often in collaboration with global partners. For instance, counselors from Heart Circle Sangha, a Zen Buddhist temple in New Jersey and one of Sarvodaya's US-based partners, have worked with Sri Lankan counterparts to assist war refugees and other victims cope with the trauma of civil war, as well as to train counselors to extend this work (Hoerberichts, 2012). Both Tamil and Sinhalese leaders and counselors, including Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists, working toward common goals continue in this work, not only addressing difficult experiences of displacement, grief, and suicide, but also working to build common relationships of respect that might gradually help break the decades-long cycle of violence and deep mistrust.

On December 26, 2004, at the same time that Sri Lanka was engulfed in civil war, a massive tsunami struck Southeast and South Asia.

In Sri Lanka alone, the tsunami killed over 36,000 people and destroyed an estimated 90,000 homes and other buildings. Counselors from Heart Circle Sanga partnered with Sarvodaya counselors over a two-year period between 2005 and 2007 to develop a culturally appropriate method of group therapy called Council (Hoerberichts, 2012). Council made use of multiple techniques including meditation, listening/speaking, and eye contact that helped provide healing and perspective for tsunami victims regardless of religious belief. As the tsunami and postwar trauma have diminished, Council continues to be used to assist groups with special needs, particularly women such as widows and victims of gender violence. Hence, counselors trained initially to use the Council method for tsunami and war relief are continuing their work in new roles; plus, many are earning formal certificates in counseling, which will extend the work to new generations of professionals and trauma victims (ibid.: 401).

Communication Process in Sarvodaya

In sum, the Sarvodaya Movement, like the CEB movement in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, aims for personal and communal awakening as prerequisites for liberation and self-sufficiency. Devcom cannot be separated from the Buddhist values and spiritual practices that ground the movement. Hence, communication means the sharing of oneself via daily meditation,²⁵ dialogue and communal work, *not* the imposition of messages and goals by outsiders. Dissanayake (1984: 49) compares the Buddhist model of communication as used in the Sarvodaya Movement with the typical Western or Aristotelian model. It is schematically represented below:

<i>Aristotelian Model</i>	<i>Buddhist Model</i>
Emphasis on communicator	Emphasis on receiver
Influence a key notion	Understanding a key notion
Focus on control	Focus on choice
Emphasis on outward process	Emphasis on both outward and inward processes
Relationship between communicator and receiver asymmetrical	Relationship between communicator and receiver symmetrical
Stress on intellect	Stress on empathy

Dissanayake's typology above reveals an interactive, dynamic, two-way process, contrasting sharply with the one-way, top-down Western model introduced by Berlo (1960), among others. Thus, in every way, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, like the CEB movement, represents a very different approach when compared to conventional models used in development. The individuals involved in the sharing process and their context determine whether and how the five-stage process (as detailed earlier) evolves, as individual awakening and community self-sufficiency cannot be achieved otherwise.

MUSLIMS' ROLES IN UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND PROJECTS IN GHANA

Next, we examine Muslims' roles in UNFPA-sponsored population-related projects involving religious organizations in Ghana, beginning in the early 1990s and extending through UNFPA's *Fifth Country Program, 2006–2010*. This case study differs from the previous two in that it is not a movement initiated at the grassroots by liberation leaders. Rather, it involves a series of projects initiated and funded by UNFPA, a multilateral funding agency, in collaboration with many partners, including NGOs and religious organizations. However, religious leaders with liberation motivations have played central roles in defining and sustaining many of the projects. The projects focus primarily on issues involving gender roles, including family size, family health, and women's, girls', and youth education.

UNFPA is a multinational fund providing population assistance to developing countries in order to support "policies and programs to reduce poverty and to ensure that every pregnancy is wanted, every birth is safe, every young person is free of HIV and AIDS, and every girl and woman is treated with dignity and respect" (UNFPA, 2011). UNFPA's work in collaboration with Ghana's government began in 1972 and has grown over the years as five-year program cycles have been implemented, beginning in the mid-1980s.

UNFPA has partnered with Ghanaian religious organizations since the early 1990s. In a 1993 report, UNFPA gave reasons for initiating its collaboration with religious organizations. These include the fact that almost all Ghanaians are active members of religions organizations, that religious leaders are by far the most credible and influential

opinion leaders in Ghanaian communities, and that religious organizations had in the past shown more reliability and accountability with aid money than secular organizations (Amoa and Assimeng, 1993).

The collaboration began in 1990 with three religious groups. By 1994, the number involved extended to eight groups.²⁶ UNFPA views religious organizations as active collaborators in the struggle for family welfare. It recognizes that most people in developing countries are profoundly involved with the religion of their community. Therefore, religious roles and experiences must be affirmed and centralized in project support. UNFPA, therefore, challenges conventional views that mainline religions oppose interventions in family welfare issues, and shows that many religious leaders and their followers are practical, care deeply about equality, are open to new ways of thinking, and may be motivated to find new ways of interpreting religious theologies and beliefs.

When the Muslim leaders were first invited to participate in 1990, it was considered taboo to discuss family planning or anything to do with sex in a Ghanaian Muslim community. Also, Muslims often have focused considerable attention on the Prophet's command to multiply the number of followers by the Day of Judgment. Yet, Muslim leaders were and continue to be very concerned about the marginalized status of most Muslims in Ghana, and the extreme poverty that characterizes most Muslim communities. In these communities, family sizes are typically very large and there are high rates of teen pregnancy, child delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, HIV infection, malnutrition, and school drop out, especially among girls. The collaboration began by gathering Islamic scholars and teachers to discuss what the Qur'an says about gender roles, family responsibilities, family size, and health issues of concern. The initiative for these discussions came from local Muslims, not UNFPA. This is a critical difference from many other projects that have tried to engage religious leaders as opinion leaders, but not at people's initiative and not in a manner grounded in the sacred text of the religion.²⁷ While most of the Islamic scholars and teachers who met to study the Qur'an were men, some leaders of Muslim and national women's groups were involved in the discussions as well.

This analysis led to a number of conclusions. First, the leaders agreed that while the Prophet does want many followers on the Day of Judgment, there is also evidence that he wants *quality* followers and

not illiterate drug addicts and delinquents. It is faith and justice that will reap rewards and not merely the number of children. Additionally, the leaders stated that Allah prefers fewer people of faith and character to vast numbers of *unbelievers*. The leaders found nothing in the Qur'an that forbids limiting family size. Rather, they found additional verses that could be interpreted as support for family planning, especially verses that mandate parents to raise healthy, well-educated, and responsible children, neglecting none, and to avoid taking on more than they can manage.²⁸ This might mean delaying marriage and childbearing and not having more children than could be properly cared for. Likewise, polygamy might result in an unmanageable household. Further, the leaders found nothing in the Qur'an that indicates a preference in education or vocational training for only boys. And, they found absolutely nothing supporting practices that may threaten the health of girls such as teen marriage or female circumcision. Rather, they interpreted the Qur'an as directing parents to treat their children equally, meaning that girls and boys have an equal right to life, health, education, and training. They extended this to training in sports and self-defense, an unusual stance in a country where girls in general are not encouraged to play sports.²⁹

Below is a quote from just one of many speeches to Muslim leaders in Ghana by Chief Alhaji Baba Issa, who led Muslim involvement in the early 1990s. The speech contains many references to chapters and verses in the Qur'an:

Parents are held responsible for the social, cultural and moral training of their children, as well as for their...health care. Those unable to undertake these responsibilities should postpone marriage as admonished by the Holy Qur'an.... Islam enjoined us to have children but it insists at the same time that they should be good and righteous which requires an intensive effort to raise them correctly. The ability to raise children correctly is an inherent requirement of marriage in Islam. It is high time for Muslim communities to accord the Muslim woman her rightful place in society. We can only succeed in this effort by giving the Muslim girl the requisite education and training without discrimination. It is also our duty as Muslim leaders to disabuse the minds of some uninformed Muslims of the misconception they have about the status of women in Islam. The future of the Muslim community depends on the health, intelligence and quality of its children. It must therefore be emphasized that Muslim children should be born healthy

and to healthy mothers and should be correctly raised with adequate education. These tenets can be met more adequately when the family size is manageable.... Family planning in this sense is not incompatible with nature and it is not disagreeable to the national conscience, and it is not forbidden by religious law.³⁰

Following considerable dialogue to make and document these interpretations and to establish tentative goals,³¹ Muslims' involvement in UNFPA projects in Ghana have continued with the strong leadership of imams and leaders of women's and youth groups. These leaders in turn facilitate discussions among members of their constituency groups. The workshops and discussions aim to provide an environment for open dialogue about religious and personal values, especially in relation to issues such as family size, gender violence, and gender inequity in education and health care. As with the CEB groups in Brazil, where the Bible is discussed, community members have the opportunity to critically discuss the Qur'an, often for the first time, and to openly consider new interpretations that may contradict their traditional views and lead to a better life.

Imams are especially important in discussions as they meet with community members at neighborhood mosques five times a day for prayer. On Fridays, they meet at a larger mosque for a longer service and a sermon. Imams are encouraged to use daily prayer meetings and Friday gathering as opportunities for dialogue about family issues and problems and perceived connections to Islam. Leaders of Muslim women's and youth groups are crucial as well. These leaders additionally speak in schools and other group settings using a variety of communication strategies, including dialogue and discussion, counseling sessions, drama, storytelling, and song, plus more conventional forms of communication, such as posters, brochures and films.

UNFPA's 5th Country Program and COMOG, Ghana

In the mid-1990s, the Coalition of Muslim Organizations of Ghana (COMOG) was created as an umbrella organization to unite and support Muslim organizations nationally. According to Adnan Adams Mohammed, COMOG's Deputy Secretary in charge of Media, Research, and Public Relations, COMOG was formed out

of necessity because the Federation of Muslim Council, which is recognized in Ghana's 1992 constitution to assure nondiscrimination, has not taken a progressive or action-oriented role in development. In contrast, COMOG seeks to actively help Ghana's Muslim communities improve their lives in today's world, recognizing that "culture is not static and that our communities need to adapt."³² According to Adnan Mohammed,

- In our Muslim communities, family planning is not always welcomed, but people need to be responsible, or God will hold you accountable....
- We need to talk about marriage in a contemporary world where a woman may want to choose her husband and may want a career, and that will benefit the family.
- Most of our youth do not like education, but it is important to learn skills and work hard to care for a family and not depend on parents.... They will not always be around.

As a result of COMOG's progressive views and success in supporting and unifying Muslims nationally, including the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations of Ghana (FOMWAG) and the National Youth Network, COMOG began to take the role of UNFPA's primary partner for project funding in Muslim communities beginning with its Fifth Country Program.

The Fifth Country Program prioritized reproductive health, population, development, and gender-specific projects in five of Ghana's 10 regions, and in 40 selected districts therein.³³ COMOG, as an implementing partner, likewise focused on the targeted locations. In addition, UNFPA-funded COMOG projects intend to benefit Muslims nationally, particularly women and youth.³⁴ In choosing COMOG as an implementing partner, UNFPA agreed with COMOG that development messages need to come from respected, indigenous voices inside the community, including peers and elders, not from outsiders: "If it looks like an idea has come from an outsider and not from within our community, it will be rejected."³⁵ Hence, COMOG was given considerable freedom to craft strategies and messages in line with UNFPA's mandate, and specific not just to Muslims in Ghana but also appropriate for other relevant intersections in each

context, particularly ethnicity, age, and gender. COMOG's 87-page report details its many accomplishments during the five-year implementation span. We highlight three: a film on domestic violence, creation of a youth network, and establishment of Zakat house for local fund-raising.

Domestic Violence Film

On February 21, 2007, Ghana's Parliament passed a domestic violence bill making domestic violence illegal in Ghana. Given ample evidence of high rates of domestic violence plus a need for education about the law, UNFPA prioritized domestic violence education and prevention in its Fifth Country Program (2011). As domestic violence is a particularly serious problem in Ghana's Muslim communities, COMOG was eager to participate. In 2008, COMOG organized a National Women's Conference with participants from all 10 regions to discuss numerous issues, including maternal health, family planning, HIV/AIDS, and other gender rights issues. Domestic violence and the human right to protection from harm was the primary theme, with much discussion around defining domestic violence, its prevalence in Ghana, its effects and consequences, Islamic perspectives, and the need for education.

Following further discussions with women's and other groups, in 2009, COMOG began collaborating with Ghana's Ministry of Women and Children to create two, interrelated EE films depicting different family scenarios, one portraying a husband who batters his wife and son, and another portraying a wife who batters her husband (COMOG, 2011). In both instances, the offending party is arrested and an intervention is made, involving counseling by the local imam in the case of the wife-batterer, and a stern warning and counseling by a female police officer in the case of the husband-batterer. The films are intended to be used for educational and discussion purposes within Muslim communities, such that imams, women's, or parent group leaders, for instance, could show them and lead discussion groups educating families about the Qur'an's position on domestic violence, as well as on Ghana's law. Additionally, they are intended for broadcast on Ghanaian television and for showing at video centers (COMOG, 2012). While the educated viewer may readily find ways to criticize the films, it is important to bear in mind that these films were

made for particular communities, that follow-up discussion is strongly encouraged, and that communal values often take precedence over individual and family values; therefore, the intervention by a community leader may in fact play a much more powerful role in the Ghanaian context than in more individualistic societies.

Muslim Youth Leaders Summit

In October 2008, a National Youth Leaders' Conference was held in Accra to discuss the theme, "Mobilizing Muslim Youth Leaders for Family Life and National Development" (COMOG, 2012). The conference, attended by 120 leaders representing Ghana's 10 regions was highly successful on a variety of levels. First, it helped empower youth voice and inspire continued youth leadership and dialogue within and between the regions and districts of Ghana. The youth leaders strongly advocated making the conference an annual event so that objectives and action plans could be monitored and evaluated. Second, it provided an opportunity for youth to discuss serious problems of poverty and gender oppression within Ghana's Muslim communities and families, resulting in a strong resolution in favor of ensuring higher standards of education for Ghana's girl children and more education and support for women's rights as human rights. The youth leaders committed to initiating programs to raise consciousness among their peers on sexual and reproductive health issues, as well as other gender-related issues. Finally, it was at this conference that the idea of a common national Zakat fund to support the empowerment of Ghana's Muslim women was initially raised (ibid.).

Zakat Launch

In April 2010, 300 Muslim leaders attended a national Zakat Conference in Accra. Zakat is a Ghana-based foundation that raises cost-sharing funds for gender-related projects in line with UNFPA goals.³⁶ Grounding the Zakat idea is the giving of alms, which is one of the five pillars of Islam. COMOG leaders agreed that improvement in the lives of Ghana's Muslims, particularly the reduction of poverty and maternal mortality, should require some material commitment on the part of all Muslim citizens rather than depending exclusively

on funding from external sources. Further, citing the Qur'an and in line with liberation arguments from Christianity and other religious perspectives, the leaders argued that all humans are equal and none is superior on the basis of race, gender, language, or ethnicity. Hence, the rights and advantages of one group require obligations toward others with fewer rights and advantages. Additionally, it was argued that Zakat would enhance and enrich discourse around these important issues as well as around financing for other development initiatives. Finally, presenters spoke about the need for Muslim communities in other countries to similarly establish Zakat funds supporting gender and human rights issues, and that perhaps Ghana's example would be an inspiration (COMOG, 2012).

Common Ground

In sum, like the CEB movement in Brazil, and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, COMOG centralizes religious values and religious practice in the process of facilitating individual and community awakening, development, and empowerment. COMOG recognizes that issues of family tap fundamental values that in Ghana, as elsewhere, are enmeshed with religious beliefs. Religious leaders, in turn, have been willing to reconsider family values that have been attributed to Islam, which they believe harm and oppress Muslims and their communities, especially women, girls, and youth. They have been willing to openly examine how family problems are experienced by different groups in their community and analyze the sacred text of Islam in light of these problems. They have actively reconsidered the stories and messages in the text, and have found persuasive openings to challenge conventional beliefs about family size, gender equity, and gender roles. Following reinterpretation, they have been willing to go further and collaborate with leaders of women's and youth groups to engage in dialogue and consciousness-raising with the larger community. Contexts for dialogue have included prayer meetings, workshops, and national and regional conferences. Strategies have been numerous and certainly have included spiritual practice as all meetings begin with prayers. The outcomes have been significant, including the creation of an educational film and the

Zakat Fund. Muslim women's groups, youth groups, and their leaders have been active collaborators and their organizations have been strengthened via the dialogue.

There are many questions that require further investigation. For instance, there are numerous groups besides UNFPA and Muslims involved as partners in various family welfare projects, including other NGOs, and multilateral and bilateral aid agencies.³⁷ Some contradictions and conflicts may arise between the motives of the groups involved. For example, one of the groups involved in the 1990s was the Ghana Social Marketing Foundation, which obtained funding and supplies from aid organizations (such as USAID and UNFPA), and assisted with local research, packaging and promotion (e.g., of contraceptives), and informational materials, such as brochures and posters. Muslim leaders found some of the brochures and posters to be inconsistent with Muslim images and values and recruited their own artists to design and pretest new, more culturally relevant materials.³⁸ These and other problems show that the acceptance of outside funding and input means that projects may at times create, as well as challenge, barriers to liberation. Hence, individual and communal resistance is a continual struggle not just against the more readily identified sources of oppression, but also to elevate indigenous voices within projects and movements as well.

CONCLUSION

The Base Ecclesial Movement in Brazil, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, and the Muslim Family Life Education Project in Ghana all struggle toward common underlying goals—of individual and community awakening, liberation, and self-reliance—in ways appropriate for their needs, their cultural contexts, and their faith. These goals can never be completely achieved. They constitute ideals for an ongoing struggle.

The case studies presented here offer important lessons for development planners and communication specialists. Few would disagree that the consideration of cultural and community context must include religious context. However, religion is not a resistance point to be overcome, nor is it a cultural tool for manipulation in persuasive campaigns. It is an integral part of individual and community identity,

offering powerful resources for liberation and change. Successfully tapping and directing these resources must involve a process of dialogue at the grassroots, dialogue that is egalitarian and inclusive, as Paolo Freire (1970) so eloquently conceptualized and outlined in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and his many other works. The tenets of liberation theology, discussed in Chapter 7, have been effectively translated for development communication and education practice by Freire, and deployed in initiatives such as CEB movements in Latin America.

The case studies examined in this chapter show how the values of four major belief systems, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, have been used to ground liberation approaches to development and devcom in Brazil, Sri Lanka, and Ghana, respectively. While the origins, political-economic contexts, and other circumstances of the case studies vary considerably, along with the religions involved, all three prioritize individual and community awakening via dialogue. Religious and lay leaders with liberation motivations have played crucial roles in facilitating dialogue and accompanying actions. Spiritual practice is central to each as well. Also, all have resisted the input of outsiders with inconsistent values.³⁹ We acknowledge that intersecting social inequities may coexist with progressive spirituality. Gender and other social disparities in society and religious organizations therein require extra effort and attention. Still, these movements and projects offer important lessons about the meaning and process of development.

It is important to recognize that the most basic and fundamental expressions of religious practice, including prayer and meditation, *are* forms of communication. Most people globally do find these modes of communication perhaps the most empowering in sustaining faith and hope, and providing the inspiration and strength for action. As Tyndale notes, “Spiritual motivation is not the only kind of motivation that leads people to take risks and inspires them with the kind of hope that leads to innovation, but it seems that true spiritual motivation must necessarily be a radical force” (2006: 177). Religious practice also provides a framework for community participation and plays a major role in defining communities. Hence, prayer and meditation require consideration, respect, and attention for their roles in the sustainability and viability of many projects and programs. Yet, these forms of communication, as practiced individually and in groups, have seldom been examined by devcom scholars and practitioners. This chapter has sought to help address this gap in the literature.

NOTES

1. Others who applied liberation ideas to communication processes in development include Ivan Illich, Juan Diaz-Bordenave, and Francis Berrigan. However, few would disagree that Freire is the most well known. Freire passed away in 1997.
2. See Thomas (1993) for a discussion of the theological and philosophical underpinnings of Freire's ideas. Teilhard de Chardin was among many who influenced Freire's thought.
3. The phenomenon that Freire terms *banking education*, Dewey calls *pouring in* (see Dewey, 1944: 38). See also Steeves (2006) for a discussion of conceptual common ground between Freire and Dewey, and Stenberg (2006) for a discussion of Freire and related liberatory pedagogies.
4. For feminist arguments, see, for example, Hooks (1984, 1989) and Weiler (1988).
5. Many use the English acronym BEC, for base ecclesial community. Here, we prefer the Latin American acronym, CEB.
6. It is not our intention to suggest that the Base Communities in Brazil are the only groups engaged in such transformative social change. There are a rich variety of other movements. For example, grassroots groups such as the Movement of Landless Peasants in Brazil have been prominent actors working toward empowerment goals.
7. This conference was held at Vitória (Espírito Santo), January 6–8, 1975.
8. Freire spent 70 days in jail and was subsequently expelled from Brazil. He began his first book while in prison, *Education as the Practice of Freedom* (published later as *Education for Critical Consciousness*, 1973).
9. See Servaes (1999) for an excellent discussion of communication and culture, including Buddhist culture in Thailand. For descriptions of contemporary Buddhist movements in Asia, see Queen and King (1996), Poethig (2002), Tyndale (2006), and Clarke (2011).
10. See Sarvodaya (<http://www.sarvodaya.org/>). Previous writings on the movement in the context of devcom include: Dissanayake (1984, 1991), Ariyaratne (1987), and Bond (2004).
11. In Sanskrit, *Sarva* means all and *Udaya* means awakening. Gandhi's translation was *the welfare of all*. The works have similar meanings in the Sinhala language as well (Liyanage, 1988).
12. "The Gospel of Sarvodaya," <http://www.mkgandhi.org/momgandhi/chap45.htm>. See also Gandhi (1967).
13. <http://www.sarvodaya.org/activities/community-tourism/cti-projects/weekend-shramadanas>
14. *Lanka* refers to Sri Lanka and *Jatika* means national. Hence, the new name was Sri Lanka National Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.
15. <http://www.sarvodaya.org/about/development-model>. See also Ariyaratne (1987) and Bond (2004).
16. For a description of a Sarvodaya camp, see also <http://www.anuvuti.com/programs/service-learning/>
17. See <http://www.niu.edu/srilankaproj/swm.html>

18. See <http://www.sarvodaya.org/about/staff>. The most current data on the website from March 31, 2005 show that women constitute about one-third of the full-time workers. There were 13 women's movement staff compared to 1,831 total staff (Consulted March 23, 2013).
19. See Colletta et al. (1982) for a detailed discussion of popular participation in traditional religious activities in Shramadana camps.
20. Buddhist scholar George Bond has also charged that Ariyaratne at times idealizes village culture and romanticizes ancient village life.
21. An analysis of his speeches, however, shows that they have changed over the years, to show a greater recognition of gender inequality and how traditional roles sustain inequality (Pace, 1993: 14, 64–65).
22. See <http://www.sarvodayausa.org/>
23. See <http://www.niu.edu/srilankaproj/swm.html>
24. SEEDS annual financial reports are available to download online.
25. While the Protestant Ethic was credited with the rise of capitalism, today leaders in business and technology are recommending the Buddhist and Hindu ethic of *mindfulness* or the need to meditate and look inward to gather strength and energy. Companies such as Google, EBay, Facebook, and Twitter, among others, offer their employees opportunities to meditate. Steve Jobs of Apple related his experience of going to India and spending time in a Hindu Ashram for a meditation break (see *Economist*, November 16, 2013: 73).
26. The three that were initially involved are Muslim Family Counseling Services, the Christian Council of Ghana, and the National Catholic Secretariat. By 1993, seven others were involved: Adventist Development and Relief Agency, Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Church of Pentecost, Ghana Pentecostal Council, Islamic Research and Reformation Center, Salvation Army, and Seventh Day Adventists (Amoa and Assimeng, 1993). A report dated June 1996, that extended the UNFPA project funding from June 1997 to June 2001, says that the following eight groups have been funded since 1994: Muslim Family Counseling Services, Community Development and Youth Advisory Center (for Muslim youth), Ghana Pentacostal Church, The Christian Council of Ghana, National Catholic Secretariat, Seventh Day Adventist, Adventist Development Relief Agency, Salvation Army, The Church of Pentecost, and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement (Government of Ghana, 1996).
27. For example, see Khan's (1976) discussion of training imams to be teachers at a rural development academy in Bangladesh.
28. See verse 6:151, 17:31 in the Qur'an. Additionally, verse 31:14 encourages mothers to nurse for two years, a result of which is greater spacing between children. We credit Ahmed et al. (1996) for assistance in locating verses used to support a manageable family size (see Ali, 1984).
29. This was in an address by Alhaji Imoro Baba Issa delivered at the One-Day Workshop on Muslim Welfare, Health, and Development for Muslim Leaders (n.d.).
30. Welcome address by Alhaji Imoro Baba Issa to the UNFPA/MFCS (Muslim Family Counseling Services) Follow-up Workshop for Muslim leaders in Accra, 1996.

31. Goals of the project have been to educate the Muslim population about the benefits of family planning, about criteria for responsible parenthood, about the causes and prevention of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, and about the benefits of education and vocational training for women and girls. The project also has aimed to effect behavior change related to educational goals and to set up income-generating projects for women.
32. Adnan Adams Mohammed, Personal Communication, March 13, 2013.
33. UNFPA (2011) report lists 29 implementing partners for the Fifth Country Program, including COMOG and two Christian organizations, the Christian Health Association of Ghana, and Christian Council of Ghana.
34. Abdel-Mannan Abdel-Rahman, National Program Coordinator, COMOG, Personal Communication, March 2, 2013.
35. Adnan Adams Mohammed, Personal Communication, March 13, 2013.
36. Esi Awotwi, Program Analyst-HIV and AIDS, UNFPA Ghana, Personal Communication, March 4, 2013.
37. Over the decades, a large number of governmental and nongovernmental organizations have served as UNFPA's implementing partners. In the Fifth Country Program, the 29 partners besides COMOG include National Population Council, Theater for a Change, Village Exchange Ghana, Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana, Children and Youth in Broadcasting, Ministry of Women and Children, Media Communications and Advocacy Network, and Ghana's Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture (UNFPA, 2011).
38. Interview with the Chief Alhaji Baba Issa, who directed the Muslim components of the UNFPA's projects, July 30, 1996.
39. Bonds (2004: 60–62) discusses Ariyaratne's tensions with donor organizations that sought to control and prioritize Sarvodaya's economic programs funneled through SEEDS over its social programs, particularly in the 1990s. Sarvodaya continues to struggle with integrating all programs and projects into the overall movement vision.



**PARTICIPATORY AND
EMPOWERMENT PARADIGMS
FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE**



CHAPTER 9

PARTICIPATORY PARADIGM IN DEVELOPMENT

No one gives another person a voice or empowers that person; people, including marginalized individuals, groups, organizations, and communities, have voices and what researchers, especially communication researchers, can do is to create (more) opportunities to hear and listen to those voices.

Carragee and Frey (2012: 24)

In previous chapters, we have described modernization, globalization, neo-Marxist theories, and liberation perspectives in directed change and development frameworks. A fourth, *communitarian theory*, is our preferred framework. In this perspective, preservation of the community and emancipation from oppressive structures and dependencies are the dominant concerns. Liberation, feminist, environmental, and other social movements have made arguments consistent with the tenets of communitarian theory. The communitarian theory attaches a:

higher value to human agency than either culturally or economically determinist views of social change. Culture and cultural constructions of reality, however, assume a central position in the communitarian perspectives. Restoration of one kind or another—of nature, of cultural identity, of the lost sense of community—play a critical role in the emancipatory projects of communitarian movements. (Tehrani, 1994: 286)

Today, the post-structural, postmodern, postcolonial tenets embraced by leading scholars challenge logocentric views and universal truths. Epistemological plurality is the favored outcome in these approaches, which also assume that knowledge structures actively construct (versus merely convey) meaning, and that it is more valuable to discover

representational meaning than to find prescriptive explanations. At the same time, political economists, socialist feminists, and others with Marxist leanings have cautioned against going too far in rejecting theories and methods of the social sciences to the neglect of real material structures that also, along with ideological factors, contribute to social inequality and progressive change (Barrett, 1999). For the field of communication in directed social change, the combined effect of all these trends has been to encourage the acceptance of multiple meanings, symbolic rationality, cultural specificity, change through human agency, communicative social action, deconstruction of dominant ideology and power relationships, and the strengthening of critical consciousness within communities (Dutta, 2012; Jacobson and Kolluri, 1999; Servaes, 1999; Tehranian, 1994). In general, the intellectual ferment in the humanities and social sciences has increasingly favored participatory approaches in directed change efforts, as appropriate for each unique context.

In this chapter, we lay the foundation for our closing chapters on communication for empowerment and social justice by reviewing and synthesizing key overlapping themes in the scholarship and practice of participation and communication for development over the past several decades, and delineating our stance. We first discuss the participation concept, then participation and communication, followed by examples of how participatory communication has been operationalized by the FAO and WB. We close by arguing for the crucial role played by communication facilitators or DSC specialists at the grassroots, as these individuals have the primary responsibility to interface with local people and ensure that appropriate participatory communication actually happens.

PARTICIPATORY STRATEGIES IN DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE

The concept of development began changing in the 1970s, as reviewed in previous chapters. There was a move away from the earlier technologically deterministic and GNP-centered definitions to alternative conceptions that were more qualitative. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971), who were criticized for their earlier definitions emphasizing economic growth and neglecting other societal

and human factors, summarized the revised concept of directed change as

a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment. (Rogers, 1976b: 133)

Other scholars broadened the definition of development to include freedom from unjust class structures, meaningful employment and relationships with others, and protection of natural and cultural environments (Goulet, 1973; Wang and Dissanayake, 1984a). The revised definitions of directed change were pluralistic and indicated several new goals for meaningful change (Hedebro, 1982; Rogers, 1976c), which included:

- Equity in distribution of information and other benefits of development: The emphasis was on the poorest of the poor, those living in urban slums and rural areas. The widening hiatus between the advantaged and the disadvantaged persons and communities had to be closed. *Growth with equity* was the clarion call in the 1970s and later.
- Active participation of people at the grassroots; the objective was to involve the input of people in activities that were ostensibly set up for their benefit. This not only liberated recipients from a *spiral of silence* but also ensured that development plans and decisions were relevant and meaningful to them.
- Independence of local communities to tailor development projects to their own objectives. The reliance would be on local human skills and material resources, thus, fostering greater self-reliance in development and, importantly, leading to freedom from external dependency.
- Integration of the old and new ideas, the traditional and modern systems, endogenous and exogenous elements to constitute a unique blend suited to the needs of a particular community. This orientation would not consider local culture as something to be discarded but instead as a key resource for local wisdom, and produce a unique syncretization best suited to the tasks at hand.

The implications of these influences are clear. At least in the theoretical domain, there has been a shift from the positivist–instrumentalist approaches toward a paradigm that is less quantitative and extractive and more qualitative, collaborative, and normative. In this participatory paradigm, priorities are more contextual to the needs and problems of specific communities versus the universality of earlier paradigms (Mowlana and Wilson, 1988; Servaes, 1985). Countries and communities within them are expected to set their own priorities, goals, and standards, which may be unique to their contexts (Jacobson, 1989). This has been variously defined as Another Development and as Multiplicity in One World. The emerging paradigm is pluralistic and does not have the authoritarian and universal biases of the earlier positivist approaches. As opposed to the exogenous bias of the modernization paradigm, the revised vision is endogenous development in which the people and communities involved are considered active agents in the process of directed change.

Even from a practical perspective, it has been empirically shown that often development projects have failed because they have overlooked many factors outside the domain or purview of the tenets of the dominant paradigm, as we detailed in previous chapters. A comprehensive review of devcom activities in agriculture and nutrition since the 1950s concluded that of the several thousand educational programs employing communication technology and “given the available data about audiences reached, practices changed, benefits achieved, and long term institutional survival, we can assume that most of them fail” (Hornik, 1988: 14). While there could be many reasons for failure, an important cause has been the dearth of local people’s participation. Communities and individuals therein need to be involved in the definition, design, and execution of the directed change process. Participation, in such bottom-up and horizontal orientations, must be more polyphonic. Unless the people and communities involved take ownership of their problems in the change process, external resources and technology cannot contribute to success in achieving goals, and ultimately the process will be unsustainable (Balaswamy, 2006; Krishnatray, 1996; Ramalingam, 2014).

Post-structuralist, postmodernist, postcolonial, and communitarian theories together provide an assumptive basis for participatory strategies. Attempts to operationalize the term *participation* range from those that reflect the dominant paradigm—the *participation-as-a-means*

approach—to those that genuinely represent the case for a context-based paradigm, that is, *the participation-as-an-end approach* (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989: 12; Dervin and Huesca, 1997). The participation-as-an-end approach has received support from many who agree that participation must be recognized as a basic human right, that it should be accepted and supported as an end in itself and not just for its use to achieve other kinds of results. The need to think, express oneself, belong to a group, be recognized as a person, be appreciated and respected, and have some say in crucial decisions affecting one's life are as essential to an individual as food and water (Alamgir, 1988; Bamberger, 1988; Diaz-Bordenave, 1989; Kothari, 1984; Sen, 2000; Tehranian, 1985). Participation in meaningful activities is the vehicle through which these needs are fulfilled. Diaz-Bordenave (1989: 3) stated it cogently: "Participation is not a fringe benefit that authorities may grant as a concession but every human being's birthright that no authority may deny or prevent."

The "participation-as-a-means to an end" approach could be visualized along a continuum: ranging from attempts to mobilize the populace to cooperate in development activities at one end, to empowering people so that they may articulate and manage their own development at the other end. In the former, recipients may not be expected to participate in identifying a problem or designing a development program. In such situations, participation becomes shallow, reduced to a process whereby people are externally manipulated to serve the ends of authorities in charge of such programs (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989; Diaz-Bordenave, 1989; Mefalopulos, 2008; Nair and White, 1987; Ramalingam, 2014).

While on the surface an increased emphasis on grassroots participation over the past four decades has signaled a positive departure from overly top-down and prescriptive approaches, the structure of elite domination remains undisturbed, for the most part. Diaz-Bordenave (1980) noted that in the newer approaches, the participation that was expected was often directed by the sources and change agents. In these so-called bottom-up approaches to development, people were induced to participate in self-help activities, but the identification of problems and basic solutions were already determined by external development agencies. Participation was directed because, often the aim of the development projects was to achieve widespread cooperation in increasing agricultural production, improving formal and nonformal education, limiting family size, etc. Thus, people at the grassroots were co-opted in activities that, in the end, would make

them consumers for industrial goods and services. Participation, therefore, was a means to an end: the end being greater dependence of the people on a market controlled by outsiders, both national and international. This remains the case in many social marketing projects today, as we have noted in earlier chapters.

Participation as a process leading to empowerment, though politically risky, is our favored approach. Here, individuals are active in development programs and processes; they contribute ideas, take initiative, articulate their needs and problems, assert their autonomy, and take ownership of the problems and challenges.

Participatory Research Tenets and Models

There is great diversity in participatory research typologies and their levels of participation (see Table 9.1). The following list summarizes many of the tenets of participation in development (Kronenburg, 1986: 225):

- It rests on the assumption that human beings have an innate ability to create knowledge and that this is not the prerogative of *professionals*;
- It is an educational process for the participants of research as well as for the researcher. It involves the identification of community needs, awareness regarding constraints, and an analysis of the causes of glitches and the design and execution of solutions;
- There is a conscious commitment of the researcher to work for the cause of the community. Thus, the traditional scientific principle of neutrality is rejected;
- It is based on a dialectical process of dialogue between the researcher and the community. Dialogue provides a framework that guards against manipulation from outside and serves as a means of control by the community over the research;
- It is a problem-solving approach. The aim is to discover the causes of problems and mobilize the creative human potential to solve social problems by changing the underlying conditions to those problems;
- Its major asset is its heuristic value. The close cooperation between the researcher and the community fosters an atmosphere in which

all participants analyze the social environment and formulate a plan of action.

The visibility of participation as a concept and a practice has steadily increased since the 1970s and it is now incorporated in directed change strategies of state governments, NGOs, and international organizations such as WB, FAO, UN Development Organization (UNDP), and many other agencies. However, the operationalization of participation reveals a bewildering array of strategies. As noted above, these operationalizations have ranged from the concept of participation merely as a means to an end to a definition that considers participation as an end in itself. Some of the models are summarized in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1
Taxonomies of Participation Models

Source	Typology	Level of Participation
World Bank (1995)	Information sharing	Low and perfunctory
	Consultation	Marginal
	Collaboration	High
	Empowerment	Highest (<i>depending on its operationalization</i>)
Pretty et al. (1995)	Passive participation	Low and perfunctory
	Participation in information giving	Low and perfunctory
	Participation by consultation	Marginal
	Participation for material incentives	Marginal
	Functional participation	Marginal
	Interactive participation	High
Mefalopoulos (2008)	Self-mobilization	Highest
	Passive participation	Low
	Participation by consultation	Marginal
	Functional participation	Marginal
	Empowered participation	Highest (<i>depending on its operationalization</i>)

Source: Authors.

Scholars describe the operationalization of participation in various ways as well, including a mechanistic definition and, at the other extreme, an *organic* or human model, which reflects the full potential of a participatory process (Servaes, 1989). The main characteristics of these ideal–typical extremes are summarized in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2
Organic and Mechanistic Models for Research and Policy

<i>Mechanistic Model</i>	<i>Organic Model</i>
<i>Motive for cooperation:</i>	
People need to be helped (charity)	People can help themselves (empowerment)
<i>Assumptions about target group:</i>	
They lack abilities and resources to develop themselves (they are helpless)	They have the ability to develop themselves (they can be mobilized)
<i>Attitude toward problems:</i>	
Problem-solving	Problem-posing
<i>Attitude toward participation:</i>	
Means to achieve ends	A never ending process
<i>Objective of policy makers:</i>	
Implementation of project objectives	Striving toward a common vision and understanding
<i>Learning relationship:</i>	
Teacher knows all and student knows nothing	Everybody has something to share
<i>Valuation of knowledge:</i>	
Western knowledge is superior	Traditional knowledge is equally relevant
<i>Agent of change:</i>	
Policy maker or researcher	People themselves
<i>People seen as:</i>	
Targets, objects	Subjects; actors
<i>Leadership position:</i>	
Project leader	Coordinator; animator; facilitator
<i>Selection of leaders:</i>	
Appointed by higher authorities	Preferably selected by people themselves

(Table 9.2 contd.)

(Table 9.2 contd.)

<i>Mechanistic Model</i>	<i>Organic Model</i>
<i>Leadership qualifications:</i>	
Decision-making; management; authoritative	Co-operation; delegation; receptive; adaptability
<i>Media used:</i>	
Mostly mass media	Integrated media use
<i>Communication process:</i>	
Top-down; one-way	Bottom-up; two-way
<i>Organizational structure:</i>	
Hierarchical; vertical	Horizontal; two-way
<i>Design criteria:</i>	
Productivity and economic growth	Needs and criteria for well-being self-designed by people
<i>Approach to work:</i>	
Execute tasks	Listen to people; facilitative
<i>Mode of communication:</i>	
Monologue; consultation	Dialogue
<i>Planning format:</i>	
Blueprint; project approach	Open-ended; process approach
<i>Time perspective:</i>	
Short-term	Long-term
<i>Initiative for evaluation:</i>	
By funding agency or higher authorities	By people themselves
<i>Type of solution:</i>	
Symptom-curing; evolutionary change	Aimed at elimination of root causes; structural change

Source: Servaes (1989: 18–19).

Family of Participatory Approaches

Diffusion of innovations research reinforced the modernist stereotype that people at the grassroots had little useful knowledge or skills to contribute to development and change. The lack of interest in local people and cultures in the earlier exogenous theories and models made it difficult to learn how these people had negotiated change in

the past. In the 1980s, the value of indigenous knowledge and practices was documented and scholars began to rediscover the complexity, depth, and sharpness of rural people's knowledge:

Rural people's knowledge is often superior to that of outsiders. Examples can be found in mixed cropping, knowledge of the environment, abilities to observe and discriminate, and results of rural people's experiments. Rural people's knowledge and modern scientific knowledge are complimentary in their strengths and weaknesses. Combined they may achieve what neither would alone. (Chambers, 1983: 75)

While people and the communities at the grassroots have much knowledge of their practices honed by deep cultural norms, they may lack formal education and functional literacy. Since the prevailing models of change are biased in favor of more educated populations, the task of involving people at the grassroots in problem-posing, analysis, planning, problem-solving, and implementation of efforts in directed change and development has been a challenge (Anyaegbunam et al., 2004). Challenges include training and enabling change agents to acquire the skills and tools to work with indigenous populations in ways that tap into native knowledge structures and practices.

Participatory Rural Appraisal

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is a methodology that has incorporated many tools and techniques to work with populations lacking formal education or literacy skills. PRA is driven by the belief that all stakeholders have the right to be included in projects that are set up for their benefit. In PRA, the entire community is involved in planning development activities, local knowledge and capacities are used to address local problems, the focus is on methods that transcend literacy skills, and in general, local people take ownership of their problems (Anyaegbunam et al., 2004; Chambers, 1983; Kapoor, 2002).

PRA has several key features that help in empowering and building the capacity of communities: the community takes the lead in planning development action; the community owns and keeps the results of initiatives; the outcomes of the PRA are presented by the

community; local stakeholders are active participants, including generating and analyzing information; and the researcher serves as a facilitator to enable the participants to undertake their investigations of situations, thus, leading to more sustainable solutions and actions. The PRA method has been used successfully in southern Africa among populations lacking literacy. A key emphasis is on the use of visual methods, interviews, and group work for generating, analyzing, and presenting data. This approach builds capacity by foregrounding local people's knowledge, skills, and capabilities for problem solving (see Anyaegbunam et al., 2004).

Participatory Action Research

A leading scholar-activist of PAR asks: "How can we privilege the production of responsible knowledge so that the common people who have been victims of capitalist exploitation and abuse become the main recipients and beneficiaries of research and schooling?" (Fals-Borda, 2006: 34). PAR is committed to social transformation for justice. Its use is directly related to the degradation of life at the margins of societies characterized by economic exploitation and the erosion of local cultures, languages, and habitats. PAR is committed to recapturing and empowering the knowledges of the subaltern through appropriate political and social action informed by a praxis involving local knowledge generation, reflection, and action. The objective is to construct an alternative paradigm in opposition to the positivistic paradigm. PAR is more closely aligned with liberation-based approaches. It is a powerful approach for participatory development, which incorporates a praxis that involves social and political action. As PAR has much in common with the empowerment approach, we will discuss it in greater detail in Chapter 10.

Based partially on PAR methodology, critical scholars offer a culture-centered approach as a framework for participatory social change communication (see Airhehenbuwa and Dutta, 2012; Dutta, 2012). As in PRA, critical applications of the culture-centered approach put the spotlight on local actors and emphasize participation by communities in structural changes. They privilege alternative rationalities and modes of organizing, which are influenced by lived experiences at the margins. Culture-centered communication frameworks further the

agenda of local communities by working with them in creating spaces for local ideas and voices in mainstream policy platforms.

However, local cultures may have inherent intersecting problems that constrain the effective and meaningful participation of the people, especially at the grassroots (Alamgir, 1988: 99), including:

- Inhospitable political climate;
- Inadequacy of local leadership and organization;
- Authoritarian structure that prevents democratic decision-making;
- Isolation and alienation of the poor and the powerless;
- Unequal access to means of production;
- Inadequate government policies or financial support;
- Lack of support for participation by women, particular ethnic group(s), and the elderly; and
- Inadequate infrastructure for generating true participation.

PARTICIPATORY COMMUNICATION PROCESSES AND STRATEGIES

Media and communication constitute indispensable components of participatory processes and strategies. If development is to have relevance and positive outcomes for the people and communities who need it most, it must involve stakeholders who experience the greatest inequality, deprivation, and marginalization, that is, those who live in remote rural areas, urban slums, and other depressed sectors of many societies. People living in such peripheries must perceive their *real* needs, identify their *real* problems, and should be included in all directed change programs and activities.

The idea of self-development, which was popularized in the 1970s, provides instructive lessons for the role of media and communication in genuinely participatory activities (Havelock, 1971). In self-development approaches, the emphasis was on bottom-up communication flows from local communities to experts and other sources, and horizontal communication flows between people. Local people were required to have open discussions, identify their needs and problems, decide on a plan of action, and then use a specific medium of communication and an information database most appropriate to their needs. In other

words, true participatory approaches call for the active engagement of all stakeholders in the construction of the agenda and all facets of the decision-making process. Thus, while the mass media, which have historically been the favored tools in the modernization framework, are helpful and often necessary, they are not sufficient for the tasks at hand. The emphasis is not on big media but on appropriate media and communication vehicles.

Genuine participation, therefore, implies a very different role for communication than that conceptualized and operationalized by modernization. Development agencies still perform a service function in terms of collecting technical information, but their communication is no longer prescriptive. Communication flows are initiated in response to needs articulated by the users. The subjective truths of those directly affected constitute authentic and valuable knowledge. Granting legitimate status to the knowledge and experience of people in the periphery of society requires strategies that involve them in the planning, design, construction of messages, and important decision-making activities (Fee and Krieger, 1993; Melkote and Muppidi, 1999; Mody, 1991). Widespread use of such communication strategies also addresses issues such as capacity building and empowerment of the local people and their knowledge and problem-solving experiences.

Development Support Communication

Two major schools within the field of communication for development, reviewed previously, could be labeled *behavior change communication* and *communication for social change* (Mefalopulos, 2008; UNFPA, 2002). These two schools are embedded within larger frameworks, which could be categorized broadly as the modernization and participatory paradigms. These two paradigms differ significantly in their epistemologies, perceptions of reality, and their methodologies (Mefalopulos, 2008; Morris, 2005). Table 9.3 lists some of the core characteristics of each and highlights differences in perspectives and methods.

Reflecting this dichotomy, a major reconceptualization in academic literature and professional praxis was the transition from *devcom* to *DSC*. Devcom, which shares many of the characteristics of behavior change communication, is guided by the organizing principles of

Table 9.3

Ontological, Epistemological, and Methodological Differences between Modernization and Participatory Frameworks

Modernization Framework (Behavior Change/Diffusion of Innovations, Social Marketing)	Participatory Framework (Social Change/Liberation Theology/ PRCA, PAR, Social Mobilization)
<p>Positivistic Paradigm</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positivist research • Existence of an objective external reality • Reality can be subdivided • Reality is objective; exists apart from observer; can be seen/measured in the same way by all competent observers • Concerned with accurate measurement and explanation • Claims to be value-free since researcher controls extraneous variables • Data are often quantified • Is possible to generalize • Administrative research bias 	<p>Interpretive Paradigm</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretive/constructivist research • Reality is subjective; no single reality • Reality is holistic • Reality exists in reference to observer • Researcher is an integral part of data collection • Concerned with how people create meanings and interpret everyday events • Research is in naturalistic settings and the researcher is the main instrument • Qualitative, critical research • Every person/phenomenon/situation is distinct • Critical research bias

Source: Authors.

modernization. Examples of communication frameworks within this paradigm include diffusion of innovations and social marketing. Initially, the emphasis was on prescriptive and persuasive messages targeted at individuals.

DSC, a term popularized by practitioners (Childers, 1976), was the response of field workers to the realities in developing countries. With this term, the emphasis changed to visualizing communication as a process within a more holistic development context and viewing it as a support for people's self-expression and self-determination, especially people and communities at the grassroots (Ascroft and Masilela, 1994; Jayaweera, 1987). Examples of frameworks within this mode would include: participatory rural communication appraisal (PRCA), PAR, social mobilization, community organization, community psychology, feminist critical research, subaltern studies, and many more. The two modes are compared in Table 9.4 in their paradigmatic as well as practical features.

Table 9.4

Differences between Behavior Change Communication Models and Communication for Social Change Models

<i>Behavior Change Communication Models (Devcom)</i>	<i>Communication for Social Change Models (DSC)</i>
Paradigm:	
Dominant paradigm of externally directed social change	Participatory paradigm of an endogenously directed quest to maintain control over basic needs
Communication Structure:	
Top-down, authoritarian (Subject-object relationship)	Horizontal knowledge-sharing between participants (Subject-subject relationship)
Level:	
International and national	Grassroots, local
Media:	
Big media; mass media	Small media, video, film strips, traditional media, group and interpersonal communication
Bias:	
Prescriptive, persuasive strategic communication/monologic communication process	Social mobilization, facilitate critical awareness/dialogic communication process
Communication for individual level behavior change	Communication for critical social change
Effects:	
To create a climate of acceptance by beneficiaries for exogenous ideas and innovations	Create a climate of mutual understanding between participants

Source: Adapted from Ascroft and Masilela (1989); Mefalopulos (2008).

While the above discussion treats the two modes of communication as ideal types, in reality, it is possible to use either of these approaches or a blend to achieve specific objectives. Media information campaigns or strategic communication programs may be best served by the behavior change communication framework, while directed change activities that involve participation, collaboration, capacity building, and empowerment are informed by communication for social change model.

Co-equal Knowledge-sharing

Here, as in self-development and DSC, the emphasis is on symmetric versus top-down knowledge-sharing (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989; Ascroft et al., 1987). The pluralistic nature of this model fits well with the *multiplicity in one world* (Servaes, 1985) idea; it also implies a more dialectic approach to social mobilization, thus, complementing the Freirian approach. It builds active agency at the grassroots, while being practically relevant as well. Knowledge-sharing on a co-equal basis aims to mobilize the large information resources in local communities, be they rural or urban, First World or Third World. The elevation of the knowledge of local communities, then, not only provides relevance and utility, but also contributes to these communities' active agency, and to strengthening their countervailing power to the presumed superiority of outsiders' knowledge in directed social change.

The symmetric (subject–subject) relationship articulated in radical participatory approaches, which allows for exchange of information between equals, describes a communication process that should define the role of communication in a genuine participatory approach (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989; Ascroft et al., 1987). The communication model that is set up for symmetrical exchange is interactive. It allows for the following features: multiplicity of ideas, decentralization, deprofessionalization, deinstitutionalization, and co-equal sharing with an interchange of roles between senders and receivers. This orientation, contrary to the oligarchic communication models of the 1950s and the 1960s, is fundamentally two-way, interactive, and participatory at all levels (McQuail, 1983; Servaes, 1985). The nature of this model implies a more dialectic mobilization, complementing and consistent with the Freirian approach.¹

Communication on a co-equal basis between participants is ethically preferable. By promising a more democratic forum for communication, it supports the *right to communicate*, a basic human right recognized by the UN charter, stipulating access to communication channels by all people at the national and local levels. Practically, it is important too, as a symmetrical exchange of ideas between senders and receivers requires making use of local knowledge, greatly enhancing the potential for local buy-in and for appropriate actions. Many development agencies have benefited from the

use of information available at the grassroots. Alamgir (1988: 98) notes that “the International Fund for Agricultural Development has found that much that is innovative in rural development stems from the traditions and practices of the poor themselves, who have experience in the demands of survival in a harsh environment.” However, in devcom, the experts and policy makers often have neglected to listen, understand, and incorporate the innate wisdom and knowledge of the rural and urban poor concerning their environment (Alamgir, 1988).

Communication Model for Participatory Knowledge-sharing

Nair and White (1987) proposed a transactional communication model that complements the idea of co-equal knowledge-sharing. In this typology matrix,

transactional communication is a dialogue, wherein sender and receiver of messages interact over a period of time, to arrive at shared meanings. The transactional process is a two-way persuasion process where the development communicator and target group are expected to talk over their differences, giving and taking, and finally arriving at a consensual agreement. (White and Patel, 1988: 7)

Nair and White (1987) developed their typology of participation from the perspective of the receiver (see Figure 9.1). In this typology matrix, the authors describe three levels of participation (high, quasi, low) between the source and receiver of communication, which may be further subdivided into nine role typologies as indicated in the nine cells in Figure 9.1.

High participation is involved, active, and creative with continuous interaction and dialogue. Power is shared between the source and receiver; quasi participation is less intense, less creative, and has less dialogue; and low participation suggests little dialogue, no meaningful involvement between the communicators, and no consciousness of the need for change.

The nature of participation is described by the individual cells in the matrix in Figure 9.1. As mentioned earlier, the perspective is that of the receiver (Nair and White, 1987: 37):

Figure 9.1

Participation Matrix in a Model for Participatory Knowledge-sharing

Target Group Participation	Development Communicator Participation (HIGH)	Development Communicator Participation (QUASI)	Development Communicator Participation (LOW)
HIGH	Ideal (1)	Active (2)	Bottom-up (3)
QUASI	Passive (4)	Transactional (5)	Elective (6)
LOW	Top-down (7)	Selective (8)	Haphazard (9)

Source: Nair and White (1987). Used with permission.

1. Ideal [High Target Group (TG)/High Development Communicator (DC)]: The source and receiver are in continuous contact and working as equal partners in the development effort, making decisions regarding implementation, and jointly assessing outcomes. However, this is an ideal situation and occurs rarely in reality due to the unequal power structures and inequitable distribution of resources.
2. Active (High TG/Quasi DC): Here the receiver is slightly more active than the communicator who assumes a supportive and facilitative role.
3. Bottom-up (High TG/Low DC): Due to the very low involvement of the communicator, the receiver may lack access to external information sources. Also, the high activity could be chaotic due to a lack of coordination with the source.
4. Passive (Quasi TG/High DC): Here the source would be the dominant partner in the interaction. The receiver's role is passive.
5. Transactional (Quasi TG/Quasi DC): This is the most important cell in the typology. Interaction would involve a constant give and take between the source and the receiver.
6. Elective (Quasi TG/Low DC): In this cell, the users would make use of indigenous knowledge and select issues critical to their progress. There is very little involvement of the communicator.
7. Top-down (Low TG/High DC): All decisions, information, and action would flow from the experts, administrators, and others. A sense of apathy

and powerlessness would prevail among the receivers. Development efforts would continue only so long as external direction was present.

8. Selective (Low TG/Quasi DC): As in the previous cell, the communicator is the dominant partner here, selecting issues, laying down the development agenda.
9. Haphazard (Low TG/Low DC): Development effort here is random or accidental, and maybe even chaotic.

Nair and White (1987) posit that the transactional typology (cell 5) provides an atmosphere that is best suited for knowledge-sharing on a co-equal basis between the source and receiver. Unlike the ideal typology (cell 1), it is achievable and realistic since there is a slightly lower level of expectation from the transaction.

Toward a Theory of Participatory Communication

The discussion of the different models and practices of participation reveal ambiguities regarding its conceptualization and operationalization. Participation has had different meanings for different people and contexts. For some, it could mean empowerment of individuals and communities, while for others, it would signify the conscientization of people and communities to the world around them. Or, as in Gramsci's hegemony theory, it could signify a false participation in which the people are given small concessions in exchange for their active consent in supporting the status quo. In terms of its objectives, participation could be used to create greater efficiency of development programs and/or to promote social justice. In terms of context, participation could be applied at the local, national, or global levels.

Much confusion in articulating the meaning and purpose of participation may be attributed to a lack of agreement on a theory of participatory communication. Some scholars advocate the use of Habermas's theory of communicative action (1984, 1989) as a useful analytical approach to the challenges of definition and scale of participatory activities, including communication. Jacobson (2003) posits that Habermas's theory provides a framework for distinguishing between different types of communication in social change. In Habermas's (1984) conceptualization, communication constitutes an action type. The key question is whether the action is undertaken

to achieve understanding or manipulation. *Communicative action* is defined as action to achieve mutual understanding, whereas any other type of activity that is oriented to colonize other people's lifeworld is considered to be manipulative and defined as *strategic action*. This classification is useful to anchor definitions of participatory communication as well as specify the scale of activities (Jacobson, 2003). Habermas's definition of communicative action underlines the objectives of participatory communication, signifying co-equal exchange of knowledge and information, a discursive negotiation of validity claims, and a nonlinear process of communication that is necessarily multidirectional between the various actors. Second, in terms of scale, communicative action links participatory communication from the micro-social arena (i.e., interpersonal and small group communication contexts) to the macro-level public sphere that involves the use of mass media. The theory also pulls in culture by providing categories for the analysis of positive and negative cultural change at multiple levels. Scholars point out that Habermas's work may be used as an analytical framework to evaluate specific social change/participation programs and their design. Program administrators can maximize the effects of communicative action types and minimize or eliminate manipulative communication activities.

COMMUNICATION MODELS IN DIRECTED CHANGE PROGRAMS

The overlapping participatory communication perspectives and approaches in the previous section suggest a conceptualization that argues for the democratization of directed change process so that deprived rural and urban communities can interact on an equal footing with technical experts and other external stakeholders. However, the realization of this ideal has been limited by an operational impasse—lack of a common language and understanding of needs, risks, problems, opportunities, and solutions.

Field studies in the past have shown a serious communication constraint in directed change activities and projects. In a study of the WB-sponsored T&V Program in Karnataka, India, Vallath (1989) showed that agricultural experts were not successful in achieving isomorphism of their communication content with user-farmers. There was not only a low level but also great variability in the comprehension

of extension messages by farmers. In another study, Melkote (1984) examined media such as pamphlets, posters, booklets, and radio scripts used in an extension project in Jagtial, India, and found that the media were laced with pro-literate terms that the targeted farmers could not understand. For example, messages contained names of weights and measures unfamiliar to a majority of the farmers, such as milliliters, liters, meters, square meters, centimeters, percentages, hectares, etc. Names of months were in the unfamiliar Western calendar rather than the local Hindu calendar used in the rural areas. In short, the language in all media, including radio, was needlessly technical. An important conclusion of this study was that higher education levels of farmers were significantly related to higher comprehension of extension messages, thus, reflecting a pro-literacy bias.

From philosophical, moral, sustainable, and practical standpoints, *communicative action*, defined as action to achieve mutual understanding of all participants, is necessary for directed change programs. While development efforts often have failed due to many factors, the absence of participation, or weak communication links between projects and their beneficiaries, are often blamed as root causes. "This results in incomplete and inaccurate analysis of problems and incomplete and inaccurate identification of solutions, frequently leading to poor program planning and formulation" (Anyaeqbunam et al., 2004: 7).

In many communication for directed change programs, the experts and policy makers have neglected to identify, understand, and incorporate the innate wisdom and knowledge of the rural poor and marginalized stakeholders, as noted previously. Their knowledge has been constructed by cultural norms and experiences and honed by the specific environments in which they live and work. Chambers (1983) documents indigenous knowledge in several sectors such as ecology, climate, agriculture, animal husbandry, botany, and zoology. For instance, during the early development decades, many traditional farming practices such as mixed cropping, shifting cultivation, and sparing tillage were considered backward and unscientific. Outside *experts* favored mono-cropping, and anything that did not fit their model was rejected. Agricultural scientists now recognize the many advantages of mixed cropping, especially in relation to the context and livelihoods of farmers. Chambers (1983)

further notes that rural residents have an extremely keen sense of observation and that their knowledge about their environment is very detailed. An average !ko (tribe in Africa) bush woman in Africa, for example, can recognize and name 206 out of 211 plant types, and in the Philippines, the knowledge of the Hanunoo cultivators outnumbers by more than 400 the species of the local flora known by trained botanists. Yet another area of knowledge relates to soil and land types. Farmers have an intimate knowledge of the soil, can identify soil fertility through observation of color and texture, and can distinguish pH levels by tasting the soil. Local people's knowledge of climate also is deep. In Kenya, farmers have their own theories of correlation between lunar phases and rainfall, and they have used this knowledge for planning their seeding operations. Though meteorological officers at one time rejected the local *folklore*, scientific data have since proved the strong correlation between lunar phase influences and rainfall patterns. These and many other examples document the fact that there is a vast storehouse of knowledge among rural residents on soil types, climate, humidity, weather-related animal behavior, farming practices, etc. that have generally been neglected or ignored by experts (Ramalingam, 2014).

A similar argument may be made about the urban poor and their existential reality. While a convincing case has been made in this book and elsewhere about the value of local stakeholders' knowledge and experiences in directed change programs, the reality is that in development programs these stakeholders still are often overlooked, usually due to pro-literacy and formal education biases. Anyaegbunam et al. (2004: 6) posit:

They are generally illiterate, but they have ideas, knowledge and practices shaped by deep-rooted cultural norms, traditions, experiences and values different from those of development workers. These peculiarities or differences render the task of involving rural people in the planning and implementation of development efforts difficult. To worsen the situation, most of the development workers, who work with the rural people, frequently lack the skills, tools, techniques and attributes to understand and involve them in the development process.

One strand of research and practice under positive deviancy has shown conclusively how local knowledge is a powerful problem

solver (Ramalingam, 2014; Singhal and Dura, 2012b). Sengupta and Elias (2012) further provide an instructive example of local knowledge and wisdom related to a healthful life. Working among Amazonians, they discovered that their ideas of a healthy lifestyle were not as constrictive as the biomedical idea of being free of illness, but rather a holistic belief system grounded in environmental factors such as good interpersonal relationships, and a life free from damaging forces such as domestic violence, disharmony with nature, and discrimination based on social identity intersections such as ethnicity, gender, or age. Therefore, a challenge for communication in directed change programs is to incorporate a design and an accompanying methodology for collaboration among external and local stakeholders on a co-equal basis. Next, we show how two major multilateral development agencies have deployed participatory communication strategies in their projects, making use of local knowledge and participation.

Food and Agriculture Organization's Model

FAO's model, operationalized in the Southern Africa region and elsewhere, is phased in six sequential steps, though there is overlap between them (see Table 9.5). The entire project cycle is organized within the Situation Analysis Framework² (SAF), a methodology used in communication program planning. In the preliminary assessment

Table 9.5

Phases in FAO's Communication for Development Program

Situation Analysis Framework for Project Planning

1. Preliminary Situation Assessment and PRCA
 2. Communication Strategy Design
 3. Participatory Design of Messages and Discussion Themes
 4. Communication Methods and Materials Development
 5. Implementation
 6. Monitoring and Evaluation
-

Source: Anyaegbunam et al. (2004).

phase, SAF is employed to probe the existing situation, usually with data gathered by the management team. This involves the articulation of development problems, the project goal, the main problems to be tackled, project objectives, and the perceptions of the management staff, which are obtained by drawing a *Problem Tree*,³ an analytical tool to assess the causes and effects of the main problem. During the PRCA in phase 1 of the FAO model, the Problem Tree is used again by project beneficiaries to assess the cause and effect relationships of the main problems from their perspectives. This highly participatory exercise seeks out the active collaboration of stakeholders in identifying and teasing out a priority list of root causes, the eradication of which then guide the objectives in the communication strategy phase of the FAO model (see Anyaegbunam et al., 2004). We will discuss the Problem Tree in greater detail shortly.

Johari Window

Earlier, we introduced the Habermasian notion of communicative action, which aims to create mutual understanding among all participants in a project. An important presumption is that no one person or a group knows everything; therefore, it is vital that all stakeholders are involved in brainstorming, and that there is co-equal knowledge-sharing. The Johari Window⁴ (see Table 9.6) represents this idea in a succinct manner. This tool, used by FAO, provides an operational model for dialogic communication beginning at the place where there is mutually agreed upon knowledge of issues and problems, and the process then evolves by looking for hidden knowledge known to one party and not the other, eventually leading to blind spots. The mapping of the process in the Johari Window, therefore, has the potential to lead to best solutions and practices.

Table 9.6

Johari Window: Operational Model for Dialogic Communication

1. Open knowledge What we know and what they know	3. Their hidden knowledge What they know and we do not know
2. Our hidden knowledge What we know and they do not know	4. Blindness What we do not know and they do not know

Source: Anyaegbunam et al. (2004).

Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal

The PRCA, noted earlier, is employed in the first phase of the FAO communication model (see Table 9.5). This methodology is structured for effective dialogue and collaboration between external and local stakeholders. It overcomes the limitation of illiteracy since it employs field-based visualization techniques, focus groups, interviews, and a number of other tools to generate knowledge for the design of communication strategies, which make it highly participatory ensuring collaboration of all actors and relevance to the local context (see Anyaegbunam et al., 2004). PRCA thereby facilitates co-equal knowledge- and experience-sharing between the outside experts and the local people.

PRCA belongs to a family of participatory approaches such as PRA, discussed earlier, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA), all of which have a strong collaborative foci in their methodology. What distinguishes PRCA from the others is its emphasis on communication issues, methods, and systems in directed change programs. It incorporates “both traditional and modern communication systems in a community and assists in the development of communication strategies and materials to improve information and knowledge sharing among the various stakeholders in a development effort” (Anyaegbunam et al., 2004: 41). Table 9.7 teases out the differences between PRCA and PRA.

Table 9.7

Comparison of Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal Methods

<i>Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA)</i>	<i>Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)</i>
Holistic: Researches community needs, opportunities, problems, solutions and <i>communication</i> issues, networks and systems.	Not holistic: Researches only community needs, opportunities, problems and solutions without attending to communication issues.
Participatory: The researcher is a facilitator who enables the people to undertake and share their own investigation and analysis, leading to sustainable local action and <i>improved communication</i> .	Participatory: The researcher is a facilitator who enables the people to undertake and share their own investigation and analysis, leading to sustainable local action.

(Table 9.7 contd.)

(Table 9.7 contd.)

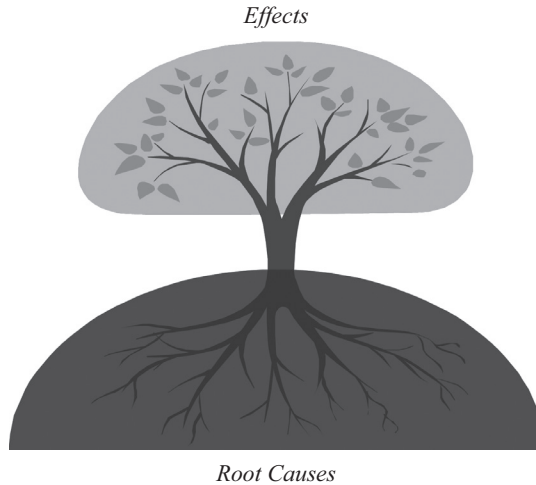
Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA)	Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)
Empowers and builds capacity of communities and improves <i>communication</i> between them and outsiders.	Empowers and builds capacity of communities.
Leads to joint planning of both development action and supporting <i>communication</i> program with community.	Leads to joint planning of development action with community.
Deals with interaction groups identified on the basis of sharing a common problem and segmented according to criteria normally used by the people themselves. <i>People are active participants in the entire research process.</i>	Deals with community groups differentiated on the basis of sharing the identified problems. People are active participants in the process of generating and analyzing information.
Results of appraisal are presented by community.	Results of appraisal are presented by community.
Community owns and keeps the results.	Community owns and keeps the results.
Emphasis on the use of visual methods, interviews, and group work for generating, analyzing, and presenting data.	Emphasis on the use of visual methods, interviews, and group work for generating, analyzing, and presenting data.
Emphasis on change of attitude and behavior among facilitators.	Emphasis on change of attitude and behavior among facilitators.
Seeks means of creating mutual understanding between local people and development workers in order to <i>marry local capabilities with outsiders' knowledge and skills for more effective problem-solving.</i>	Emphasis on local people's knowledge, skills, and capabilities for problem solving.

Source: Anyaegbunam et al. (2004); Kapoor (2005).

The Problem Tree

The Problem Tree, noted earlier, is a field-based exercise that is employed in PRCA to pose a problem visually and analyze it using the knowledge and experience of local stakeholders with the field staff as facilitators. This exercise attempts to deconstruct a problem by investigating its likely causes and consequences. It is presented visually as a tree (see Figure 9.2), where the trunk represents the main development problem, the roots signify its causes, and

Figure 9.2
The Problem/Solution Tree



Source: Adapted from Anyaegbunam et al. (2004).

the branches are its consequences. In sum, the Problem Tree is a methodology for arriving at root causes or focal problems and then creating communication entry points to solve the main problem. This analytical tool encourages a highly participatory and collaborative exercise in which the community of local stakeholders define, refine, analyze, and rank in order the relevant causes of an undesirable situation. The input of the local stakeholders is sought to determine the priority order of the focal problems, and, therefore, which ones require priority attention in delineating communication objectives (Anyaegbunam et al., 2004).

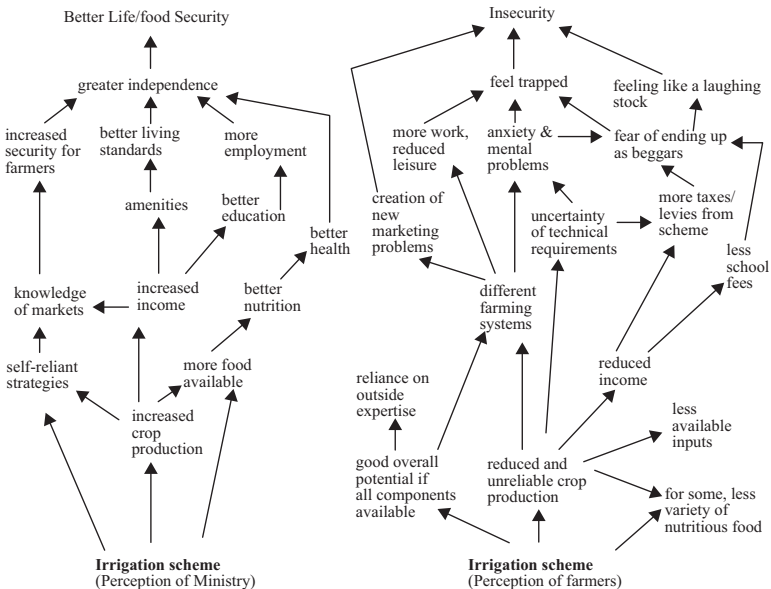
Tools such as the Problem Tree,⁵ where all stakeholders find common ground for understanding the fundamental problems affecting the community, generate an iterative dialogue, ensuring that all concerned voices and experiences are heard and shared with external experts. This level of participation is empowering in the sense that local knowledge, history, and experiences are acknowledged and incorporated into the design of communication objectives and strategies of a project. In PRCA, an important presumption is that no one person or a group knows everything. So, it is vital that all stakeholders are involved, as also conceptualized in the Johari Window.

Windows of Perceptions

The WOPS tool provides yet another opportunity for external and local stakeholders to converge in their perceptions of crucial elements in a development program, such as needs, opportunities, problems, and solutions. This is achieved when the Problem Tree drawn by the project staff at the preliminary assessment phase of the FAO model is compared with the results of a similar exercise among the project beneficiaries. Often, the two sets of perceptions are not similar. Figure 9.3 presents two divergent perceptions of an irrigation scheme in a project in southern Africa for improved food security (Anyagbunam et al., 2004: 58).

The Problem Tree and the WOPS tools help in overcoming the *conspiracy of courtesy* (Ascroft, 2006) phenomenon that often occurs when project recipients do not share their real views and experiences out of courtesy to their guests. Thus, PRCA assists in identifying convergence among local and external viewpoints, which is essential in

Figure 9.3
WOPS: Two Versions in an Irrigation Project



Source: Anyagbunam et al. (2004).

determining the best communication strategy for participatory social change. Used within the context of PRCA, WOPS and related strategies thereby represent the cross-cutting nature of DSC in successfully investigating and minimizing the political and technical problems in project planning and design (Mefalopulos, 2008).

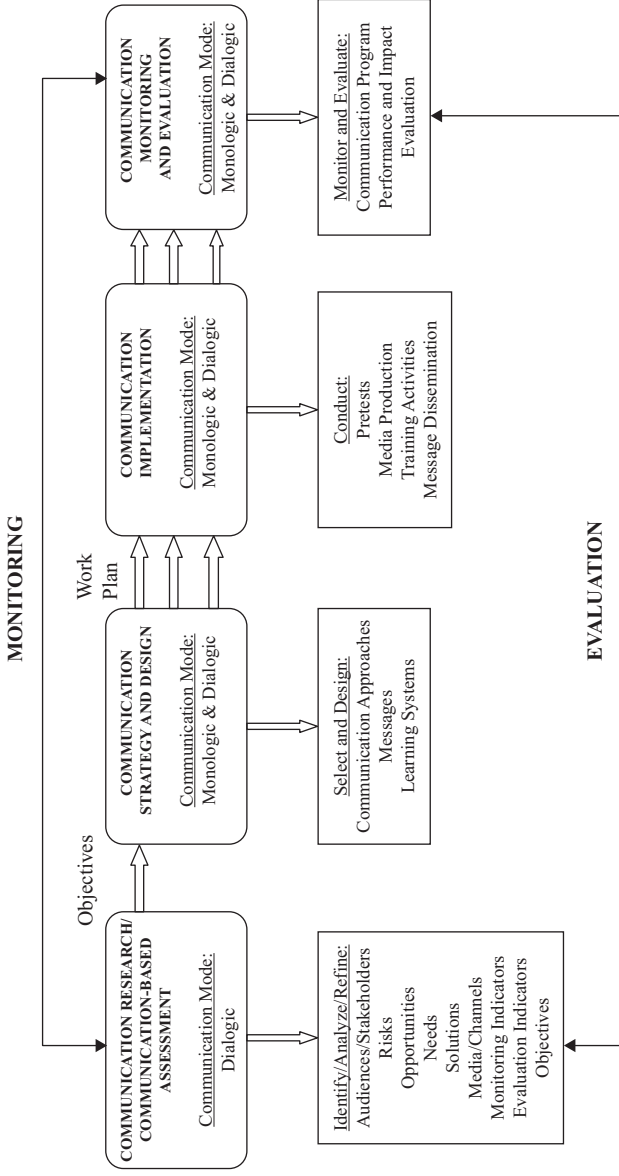
In FAO's innovative use of communication, DSC is used not just to look at media/communication systems or to craft better messages, but also to probe cultural, economic, and political risks in project design (*ibid.*). While the discussion of PRCA has focused on the problems and challenges in rural areas, as indicated in its name, we note that this conceptualization of the role and place of communication in participatory activities may be applied just as easily in other contexts such as urban communities.

World Bank's Devcom Model

The WB's devcom methodological framework and the underlying communication model used in its operations around the world⁶ is illustrated in Figure 9.4. This framework brings together the two major communication modes—the monologic and the dialogic—into an integrated model. The monologic mode, which is top-down, one-way, and linear with an active source and a passive receiver, was popularized in the modernization paradigm, whereas the dialogic mode became synonymous with the participatory paradigm, characterized by two-way, horizontal, and symmetrical flows of communication between two or more participants. Monologic models are still used in many projects and campaigns that require the mass dissemination of information or persuasion. Examples of such approaches previously reviewed include most applications of diffusion of innovations, social marketing, and EE. Communication for social change, liberation movements, PRCA, PAR, empowerment, and social mobilization approaches, in contrast, are anchored in the dialogic communication mode.

WB's integrated model is flexible enough to use different approaches depending on the communication needs of a project at different times during the project cycle. The model in Figure 9.4 has a single arrow connecting the initial phase with the subsequent stages to signify the importance of the dialogic communication mode at the

Figure 9.4
Methodological Framework and Communication Model in World Bank's Devcom Projects



Source: Adapted from Mefalopulos (2008). Used with permission.

start of the project cycle. The subsequent phases are connected with multiple arrows indicating that a variety of communication modes may be used per the needs and objectives of a project (Mefalopulos, 2008).

In the initial phase, a communication-based assessment (CBA) is done of the social, political, cultural, and historic context of the community. This is the field research phase. Research tools used may include in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, baseline surveys, and PRCA (*ibid.*). The dialogic communication mode is employed in this phase to bring together external and local stakeholders in assessing the situation and uncovering problems before the start of a project. CBA hopes to avoid failures of the past by involving the local stakeholders as equal partners in the initial problem posing and analysis phases. This requires exploring their perceived risks, needs, opportunities, problems, and solutions. All stakeholders must identify and share their perceptions of the root causes of the main problem, which then helps in defining communication objectives and selecting communication entry points or interventions. CBA, which brings together all stakeholders as collaborators, helps ensure legitimacy, relevance, and sustainability for a devcom project.

The analysis of the root causes of the main problem in phase 1 leads to the articulation of communication objectives. Crafting an effective communication strategy in the second phase of the model requires defining objectives that are specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and timely (*ibid.*). At this stage, devcom specialists operationalize objectives into suitable approaches and select and refine relevant media and messages for different audiences and stakeholder groups.

The approach selected could be predominantly of the monologic type, which seeks to change awareness, knowledge, attitudes, or behavior of audiences, or dialogic, where participation, collaboration, and dialogue are essential. Message systems could also fall into two or more categories: the straightforward dissemination of information as in a campaign mode or a more participatory design as in discussion themes or other open-ended strategies meant to encourage dialogue (Anyaeibunam et al., 2004; Mody, 1991). The designing of the messages is the prerogative of devcom experts and not subject matter specialists, such as, for example, agronomists or economists.

The production of communication and media materials and training of extension agents form the core of the communication implementation phase, which is followed by evaluation. While monitoring and evaluation constitute the last step of the model, indicators and processes for monitoring and evaluation should be set up at the inception of a project, as shown by the arrows at the top and bottom. The monitoring process continues all the way from the initial formative evaluation to the final summative evaluation, which is conducted to measure the impact of the program.

We conclude this section by noting a limitation of the FAO and WB communication models and corresponding measures: they tend to view participation and empowerment quite narrowly, within the scope of specific projects and their local stakeholders and recipients, and without addressing larger structural constraints. We will revisit this limitation in our conclusion and extend the critique in Chapter 10.

ENHANCED ROLE FOR DEVCOM

Our discussion thus far—of participation, participatory communication, and of participatory communication strategies and models, including those of FAO and WB—reveals the enhanced role for devcom in the models used by many large aid agencies. Nearly four decades ago, UNDP experts conceptualized devcom as a project support tool (Childers, 1976), and in the early 1980s, the Iowa School⁷ conceptualized devcom as a development support tool (Ascroft, 1985; Melkote, 1991). In both versions, communication was more than just sending a message from point A to point B; it was a dynamic set of techniques, tools, and knowledge to pull disparate sectors together, all working for development, and provide the means to improve upon the design and effectiveness of a project. Likewise, the WB methodological framework and model reinforces the concept of devcom as a dynamic set of techniques and tools that help to identify and meet project objectives rather than just being concerned with communication and message-related matters (Mefalopulos, 2008).

In the WB model, CBA involves all stakeholders in field research to analyze the needs, opportunities, risks, problems, and solutions, probe the political, social, and cultural contexts, and in general,

expose any crucial problems during the initial stages of a project. Mefalopulos posits (2008: 102):

By assessing the situation in a cross-cutting manner, communication specialists help project managers to identify and properly arrange the various pieces of the puzzle, which include the communication-related ones as well as other technical and political issues related to project design.

Therefore, in the WB framework, CBA goes beyond social assessment to also investigating the local political, economic, environmental, technical, and other dimensions of a problem, ranking and prioritizing issues within a methodological framework. In this mode, communication is a set of research tools, a management tool, a social science tool used in a cross-cutting manner to investigate various sectors, and in general a value-added tool to improve the design and efficacy of projects.

Triadic Model of Development Support Communication

Several decades ago, Woods (1982) posited that it is extremely important to consider carefully the different development support organizations/personnel that are likely to impact a project and then conduct a communication needs assessment (CNA) as well as a CBA to investigate problems before planning and designing intervention strategies. Childers (1976: 87) echoed similar views. He described devcom as a:

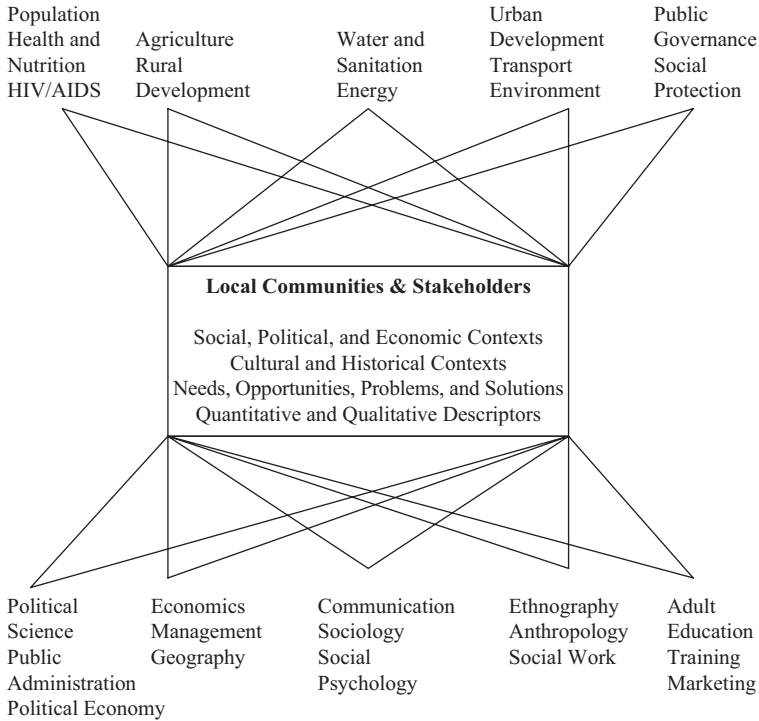
discipline in development planning and implementation in which more adequate account is taken of human behavioral factors in the design of development projects and their objectives. Then, on the basis of a behavioral analysis and the development of a feasible design, the requirements for technical human communication are built into that project as part of its own plan of operation and as a part of its budget.

Mefalopulos (2008: 14) reinforces these ideas thus:

the interdisciplinary nature of development communication becomes invaluable when conducting comprehensive assessments covering more than a sector.... Each specialist can give an accurate representation of his or her specific sector, but there is the need for someone putting together all the pieces in a single consistent frame to avoid the confusion or misrepresentation.

Figure 9.5

Devcom in Development Project Support Operations



Source: Authors.

In 1982, a group of scholars at the University of Iowa⁸ operationalized the ideas outlined above by suggesting a triadic model of interactive development support (see Figure 9.5). The three broad domains of knowledge relevant to development or directed change activities in a project and outlined in this model are: (a) sectors of technical assistance, (b) contextual knowledge of local context and stakeholders, and (c) contributions of the management and social sciences to the project’s planning, design, monitoring, and evaluation. The triangles at the top represent a sample of the sectors in which technical assistance is sought. These triangles are superimposed on each other to visualize a common base that they may share, representing overlapping knowledge, information, and skills sets relevant to

technologies and practices available for transfer to any given community. The rectangle in the center highlights the contextual knowledge necessary about the local area and local stakeholders. The triangles at the bottom show a sample of the different knowledge sciences that contribute to problem posing and solving in directed change activities. There is a common base shared by the different disciplines and it represents an area of maximum interdisciplinary interaction.

The triadic model illustrated in Figure 9.5, originally proposed by the Iowa team (Ascroft, 1985) and revised above, visualizes the interconnections between the different sectors of technical assistance, local communities and stakeholders, and management/social sciences, which had not been clearly perceived previously. The sectors on top represent technical expertise that is usually required in a development project. The local communities and stakeholders are placed in the center. They need to be involved from the beginning in articulating their needs, problems, risks, opportunities, and proposed solutions, and must be equal collaborators in determining the nature and trajectory of the directed changes. The management and social sciences at the bottom signify the knowledge systems necessary to generate and manage participatory decision-making systems between the other two components of the triad (*ibid.*).

In general, we agree that devcom needs to be involved in the social and technical assessment of a project. The importance of creating effective development messages cannot be overemphasized. However, the task of message construction or transmission from the sources to the receivers or vice versa is a micro-level devcom objective. At the macro or the project level, devcom should be involved in operations and concerned with effective organization of a development program or project (Agunga, 1985; Mefalopulos, 2008).

Role of the Devcom Professional in Directed Change Interventions

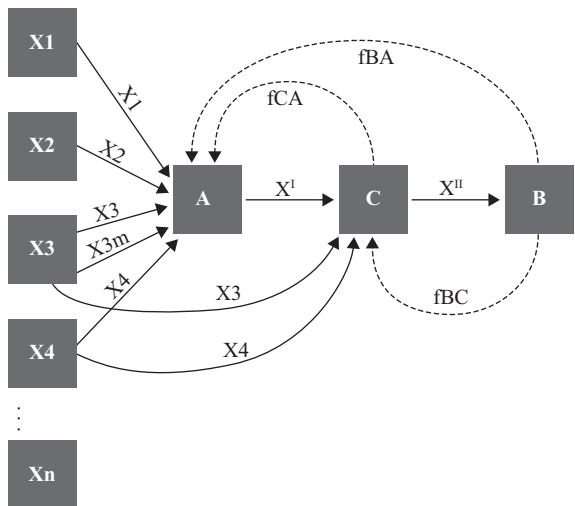
Who is a devcom specialist or professional? The role is yet to be systematically codified. However, attempts have been made to describe his/her qualities and functions (Agunga, 1997; Ascroft and Agunga, 1994; Ascroft and Brody, 1982; Mefalopulos, 2008).

Liaison Role of Devcom Specialist

First, the devcom professional is a communication specialist well-versed in communication methodologies and techniques spanning the range from interpersonal to technologically mediated communications. One important role that the professional plays is that of a liaison between external and local stakeholders since often in development there is an absence of a common *language* between external and local stakeholders. In such a conceptualization, a devcom specialist is seen as *bridging the communication gap* between technical experts (with knowledge in specific areas such as agriculture, agronomy, plant protection, medicine, etc.) and local stakeholders who may possess other strengths and limitations. In the models illustrated in Figures 9.6 and 9.7, the devcom specialist is expected to translate the technical language of the experts into messages and idioms that are comprehensible to the local stakeholders and vice versa.

Ascroft and Brody (1982) adapted Westley and MacLean’s (1957) model to describe the role of the devcom specialist, as shown in

Figure 9.6
Westley and MacLean’s Model of Communication

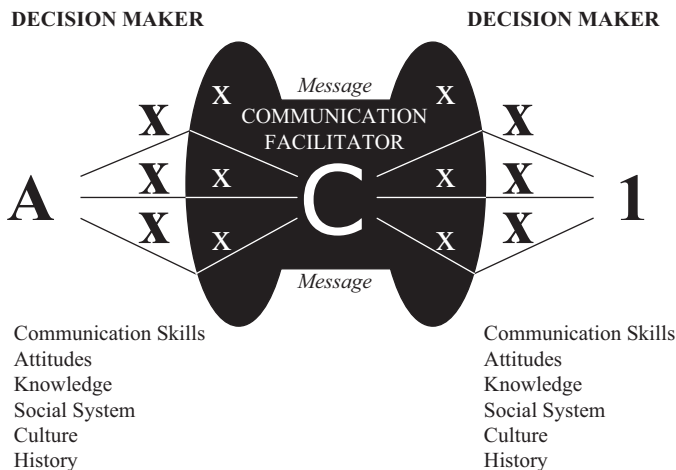


Source: Westley and MacLean (1957: 35). Used with permission.

Figure 9.6. In Westley and Maclean’s model, which was designed to explain the role of mass communication in society, the Xs on the left are the different stimuli in the environment or items of information/interest, *A* is an advocacy role, *C* represents mass communication, and *B* represents the media audience. The feedback loops are represented by *FBA*, *FCA*, and *FBC*. Ascroft and Brody (1982) adapted this model to describe the role of a devcom specialist. In the adapted model, *A* signifies external stakeholders, *C* is the devcom specialist, and *B* represents local stakeholders. *C* understands the needs and problems of *B*. He/she selects, transmits, and interprets the information *B* needs. Thus, *C* extends *B*’s environment, and this role describes articulately the liaison role of a devcom professional.

In the model, depicted in Figure 9.7, the devcom specialist facilitates information sharing between decision maker *A* and *I*, who represent external and local stakeholders, respectively. This specialist works with each decision maker within his/her frame of reference. “The facilitator translates utterances and actions of one decision maker into idioms understandable by the other decision maker in order to create mutual understanding that leads to successful decision making” (Anyaeibunam et al., 2004: 9).

Figure 9.7
Role of Devcom Personnel in Participatory Communication



Source: Anyaeibunam et al. (2004).

Advocacy Role of Devcom Specialist

Second, the devcom professional is not an advocate or functionary of the external stakeholder, such as the development agency or the government. Ascroft and Brody (1982) caution that role of a liaison reduces devcom personnel to mere mouthpieces of external experts and other exogenous sources, doing the bidding of the development planners. In this mode, the devcom professional, while attempting to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of development agencies, may not be promoting the real interests of the local people and their communities. The role of a devcom professional, therefore, will need to be expanded to facilitate popular participation and action of local and other stakeholders. Development program beneficiaries should have greater access to communication media, not just as receivers but also as sources and empowered actors. We will expand on this role of the devcom professional in Chapter 10.

Multipurpose Role of Devcom Specialist

Third, the devcom professional is not a subject-matter specialist in technical areas such as agriculture, agronomy, plant protection, etc. Subject-matter extension workers typically lack a sufficiently broad education in the social sciences to observe and appreciate socio-economic and cultural barriers to social change. This makes most subject-matter specialists, who also often double as communication extension personnel, ill-prepared to serve or act as professionals attempting to bridge communication gaps between the external and internal stakeholders.

Devcom is interdisciplinary in its scope. Thus, a devcom professional is not just a communication specialist interested in the ways and means of communication but additionally possesses a broad set of analytical skills, which should be used to conduct a socioeconomic, cultural, and technological assessment in the targeted areas and with local stakeholders. A communications-based assessment, the mainstay in WB and FAO models, requires that the devcom professional have a broad-based education and skills in a number of disciplinary areas. Mefalopulos (2008: 91) posits,

In addition to specific expertise in the theory and practices of development communication, the specialist in this field is often required to be

familiar with other disciplines, such as ethnography, sociology, political economy, adult education, and marketing. The specialist might be asked to assess political risks, conduct negotiations to reduce conflicts, or mediate between opposing views.

In WB's devcom operations, these specialists are viewed as reformers or reform managers, with the responsibility to sustain productive and appropriate communications by making appropriate corrections and adjustments (Bruni et al., 2008). The triadic model of DSC discussed earlier provides the backdrop of a likely scenario in a project situation, which requires a devcom professional with a wide range of knowledge and skills.

CONCLUSION

The scholarship and practice of participatory communication includes an array of perspectives, all of which argue for more democratic and egalitarian forms of communication, using of qualitative data, avoiding biases toward the exclusive use of modern mass media (as in modernization), and making good use of local knowledge.

We have detailed specific tools used by the FAO and WB to achieve higher levels of participatory communication. While the FAO and WB claim to empower local people via participatory communication, their notions of empowerment do not go far enough in challenging oppressive power structures. In FAO's use of PRCA, to the extent that empowerment is operationalized, it concerns giving voice to local stakeholders and incorporating their knowledge in project design. Likewise, the WB model and research framework aims to empower local stakeholders as equal decision-making partners with external experts. While this is a welcome departure from the earlier monologic models characterized by an active source and passive receivers, it is still an anemic vision of empowerment when compared with radical variants of this concept. Hence, both the FAO and WB models treat empowerment in an instrumental fashion as a means to improve a project's efficacy and sustainability (Mefalopulos, 2008). While at times they invoke the notion of empowerment toward enhanced human rights and social justice, these endeavors merely construct temporary social safety nets in a world characterized by significant

inequality between the haves and have-nots, the powerful and powerless. As poverty and marginalization usually stem from unequal power relations, not taking the *bull by its horns* may result in a band-aid approach to development. We agree that empowered participation in a dialogue is necessary, but we hold empowerment to a higher standard.

We closed this chapter by reviewing the enhanced and crucial role of the DSC (devcom) specialist necessitated by an increased emphasis on participatory communication, as illustrated in the FAO and WB models. These professionals have the primary responsibility to interface with local people and ensure that appropriate participatory communication actually happens. The devcom professional ideally has the freedom to act on behalf of local needs and confront organizational or governmental leaders with self-serving or misguided views. He/she also has the breadth of knowledge and analytical skills necessary to observe and assess socioeconomic and cultural barriers to social change, beyond the local level, hence, providing a perspective beyond the usual scope of most development organizations. Still, as an individual employed by organizations with specific values and agendas and focused on particular projects, in practice, these ideals remain very difficult or impossible to operationalize and realize. Yet in our view, empowered dialogue should move beyond the local-level project and probe into the unequal distribution of power in societies, leading to political and social action. We will elaborate this perspective on empowerment in Chapter 10.

NOTES

1. Another framework that uses consistent language and has also been applied to development communication is James Grunig's two-way symmetric model of public relations, which assumes that the purpose of public relations is gaining mutual understanding via a process of two-way communication and feedback with contextually appropriate and balanced effects (Grunig and Hunt, 1984).
2. SAF is adapted from the Logical Framework Approach and the Objective Oriented Project Planning, which are other analytical and planning methods applied by international organizations.
3. SAF borrows this tool from Objective Oriented Project Planning methodology (see Anyaegbunam et al., 2004).
4. Originally developed by Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham (see Mefalopulos, 2008).

5. Other tools used in PRCA include sketch maps, transect walk, farm sketches, time lines, trend lines, seasonal calendar, wealth ranking, livelihood mapping, gender analysis, Venn diagrams, and much more (see Anyaegbunam et al., 2004 for details).
6. For a detailed review and discussion of World Bank's devcom division, see Mefalopulos (2008).
7. This group consisted chiefly of Joe Ascroft, Alan Brody, Robert Agunga, Ab Gratama, Srinivas Melkote, and Leslie Steeves in the University of Iowa's School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Ascroft, Brody, and Gratama live in Iowa City, while Melkote is with Bowling Green State University in Ohio; Steeves teaches at the University of Oregon, and Agunga is with Ohio State University.
8. See endnote 7.

CHAPTER 10

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION FOR EMPOWERMENT

Strengthening civil society would cast power back in the hands of self-determined people, rather than consolidate it in a state of the ruling class.

Gautney (2010: 100)

In the preceding chapter, we examined the participatory paradigm and associated models used in several devcom programs. Often, the scope of the participation expected from local stakeholders is low and perfunctory. Even in models where participation levels are high, they are still anemic since they are not counter-hegemonic. In our view, empowered dialogue should move beyond the local-level project and probe the unequal distribution of power in societies, leading to political and social action. Empowerment was the central goal in the previous edition of this book. We continue to emphasize empowerment, but focus on the larger goal of social justice and human rights in directed change.

In this chapter, we will focus on empowerment-related communication strategies in development, as this remains a core construct related to our quest for social justice in directed change. We will closely examine the paradigm of empowerment, discuss power and control in development, define empowerment, and describe the guiding tenets for practice toward empowerment for social justice. We will also take a close look at media and communication for empowerment, identify best practices, and explicate the implications for media and communication practitioners in intervention processes. Finally, we circle back to the DSC practitioner and the continued relevance of this role toward development for empowerment and social justice.

COMMUNICATION FOR EMPOWERMENT

A premise throughout this chapter is that real progressive change is not possible unless we directly address power inequities among individuals and groups. The construct of empowerment identifies the underlying constraints in directed social change and helps to articulate a more appropriate and useful role for DSC and DSC personnel. Over 35 years ago, Latin American communication scholars such as Beltran (1976) and Diaz-Bordenave (1976), among others, observed the oppressive social, political, and economic structures in developing countries that constitute barriers to progressive social change. Yet, most of the models and strategies that followed have failed to directly address these systemic constraints. Diffusion of innovations research and practice often castigated a group of non-adopters as laggards for failing to adopt useful innovations. We argue that many marginalized individuals are slow to adopt new practices because they do not have access to appropriate or sustainable resources and opportunities to improve their lives. This is an issue related to unequal power relations. Unless scholars and practitioners are willing to recognize and act on this reality, their work will be ineffective and superficial, functioning as temporary band-aids to fix far larger systemic problems. If DSC is to play an effective and enduring role in social change processes, researchers and practitioners need to address power inequities in society.

A focus on unequal power dynamics has a direct consequence for the traditional objective of devcom, that is, delivering new information and innovations. Empowerment-related communication requires more than mere diffusion of information and technical innovations. The objective of DSC professionals should be to work with appropriate individuals and communities, especially at the grassroots, so that they may eventually enter and participate effectively in the political and economic processes of their communities and societies. This calls for grassroots organizing and communicative social/political action on the part of the poor, women, minorities, and others who have been consistently and increasingly marginalized in the process of social change (Kaye, 1990). The implication for DSC, then, is a reconceptualization of its role. Greater importance needs to be given to the organizing value of communication and the role of communicative

efforts in empowering citizens. In essence, what we are advocating for DSC is not just effecting *development* (as articulated by the dominant paradigm and the helping professions) but also assisting in the process of empowerment.

Paradigm of Empowerment

Much work has been done on empowerment in fields such as community organization, critical education, applied communication, women's and gender studies, and community psychology, offering concepts that may be readily adapted to DSC. The construct of empowerment is frequently referenced in the communication and development literature but seldom explicated. In Table 10.1, we articulate elements for a conceptual framework. We do this by comparing and contrasting DSC informed by the goals of empowerment with the devcom model used in the modernization paradigm under the following heads: goals, beliefs, biases, contexts, levels of analysis, communication models used, change agent roles, types of research,

Table 10.1

Communication for Change within Empowerment and Modernization Paradigms

<i>Development Support Communication in an Empowerment Paradigm</i>
Phenomenon of Interest/Goal: Empowerment of people, social justice, building local capacity, and equity.
Belief: Unequal development due to a lack of access to economic, political, and cultural resources; unequal development due to lack of local power and control; unequal standards.
Bias: Toward cultural proximity, diversity, and environmental sustainability.
Context: Local, community, national, global settings.
Level of Analysis: Individual, group or organization, community.
Role of Change Agent: Collaborator, facilitator, participant, advocate for individuals and communities, risk-taker, and activist.
Communication Model: Nonlinear, participatory, reflexive, used to convey information as well as build understanding, empathy, and partnerships; used to empower communities and organizations.

(Table 10.1 contd.)

(Table 10.1 contd.)

Type of Research: Quantitative and qualitative, longitudinal studies, labor-intensive PAR, communication for empowerment.

Exemplars: Activate and sustain social support systems, social networks, mutual help and self-help activities; encourage participation of all actors; empower community narratives; facilitate critical awareness; facilitate community and organizational power; communicate to strengthen interpersonal relationships.

Outcomes Desired: Increased access of all people to material, psychological, cultural, and informational resources; honing of individual and group competence, leadership skills, life and communication skills; honing of critical awareness skills; empowered local organizations and communities; a vibrant public sphere; active public discussion and debate; building of social capital.

Devcom in the Modernization Paradigm

Phenomenon of Interest/Goal: National and regional development, people development, community improvement.

Belief: Underdevelopment due to economic, political, cultural, geographic, and individual inadequacies; existence of a single standard (as articulated by experts).

Bias: Cultural insensitivity, environmentally unsustainable, standardization.

Context: Macro and micro settings.

Level of Analysis: Nation, region, individual.

Role of Change Agent: Expert, benefactor, nonparticipant.

Communication Model: Linear, top-down, transmission of information.

Type of Research: Usually quantitative (surveys), some use of focus groups, contextual or evaluation research.

Exemplars: Remedy through/by experts; blame the victim; individual adjustment to a dominant norm; use of the mass media to spread standardized messages and entertainment; media messages that are preachy, prescriptive and/or persuasive.

Outcomes Desired: Economic growth, political development, infrastructural development.

Source: Authors.

best practices, and desired outcomes. Not surprisingly, Table 10.1 reveals that the goals and the outcomes desired in the empowerment communication model are vastly different from that of modernization, as are the underlying beliefs about underdevelopment.

The modernization paradigm favors exogenous ideas and innovations over the local. In the absence of participation by local people, such exogenously introduced ideas most often result in

social engineering by the government or the elite. The differences between the two frameworks are stark. Modernization utilizes the transmission model in which communication involves sending a message through some channel with the hope that it would reach the receiver and have an impact. The process is usually linear and top-down, while the messages are prescriptive, preachy, and quite often technical in nature. The transmission approach or the delivery of technical information in the modernization paradigm is insufficient. Empowerment also requires building understanding, empathy, and partnerships. The emphasis then shifts from the transmission value of communication to its organizing value.

Power and Control in Development

The basic premise guiding theory and practice in devcom (as articulated in the modernization paradigm) has been the notion that human societies are just and fair in their distribution of resources to individuals and groups, and that all people, with some effort and help, can receive the benefits that societies have to offer. Thus, as articulated in the modernist view, if an individual or group does not possess *desirable* attitudes, opinions, behaviors, or other attributes, and/or does not participate effectively in a society's affairs, it is the individual who is deficient and, thus, needs to be taught skills and provided help. The earlier devcom models accepted such a victim-blame hypothesis, as we have elaborated in earlier chapters. However, millions today continue to be impoverished and experience other forms of oppression and discrimination as well. It is no coincidence that they also lack power and control over opportunities and resources to substantially improve their lives.

It is important, therefore, to provide a context for our discussion of empowerment by explicating carefully the concept and practice of power and control in social settings. A review of literature from both theory and practice in community organization and Third World development indicates the following:

- Power is exemplified through organized money (*Economist*, May 17, 2014), organized people (Alinsky, 1971), or through connections with such entities.

- Power is exercised through control of important economic, political, cultural, and informational resources. These resources are necessary in some measure for individuals, organizations, and communities to make qualitative improvements in their lives. In developing countries, this could also imply the fulfillment of basic needs.
- Entities that wield power may also reward or punish targets by withholding or decreasing access to important resources (Gaventa, 1980; Polsby, 1959; Speer and Hughey, 1995).
- Power is exercised through control of the development agenda, that is, what gets included or excluded in policy statements, development plans, or public debate (*Economist*, May 17, 2014). Entities with power may stymie participation or slant perspectives by erecting many barriers by controlling: the topics of discussions, the timing of discussions, discussion participants, and the range of issues discussed (Speer and Hughey, 1995; Steeves, 1996).
- Power is also exercised by influencing shared consciousness at the community, national, or global levels. Power is often operationalized through the propagation of myths, stories, ideology, or outright control over sources of public information (Lukes, 1974; Speer and Hughey, 1995). Thus, power is the ability to create, interpret, or tell stories about an individual, a group, community, or nation (Rappaport, 1995). There are numerous examples globally of marginalized individuals and groups whose stories have been appropriated by outside entities. And, there are also examples of marginalized groups that have found innovative ways to gain agency and voice despite overarching power structures (e.g., Kidd, 1984; Sow, 2014).

The concept and practice of empowerment is heuristic in our understanding of the complex constraints in directed social change. It clarifies the outcomes we should seek and provides a useful niche for DSC.¹ Further, what sets empowerment apart from the models informed by the modernization paradigm is that the locus of control in this process rests with local stakeholders and not with outside experts, the DSC professionals, or the sponsoring organizations. While the professionals may have a role to play in the intervention strategies, they are not

the key actors. The key players are the local people handling their problems in local settings, and learning and honing their competencies in the concrete experiences of their existential realities.

Definitions of Empowerment

In everyday usage, empowerment may mean little more than the successful diffusion and adoption of a new technology. Like other broad concepts, such as participation and sustainable environment, the term empowerment has become trendy and frequently invoked by many types of aid organizations, ranging from smaller NGOs to the largest multilateral and bilateral aid agencies. As Parpart et al. (2002b: 3) note, empowerment has become “a ‘motherhood’ term, comfortable and unquestionable, something very different institutions and practices seem to be able to agree on.” In our view, any meaningful assessment of the concept and practice of empowerment must be in terms of establishing equity in the distribution of and access to important resources; it should be at the core of our quest toward universal human rights and social justice.

While empowerment as a construct has a set of core ideas, it may be defined at different levels: from macro to the micro level of the individual, organization, and community; and operationalized in different contexts (Parpart et al., 2002a; Rowlands, 1998). Several working definitions of empowerment are available. However, given the nature of our work and the power inequities in societies that are posited as the major impediments to achieving progressive change, it is important that the working definitions be linked directly to the building and exercise of social power in directed change efforts. According to Fawcett et al. (1984: 146), “Community empowerment is the process of increasing control by groups over consequences that are important to their members and to others in the broader community.” Rappaport (1987: 121) describes empowerment as “a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power, and legal rights. It is a multilevel construct applicable to individual citizens as well as to organizations and neighborhoods; it suggests the study of people in context.” Another definition describes empowerment as “an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control

over those resources” (Cornell Empowerment Group, 1989: 2). Speer and Hughey (1995: 730) define empowerment as the “manifestation of social power at individual, organizational, and community levels of analysis.” White (2004: 21) emphasizes constraints at the macro-level, arguing that “empowerment needs to be explicitly located within a broader framework of commonly agreed upon parameters of human and social equity.” Parpart et al. (2002b: 3) agree, observing that an excess focus on grassroots empowerment:

tends to underplay or ignore the impact of global and national forces of prospects for poor people’s (especially women’s) empowerment, and encourages a rather romantic equation between empowerment, inclusion and voice that papers over the complexities of em(power)ment, both as a process and a goal.

We view empowerment as the mechanism by which individuals, organizations, and communities gain control and mastery over: social, political, and economic conditions (Mohan and Stokke, 2010; Rappaport, 1981; Rappaport et al., 1984; Triantafillou and Nielsen, 2001; White, 2004); democratic participation in their community (Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988); and over their stories. While we read scholarly or popular accounts of local peoples’ stories, we seldom hear their actual voices (Rappaport, 1995). Local people’s stories document individual or community narratives about their own or others’ lives, histories, experiences, and values. Like all other resources, the power to create, select, and tell stories about one’s self, one’s group, or other people is usually controlled by elites through their organizations, networks, agents, or genres. Elites also control the media and information channels that bombard communities with selective stories, messages, and mainstream populist entertainment fare. Thus, minorities, women, the poor, and local communities usually lose control of an important cultural resource: the right to tell their own stories to local and global audiences. Critical scholars, therefore, reference *voice poverty* as another attribute of marginalized communities. Community empowerment attempts to restore grassroots control over this resource.² Peoples’ right to communicate their stories should be at the heart of the participatory strategies leading to empowerment.

As a process, empowerment may have different outcomes. For some, it could lead to a perception of control over their lives, while for others it may mean actual control (Parpart et al., 2002a; Rappaport, 1987;

Triantafillou and Nielsen, 2001; Young, 1994); it could be an internalized attitude or an externally observable behavior; it could be an individual achievement (Triantafillou and Nielsen, 2001; Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988), a community experience (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990), and/or a professional intervention using strategies that are informed by local realities. The process itself defies easy definition and may be recognized more easily by its absence: “powerlessness, real or imagined; learned helplessness... (and) alienation” (Rappaport, 1984: 3).

Usually, a starting point in the process of empowerment is a realization on the part of an individual, group, or community of its inequitable position, its powerlessness in the system, or the relative neglect of its needs by the larger society (Rao, 2001). Biegel (1984) suggest criteria for the notion of equity:

The principle of equity is defined by citizens in two ways: whether their investment (objective or subjective) is equal to their return; and whether their neighborhood organization is getting its fair share of resources as compared to other parts of the city. (ibid.: 123)

The investments or costs perceived by the citizens could include various dimensions: financial, psychological, physical, political, cultural, and emotional. The return would constitute needs met, resources accessed or offered, and opportunities made available. As many scholars caution, however, and as research shows, grassroots empowerment projects always must be mindful of larger institutional impediments; otherwise *empowerment* results may be merely cosmetic, unsustainable, and/or fail to contribute to larger human rights goals (Leach and Sitaram, 2010; Mohan and Stokke, 2010; Parpart et al., 2002a; Sreberny, 2005; White, 2004).

In the next few sections, we will present ideas, practices, and methodologies for increasing or sustaining the countervailing power of the marginalized, starting with PAR.

Participatory Action Research

Historically, most of the knowledge of the oppressed and the marginalized was disqualified as inadequate and unscientific in the modernization model (Foucault, 1980). In earlier chapters, we discussed

how local narratives, popular knowledge, cultural meanings, and social arrangements were devalued in the dominant development discourse, leading to other forms of disempowerment. Research has shown that domination of the poor and marginalized comes about in at least three ways: (a) Control over the means of material production, (b) control over the means of knowledge production, and (c) control over power that legitimizes the relative worth and utility of different epistemologies/knowledge systems (Rahman, 1991a). Those who have social power will legitimize their knowledge and methodologies as superior. As long as there are inequalities in knowledge relations between different sectors of a society, there will be inequities in the relations of material production. Political power too is correlated with an assertive cultural identity (Rodriguez, 2001).

PAR, which we introduced in Chapter 9, is dedicated to resuscitating both the power of marginalized people and their popular knowledge. Therefore, in PAR an important objective is to recapture local knowledge and narratives: "It is absolutely essential that the people develop their own endogenous consciousness-raising and knowledge generation, and that this process acquires the social power to assert vis-à-vis all elite consciousness and knowledge" (Rahman, 1991a: 14).

As we have argued consistently, the accumulated knowledge obtained from the social sciences steeped in positivistic methods have not solved critical problems such as alleviating hunger, eliminating killer diseases, providing access to clean water, basic sanitation, primary education, and resolving other pressing problems in deprived urban and rural communities. PAR scholars and activists critique the relationship between scientific method and the knowledge it generates, arguing that the knowledge required by subaltern sectors can only be produced by an alternative scientific paradigm that is committed to social transformation through political and social action. The task then is to resuscitate the knowledge systems of underprivileged and marginalized people and communities, knowledge that helps them protect their lifeworld, defend their interests, access relevant resources, nurture their cultures, empower their histories, and establish a strong countervailing voice. The PAR approach, then, by resuscitating and elevating popular knowledge and establishing a counter discourse, disrupts the position of development as articulated by the dominant discourse, causing a crisis in

authority and creating a space for marginalized groups to influence social change (Gramsci, 1971; White, 1999). Most importantly, it gives voice to local people.

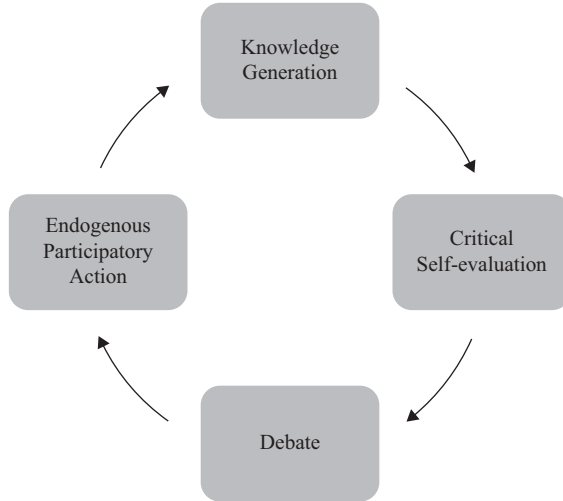
PAR Methodology

As indicated above, the epistemology in this alternative paradigm sheds the value neutrality and objectivity requirements of the positivistic method, as these requirements in fact impede and obstruct a holistic understanding of the complexity of life at the margins of society. Thus, PAR researchers must *decolonize* themselves from the requirements of the dominant paradigm and take an ethical stand against exploitation, discrimination, and the debasement of marginalized cultures through a praxis that involves local actors engaging in social and political action guided by empowered local knowledge and skills (Fals-Borda, 2006; Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000).

Since the European Enlightenment, science has been used to further knowledge generation and also legitimize particular types of knowledge. A key argument used to support the superiority of the scientific method is its objectivity or lack of bias and the detachment of the scientist from what is being studied or measured. In the epistemologies of the poor, however, an important criterion for social verifiability is community consensus achieved through collective and democratic processes. The ideology of PAR is that endogenous efforts and local leaders play the leading role in social transformation using their own praxis. Fals-Borda (2006: 33) posits: “Pertinent validity criteria can be derived as well from common sense, with inductive/deductive examination of results in practice, from *vivencia* (life experience) or empathetic involvement in processes, and with the considered judgment of local reference groups.”

PAR encompasses an experiential methodology.³ It is a useful model to delineate the praxis of empowerment. PAR praxis (see Figure 10.1) includes relevant stakeholders using endogenous knowledge to increase critical awareness, knowledge generation, reflection, and self-evaluation, leading to endogenous participative action (Rahman, 1991b). It has emerged as a forceful methodology and action strategy, principally as a reaction to the degradation of the economic and social conditions of poor and marginalized groups. The knowledge that PAR attempts to generate is specific, local, and non-positivist. It takes

Figure 10.1
Praxis in Participatory Action Research



Source: Authors.

place in a local context, uses local material/nonmaterial inputs, and is led by local people and their organizations. Importantly, it is used to initiate collaborative social and political action in order to foreground local knowledge and wrest social power inherent in knowledge away from the privileged (Friesen, 1999). In Latin America and Asia, in particular, marginalized groups and their organizations have used PAR for micro- as well as macro-level movements and outcomes.⁴

Any role taken by an outsider would be as a facilitator. This, however, creates dialectical tension due to differences in knowledge or style between the outsider and the local people. Fals-Borda (1991) suggests two related ways of addressing the problem. First, the facilitator must be committed to the goal of social transformation, achievable by his or her immersion in the praxis adopted by the community. Second, the facilitator must adopt a subject/subject relationship with local people and reject an asymmetrical or subject/object relationship. Not all facilitators are able to achieve such relationships. Hence, some have argued that individual personality and motives are crucial in PAR, and that few are capable of sufficient sensitivity, humility, and self-reflexivity to do this work (Patai, 1991).

In the end, the external facilitator's role should become redundant. A successful PAR effort means that the social change process will move forward without the presence of the external agent, leading to the acquisition of countervailing power by people's organizations and groups. Thus, the outcome of PAR is to "enable the oppressed groups and classes to acquire sufficient creative and transforming leverage as expressed in specific projects, acts and struggles" (Fals-Borda, 1991: 4). As indicated in Figure 10.1, the process is continuous in that every action that leads to knowledge raises new questions requiring critical self-evaluation and debate, leading to further actions.

In summary, the PAR approach adopts a liberationist/emancipatory ethic and presents a morally satisfying model (Fals-Borda, 2006). It provides a methodology and praxis wherein local actors find their voice using their own epistemologies. It also challenges the social sciences to be more sensitive and effective in problematizing the reality of overwhelming global inequality, exploitation, and oppression. Science must justify its existence not just by producing theories, confirmed rules, and generalizations. It also must commit to effective ways in providing social service and action for the achievement of human rights and social justice.

Next, we provide three case studies that adopted the tenets of participatory social action research⁵ in their work to empower marginalized communities.

Highlander Research and Education Center

For about 80 years, the Highlander Center in the US State of Tennessee has been working with grassroots groups engaged in struggles for political change and social justice (Lewis, 2006). Highlander has experimented with and honed PAR methods wherein the knowledge of local people has proven to be transformational in affirming their identity and empowering their knowledge and epistemology. One useful case study is the Bumpass Cove story where a mining company dumped hazardous chemicals in a landfill near a small rural community without informing the local people. This led to new illnesses, deaths, and widespread environmental damage including the destruction of wildlife and their habitat. With the help of Highlander staff, the people of Bumpass Cove were able to research the names of the harmful chemicals, the effects of these chemicals on humans,

animals, and the environment, and then, through endogenous social action, were able to pressure the government for redress:

When people begin to research their own problems they begin to feel that they have some control over the information, a feeling of power *vis-à-vis* the experts. They strengthen that feeling when they confront the experts...and discover they knew what the scientists did not. (Lewis, 2006: 267)

Thus, in this case, local residents were able to overcome dominant knowledge structures (such as the compliant government health department) with their own research and actions. The Highlander Center played an important role in “systematizing and giving validity to people’s knowledge” (ibid.).

Action for Cultural and Political Change (ACPC)

ACPC, an organization of lower-caste agricultural laborers in Tamil Nadu, India, believes in transforming society for human rights and social justice.⁶ Drama plays a central role in ACPC’s socioeconomic and political transformation process involving conscientization, organization, and struggle (Kidd, 1984). For ACPC, “the cause of poverty and underdevelopment is not the inadequacies and ignorance of the poor; it is the structural relationships which keep the poor powerless, subservient, and exploited” (ibid.: 118). Organizations such as the ACPC consider conventional development strategies analogous to treating wounded soldiers with band-aids and then sending them back to the war. The ACPC is attempting to do something about the *war*. The organization sees no merit in giving token handouts to victims of an unjust and inequitable structure. Such remedies may provide short-term relief, but do nothing to solve the problem.

The organizing process of the ACPC consists of the following stages: (a) getting into, accepted, and grounded in an area; (b) providing adult education and literacy classes; (c) establishing leadership training and action committees; (d) initiating cultural action programs and mass meetings; and (e) engaging in struggle and movement (ibid.: 107). In contrast to the conventional top-down development approach controlled and run by outsiders, the ACPC approach is a self-reliant, people’s movement at the grassroots. The main vehicle of conscientization, organization, and struggle is the drama. The plays,

grow out of the situations, experiences, and analysis of the actors who are themselves villagers. They aren't handed centrally produced, prepackaged scripts and told to perform. They create their own dramas out of their own collective analyses of their immediate situation and the deeper structures in which they are embedded. This is a genuine expression of the people. (Kidd, 1984: 117)

The ACPC approach shows how people living in the periphery are able to perceive their *real* needs and problems through active participation. Through reality-based village plays, people are encouraged to develop a critical awareness of the realities of their situation, identify *real* constraints, and plan collectively to overcome problems.

Gindiku FM Community Radio

Community radio stations set up entirely by and for local people for purposes of empowerment are a part of the media environment in many developing countries. According to the *Handbook of Community Media* published by UNESCO:

Community media set out to create an alternative both to national public broadcasters, which are often under government control, and to private commercial media. They provide communities with access to information and voice, facilitating community-level debate, information and knowledge sharing and input into public decision-making. (Buckley, 2011: 7)

In Africa, women's community radio organizations emerged in the 1990s as a result of women's marginalization in both mainstream and alternative media. Gindiku FM in Thiéna, Senegal, provides an excellent model of a highly successful and transformative women's community radio station, initiated and funded entirely by local leaders⁷ and set in the context of impoverished rural villages and highly patriarchal indigenous and Muslim cultural traditions, sustained by the Sufi brotherhoods. Content for the station is provided by 60 rural women reporters from villages in the listening area. These reporters are journalists, gender advocates, and moderators of listening groups. Sixty listening groups made up of men and women gather bi-monthly to discuss the programs, provide suggestions, and engage in other community-building activities. Sow (2014) carried

out an in-depth analysis of the station,⁸ and found that several factors have contributed to the success of radio. Of importance is a participatory needs assessment baseline study involving considerable grassroots dialogue and focus groups, which helped determine the radio's mission, programming, and best ways to facilitate access. Results revealed 16 themes in four major categories: gender equality and leadership; women's access to land and seeds; girls' education; and the role of women in Muslim society. According to Sow (2014: 266), "Gindik FM has... become a powerful tool for giving voice to women, raising gender awareness, promoting women's representation and visibility, building women's capacities in the use of ICTs, and for gender equality."

The above examples are not the only community-based groups doing projects that successfully challenge the status quo by empowering otherwise marginalized local people with the resources to effect change. For instance, there are other successful community radio and community media projects globally (e.g., see Jallof, 2012; Tucker, 2013). In addition, several grassroots community groups in the Philippines such as *Kulturang Taboron Sa Debaw* of Davao and the *Kabalaka Mobile Theatre* advocate dramatic conscientization (Van Hoosen, 1984), as do numerous indigenous theater groups in Africa. These groups are attempting to bring local awareness of some of the sociopolitical factors affecting their lives. Other notable examples of participatory grassroots movements include the *Bhoomi Sena* movement in India, the *Mother's Club* in Korea, the *Ujaama* in Tanzania, and several community groups in Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, and Chile.

Participatory Action Research and Self-development Initiatives

The process of individual and collective empowerment via PAR is complex and reveals different forms and outcomes. The types of actions initiated by organized groups as a result of PAR have, therefore, varied depending on the socioeconomic, cultural, and political contexts. The outcomes of PAR may be organized as four inter-related categories. These include activities related to macro-level change as well as initiatives to achieve local self-development outcomes (Tilakaratna, 1991: 140–142).

Defensive Actions

These aim to protect existing resources that are under threat of encroachment, erosion, or outright takeover. Examples include displacement or loss of cultural communities and lifestyles due to large-scale development projects such as hydroelectric dams or mines, or adverse effects on local communities due to industrial pollution. Defensive actions may include protests, making presentations to authorities, and taking legal remedies, sometimes with the assistance of sympathetic legal experts.⁹

Assertive Actions

These refer to situations where poor and marginalized groups lack access to resources and opportunities to better their lives and communities. Often, unavailable resources in fact are legally entitled to these groups. For example, certain government-approved agricultural loans and support programs, poverty-alleviation benefits, and minimum wages may not be adequately accessible. Through local organizations, groups have attempted to access legitimate entitlements or blocked resources. Assertive actions also include creating alternative organizations (such as cooperatives) to recapture lost or diminished economic surpluses.

Constructive Actions

These constitute self-help development projects initiated and organized by the community. Grassroots organizations mobilize their own resources and skills with or without the help of external agencies such as the state or NGOs. Self-development projects may be in any area of local need, including agriculture, health, shelters for domestic violence victims, infrastructure such as a sanitation system, small-scale industrial initiatives, and/or cultural activities.

Alternative Actions

These actions comprise initiatives that deviate from typical mainstream development projects. They could include projects that are ecologically sustainable and suitable to the local context, such as organic farming or biogas plants, indigenous health care schemes, or

actions to resuscitate local cultural practices, including indigenous forms of communication.

The above actions constitute types of self-development projects initiated under the PAR approach. In the rural African context, where class distinctions and polarizations are not sharp or where access to land is not a big constraint, PAR-initiated self-development projects have thrived. Examples of successful projects have been documented in Senegal, Burkina Faso, Rwanda, and Tanzania (Rahman, 1991b). In these projects, local people's collective actions have confronted:

those state bureaucracies and technocracies that seek to impose their ideas of 'development' (modernization)—ideas that typically are alien to the people's way of life and culture and are often also destructive of the physical environment. The people's own initiatives seek to promote their authentic self-development, which takes off from their traditional culture and seeks to preserve the physical environment with which they have an organic association. (Rahman, 1991a: 16)

The actions described above demonstrate the versatility of the PAR approach. It accommodates local, self-directed, community initiatives as well as efforts toward macro-level structural outcomes. However, PAR is best known for increasing the countervailing power of oppressed or marginalized groups through defensive and assertive actions. In Latin America and Asia, where land and other resources have been keenly contested and where class and ethnic divisions are sharp, marginalized groups and their organizations have used PAR for macro-level empowerment-related movements and outcomes.

Guiding Tenets for Practice toward Empowerment

Speer and Hughey (1995) prescribe three tenets in their analysis of community organizations. First, empowerment is achieved through *organizational effectiveness*. All organizations usually operate in their own self-interest. There are often several competing self-interests, and usually the most powerful prevail. Many external forces such as the government, development agencies, funding sources, and other powerful outsiders act upon local communities and individuals. Some of these interactions are positive and beneficial and sanctioned

by community consensus. However, many of the interventions may be coercive. Thus, marginalized groups need effective organizations of their own that work for their interests, network with similar organizations, and compete effectively for resources. Effective organizations and networks serve as crucial constituencies and as sources of countervailing power, while internally they may serve as a laboratory wherein leadership skills, political skills, group problem solving abilities, peer support, and motivation skills are tested and honed (Kieffer, 1984). A reliance on organizational process has implications for DSC practice. Local leaders may need help in forming (or strengthening) organizations, in developing communication and problem-solving skills, and in information gathering and networking.

The second tenet specifies that effective organizations are sustained by *strong interpersonal relationships* (Speer and Hughey, 1995). Viable and self-sustaining organizations or communities are built from the ground up through interactions based on shared values. Indigenous and other established organizations, including religious organizations (see Chapters 7 and 8), are superior to ad hoc organizations built on temporal issues, however important the issues may be. In fact, research on GAD has long indicated that it is more effective to involve existing indigenous organizations than to create new ones (see Esman and Uphoff, 1984; Hoskins, 1980). Local value-based organizations with historic purpose do not atrophy when an immediate issue goes away, nor are they as vulnerable for takeover by individuals with personal agendas. Again, all this has useful implications for DSC personnel, as they must identify and align with existing groups that wield power locally. These may include organizations that formed originally for economic, political, cultural, or religious purposes. DSC professionals can assist in supporting and strengthening relationships through one-on-one communication. They can also facilitate processes of group problem identification via the use of contextually appropriate communication channels, whether indigenous media or modern media—such as video cameras, as in projects carried out in Nepal and the Fogo community in Canada (Belbase, 1994; Williamson, 1991), the photovoice project in Guatemala (Lykes, 2006), and creative uses of new information technologies such as mobile phones and the Internet.

The third tenet relates to individual empowerment and involves the concept of *action-reflection*. Individuals must activate their critical consciousness (Freire, 1970, 1973); however, they need to go

beyond reflection to social action as part of an organization. Organizations provide a context and process for cognitive and emotional insight, for challenging new ideas and for testing and evaluating actions and behaviors (Kieffer, 1984; Speer and Hughey, 1995; White, 1994; Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988). Over time, increased participation and reflection contributes to individual and community empowerment, as illustrated in liberation-oriented religious organizations and the case studies in chapters 7 and 8, and as discussed in the above section on PAR.

The communication and organizational implications of this tenet are immense for DSC practitioners. Some examples include the Mothering Project in Australia (Barrett, 2006) and the work of grassroots groups in India, South Africa, and the Philippines that have used empowerment communication strategies, drama, and other traditional media to facilitate critical awareness, identify real constraints, and plan collectively to overcome problems (Kidd, 1984; Mda, 1993; Van Hoosen, 1984). Leach and Sitaram (2010), however, show how easy it can be to overlook key constituents in an empowerment project. They show how an NGO micro-finance project that intended to empower low-caste Indian women in the silk-reeling industry actually worsened women's situation by excluding male relatives and sparking their hostility and resentment. Moreover, even if gender roles had been adequately addressed, the project would not have been sustainable due to competing economic interests that were not considered. Hence, as we discussed above and also in Chapter 9, it is critical that any empowerment project and associated PAR research assess relevant political, economic, and cultural constraints at all levels. DSC practitioners working with and/or within the context of religious organizations must certainly consider and make appropriate use of religious forms of communication in their work in collaboration with community leaders.

NICHE FOR DSC PROFESSIONALS IN THE EMPOWERMENT MODEL

In Chapter 9, we discussed the role of the DSC professional in participatory development for social change. Here, we extend that discussion and propose a niche for the DSC professional within the

empowerment model and working toward social justice. In Table 10.1, we delineated many communicative actions that DSC personnel could take up to build a vibrant public sphere, strengthen public debate, build capacity and equity, and strengthen the social capital of marginalized communities and individuals.

DSC professionals act primarily as communication resources and advocates for marginalized individuals and groups that need to access crucial resources and solve security problems (Wolff, 1987). These individuals and groups not only often lack access to media and ICTs but also may not possess skills or infrastructure to engage in public debate (Ryan and Jeffreys, 2012). DSC professionals can assist these people and organizations in: identifying and articulating possible solution alternatives, finding resources that may solve their security problems, and gaining access to relevant authorities that are crucial to meeting their needs or solving their problems.

Thus, the DSC professional can help extend people's environment by acting as a collaborator, facilitator, and, importantly, as an advocate. As a development support communicator, he/she is uniquely qualified to organize and lead groups, and also has the communication skills to train others to present issues cogently, to negotiate, and to resolve conflicts. The DSC professional should be more than just a communication specialist. He/she additionally should be: a social worker trained in community organization skills; an anthropologist and a social scientist trained in methods of research, particularly PAR; a manager trained in organizational development and strategic planning methods, problem-solving strategies, and the implementation and evaluation of social action programs (Biegel, 1984); and at times an artist with the creativity, intuition, and sensitivity to innovate in small ways that help people advance (Porrás, 2008).¹⁰

Fawcett et al. (1995: 686–687) provide a list of activities for facilitating the process of community empowerment. An abbreviated version is reproduced below and provides an excellent inventory of activities for DSC personnel:

- a. ***Activities that enhance experience and competence.*** Encourage listening sessions to identify local issues, resources, barriers, and alternatives; conduct surveys to identify community concerns and needs; create an inventory of community assets and resources; determine the incidence and prevalence of identified problems; provide training in leadership skills in collaboration with local

- leaders and others; provide assistance in creating action plans; provide consultation in the selection, design, and implementation of early projects.
- b. ***Enhancing group structure and capacity.*** Provide assistance in strategic planning; develop an organizational structure; recruit, develop, and support members and volunteers; and secure financial resources.
 - c. ***Removing social and environmental barriers.*** Conduct focus groups and use PAR strategies to assess interests of community members; make selective use of social marketing techniques to promote contextually appropriate programs, policies, and practices; provide training in conflict resolution; help develop media campaigns to counter arguments of opponents.
 - d. ***Enhancing environmental support and resources.*** Provide ongoing information and feedback about community change, behavior change, community satisfaction, and community-level outcomes; help locate and develop ties to existing community sectors, organizations, and groups; reinvent innovations to fit local needs, resources, and cultural traditions; arrange opportunities for networking among those with relevant experiential knowledge; provide access to outside experts on matters of local concern.

Rappaport (1981) suggested that human service professionals should identify empowerment tools through research, and then replicate and make these available to the public. Fawcett et al. (1984) illustrate such a role for human service professionals in creating, using and replicating tools to facilitate individual and community empowerment. They show how professionals and agencies have developed several tools such as: a concerns report of basic needs, a self-help guide, the consequence analysis method, the study circle method, and policy research. These enable them to: (a) increase knowledge of community problems and solution alternatives; (b) increase knowledge of possible consequences of public projects among people most affected; (c) involve consumers in the redesign of social programs to fit local needs and resources; and (d) develop and communicate research to increase the likelihood of actions regarding problems affecting the poor or otherwise disadvantaged.

Development as understood in the modernization paradigm usually aims for national, community, and individual economic betterment (Fawcett et al., 1995). While the objective is to bring about

beneficial change, the locus of control rests with people and organizations *outside* the community. Community *empowerment*, on the other hand, and as we have emphasized repeatedly, signifies a social change process where members of the community increasingly influence the agenda, design, and outcomes toward social justice (Mohan and Stokke, 2010; White, 2004). The locus of control in empowerment activities rests with community members. The DSC professional may have important roles to play, however, in the intervention process. The roles will include that of a facilitator and consultant throughout much of the process and that of an initiator and a leader in the initial stages. As should be the case with the external facilitator in PAR discussed earlier, the DSC professional's role eventually becomes redundant and he/she should then withdraw.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we wish to state some important caveats. First, empowerment for social justice is a long-term process. Structures of domination and their cumulative effects on societies cannot be removed in the short term. Therefore, empowerment strategies may not yield immediate results. Second, empowerment evolves through practice in real-life situations. It is constructed "primarily through actions in, and on, the environment" (Kieffer, 1984: 27–28). Third, it is a labor-intensive process. Fourth, the DSC professional may be significant, but is never the central figure in empowerment activities. The role of the DSC professional is that of a facilitator, collaborator, and advocate.

Social change is complex, disordered, and quite often, an uncontrollable process. Empowerment is a process that is well suited to deal with social change in general and with inequitable structures in particular. It provides individuals, communities, and organizations with the necessary skills, confidence, and countervailing power to deal effectively with change in a world that distributes needs, resources, and power unequally. Empowerment privileges multiple voices and perspectives and ideally facilitates an equal sharing of knowledge and solution alternatives among participants in change processes. Understanding that social change is inherently nonlinear and often chaotic cautions against putting our faith in models of communication and

evaluation that are linear and deterministic. Lessons learnt from participatory approaches such as PAR provide examples of open-ended and nondeterministic models that can help us move toward social justice.

NOTES

1. We are tempted to replace *development support communication* with *empowerment support communication*, as the term *development* carries negative baggage. However, as the term *development* (for social change) has remained in widespread use, we are comfortable with incorporating empowerment as an important objective within the development framework, as also noted in Chapter 1.
2. We make references to and discuss community/citizen media in other chapters in the book.
3. PAR has been influenced by the methodology of Paulo Freire.
4. In Latin America and Asia, land and other resources have been keenly contested and class and ethnic divisions have been sharp.
5. Again, we recognize that there are many more case studies. However, due to space constraints, we confine our attention to three examples.
6. This organization was popular in the 1980s. However, we have retained this example in the revised edition of this book as it still illustrates best practices relating to participatory strategies for empowerment.
7. The station was started by the Association Rurale de Lutte contre le Sida (ARLS), a women's NGO concerned with issues of HIV/AIDS, microcredit, and women's entrepreneurship. Now the station is supported by USAID funding as well. Thus far, there is no evidence that the USAID funding has compromised the structure, process, or content of Gindiku FM.
8. Her analysis included interviews, an audience survey, participant observation, focus groups, and an analysis of documents and program content.
9. The Internet has proven a useful tool in these efforts. The Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide uses the Internet to assist organizations in developing countries develop legal arguments and strategies to combat environmental hazards. For information, write to Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide, 1877 Garden, Eugene, OR 97403 USA, or see <http://www.elaw.org/>
10. Estella Porrás (2008) gives an excellent example of how development communicators in Colombia were able to help local people overcome their reticence to speak into a microphone, necessary for participating in community radio. They simply put a small yellow smiley face on the microphone, injecting humor and helping ease the fear.

CHAPTER 11

DEVCOM FOR EMPOWERMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

There can be no peace without justice, no democracy without equality, and no freedom without meaningful civic engagement by all segments of society.

Hartnett (2007: 207)

In this chapter, we revisit the two central concerns in this book: the increasing inequality between haves and have-nots globally, and a quest toward social justice in directed change. Our discussion and critique are centered on the following question: How can devcom play a useful role to address and counter inequality and injustice in global societies? First, we will revisit briefly issues related to critical development perspectives, especially the damaging effects of neoliberal policy regimes on progressive social change. We will then examine movements encompassing activist and radical social and political actions for progressive change, attempt to learn from their experiences and methodologies, and distill communicative actions they employ to achieve social justice outcomes. Finally, we will present a conceptual framework to describe the roles devcom could play to address and counter inequality and injustice in directed change.

CRITICAL DEVELOPMENT STUDY

Today we face grave risks and dangers to our ontological security. Some of these are global such as the threats of: nuclear annihilation, ecological crises brought on by global warming and the reckless pollution and mismanagement of our common resources, and a global economic collapse. While these global dangers are real and need to be

confronted, we wish to focus on risks and dangers that are differentially distributed around the globe between privileged and marginalized individuals and communities. For example, a cursory glance at the MDGs (UNDP, 2010) will show that millions of people are still exposed to life-threatening diseases, malnutrition, hunger, and other debilitating conditions, and have no access to basic resources, such as education and health care, or are otherwise denied opportunities to live full lives as expressive beings. As many observers have noted, it is imperative that we recognize this injustice and act to address the unevenness of development effects and the discriminatory character of most directed change efforts (Sen and Dreze, 2013). Of immediate relevance is the damaging impact of neoliberalism. As discussed extensively earlier, neoliberal political-economic regimes have distributed their rewards and penalties along entrenched lines of social, political, economic, and geographic divisions, creating distinct classes of winners and losers (Tomlinson, 1999).

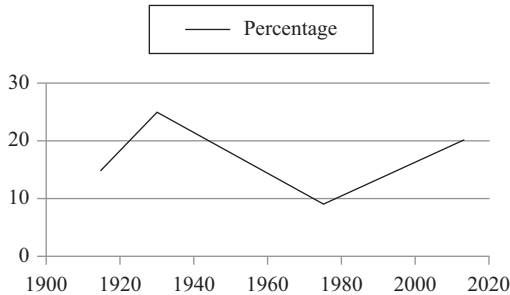
Economic Globalization

At the dawn of the 21st century, the neoliberal paradigm of directed change, influenced by a policy regime dominated by global market-based and supply-side economic theories, has brought new challenges to progressive change. In the last 40 years, the rise in income inequality and individual opportunity has seen a dramatic increase globally (*Economist*, October 13, 2012; Milanovic, 2011b; Piketty, 2014; Rajan, 2010; Sen and Dreze, 2013; Stiglitz, 2012).¹ Not coincidentally, and as noted earlier, this period matches well with the establishment and ascendance of neoliberal policy regimes around the world. The First Gilded Age that occurred during the 19th century in the US is often used as an example of great inequality in incomes and wealth. However, since the 1970s, the dominance of the neoliberal policy regime shows similar inequalities, earning the moniker of the Second Gilded Age.

Inequality (Gini) curves within countries have historically revealed a pattern that resembles a \cap -shaped curve, computed by Kuznet. It predicted accurately until about 1980. Inequality within countries showed a sharp rise in the early decades of industrialization (mostly in the 19th century), but in later stages (starting around the 1930s),

Figure 11.1

Top 1 Percent Income Share

**Source:** Authors.

the trend reversed, showing a gradual decrease in inequality until about 1980. The income share of the top 1 percent of the population decreased steadily from a high in the 1920s to a low in the mid-1970s, a period when social Keynesianism was in vogue in most countries.

However, starting in the 1980s, Kuznet's curve was an inaccurate predictor as inequality showed a sharp upward trend (see Figure 11.1), coinciding with the rise of neoliberal policy regimes (*Economist*, October 13, 2012). "Between 1979 and 2007 the real disposable income after taxes and transfers of the top 1% of Americans more than quadrupled, a cumulative rise of over 300%. Over the same period the bottom fifth's income rose by only 40%" (*Economist*, October 13, 2012: 12; see also, Milanovic, 2011a). The alignment of these reverse economic trends with the rise of neoliberal policy regimes has led many critics to blame globalization and the concomitant revolution in IT. IT certainly has helped accelerate globalization and its effects by enabling the integration of capital markets around the globe (Flew, 2007). "Information technology is the privileged technology of neoliberalism. It is far more useful for speculative activity and for maximizing the number of short-term market contracts than for improving production" (Harvey, 2005: 159).² However, the growing "wealth concentration and the resulting inequality is inherent to capitalism," which has been exacerbated by neoliberal policy regimes around the world (*Economist*, May 3, 2014: 12; also see Piketty, 2014).

Global economic growth rates too have been anemic under neoliberalism. In the US, growth rates of nearly 3.5 percent in the 1960s

and 2.4 percent in the 1970s dropped steadily to about 1 percent in the years following 2000 (Harvey, 2005).³ Prominent critics such as Harvey (2005) maintain that neoliberalism is a political project to empower the economic elites. The Washington Consensus (see Box 5.1), comprising the IMF, WB, and the US government and its Treasury Department, has put a framework in place that favors neoliberal policy prescriptions (*Economist*, October 13, 2012; Peet, 2007). Neoliberal principles and biases have been systematically applied by powerful states and supranational bodies to restore or sustain their elite power. Though neoliberal theory favors a small and non-interventionist state, in actual practice, the power of the state has been employed to coerce recalcitrant players to protect the rights of private property owners, entrepreneurs, banks, and corporations—not the general public (Stiglitz, 2012). At another level, rich capitalist countries, large banks, and economic elites benefited from the “surpluses extracted from the rest of the world through international flows and structural adjustment practices” (Harvey, 2005: 31).

Neoliberal discourse enshrines the freedom of the lone individual to serve a free market. This individual is viewed as a rational, economic actor in the service of the free enterprise system. “It reduces and depoliticizes social life into a series of individual pursuits and cost–benefit analyses, rather than toward social responsibility and ideas of the good life as collectively defined” (Gautney, 2010: 35). Planning by the state to achieve agreed-upon objectives and ensuring the social welfare of its citizens are increasingly seen as an attack on freedom (Peet, 2007). Thus, attempts by progressive groups to set up organizational requirements for social justice are viewed as constraints on freedom. This is a perverse kind of freedom that “negates the freedoms associated with cooperative forms of organization and structure, commons, and community life” (Gautney, 2010: 38).

Matthew Arnold coined the pithy statement, “Freedom is a very good horse to ride, but to ride somewhere” (Harvey, 2005: 6). Within neoliberal regimes, it seems that the freedom horse is headed in the wrong direction for many: working classes, the poor, women, the elderly, and other vulnerable populations globally (Dutta, 2012). As Polanyi (1954) aptly commented long ago, the concept of freedom

thus degenerates into a mere advocacy of free enterprise...the fullness of freedom for those whose income, leisure and security need no enhancing,

and a mere pittance of liberty for the people, who may in vain attempt to make use of their democratic rights to gain shelter from the power of the owners of property. (As cited in Harvey, 2005: 37)

The scenario described earlier begs crucial questions: What are the alternatives to neoliberal models of directed change? What should be the place and role of devcom in alternative models? We will address these questions following a discussion of a critical theory for social justice in directed change.

Toward a Critical Theory for Social Justice in Directed Change

Anthony Giddens (1990: 153) asked, “What should a critical theory without guarantees look like in the late twentieth century?” He answered by elaborating a model of a society beyond the national space and stretching from the local to the global and also by recognizing that emancipatory politics should be paired with politics of life or self-actualization. He describes emancipatory politics as *freedom from* inequality and servitude, while life politics describes *freedom to* explore one’s individual (or group) potential and live an effective and meaningful life as an expressive human being.⁴

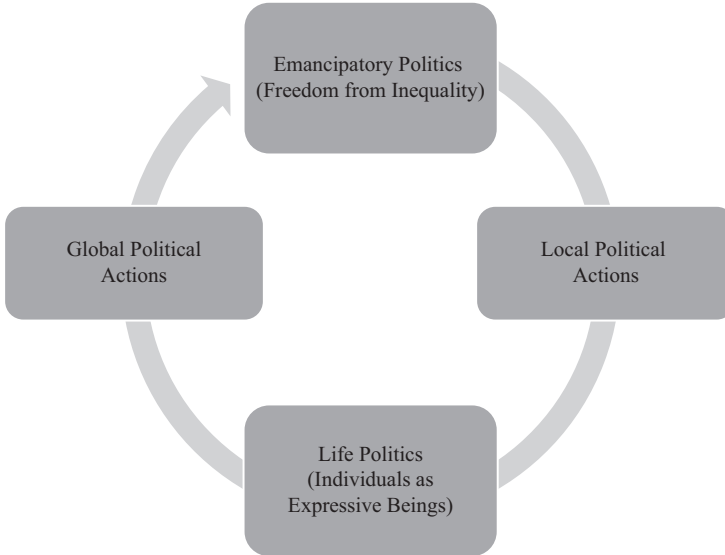
In our representation of Giddens’ schema (see Figure 11.2), emancipatory and life politics constitute one axis, and the other intersecting axis stretches from the local to a global context. Thus, we are sensitized to the idea that social justice involves not only freedom from the effects of unequal development, but also freedom to enhance the capacity of each person to live a meaningful life. We advocate this concept of social justice at all levels, ranging from the local to global.

Social and Political Action and Mobilization

Giddens (1990) outlines four common adaptive responses to the many crises in the global epoch: pragmatic acceptance (accept and move on); sustained optimism (things will be fine because risks and dangers will eventually fade away); cynical pessimism (things are bad so let us at least find some humor in them); and radical engagement, which

Figure 11.2

Dimensions of Political Actions in Directed Change



Source: Adapted from Giddens (1990).

is our choice. Radical engagement references both an attitude and action. We describe radical engagement as sustained and contestatory action for crafting of alternate futures and seeking social justice. Radical engagement goes beyond rational analyses and discussions to social and political action and mobilization for social justice in directed change.

A historically important vehicle for active and radical engagement is the social movement (Giddens, 1990). The labor movement, which fought for the rights of workers, was crucial during the years of industrialization and capitalistic expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries. Often, the labor movement was also a major advocate for individual freedoms, especially of the common man and woman, and for democratic rights. Other successful movements have included those for individual rights and freedom including democratic choice, peace movements, civil rights movements, feminist movements, and ecology-related movements (ibid.).

Contemporary challenges have spawned other civil society movements. Harvey (2005: 200) comments that the “effect of such movements has been to shift the terrain of political organization away from traditional political parties and labor organizing into a less focused political dynamic of social action across the whole spectrum of civil society.” Civil society movements are anchored in specific issues and represent constituencies that may be local, glocal, or global. The ideas and alternatives posed by contemporary social movements cover emancipatory politics as well as politics of self-actualization. In terms of emancipatory politics, various coalitions and movements that we will describe are involved in contestory engagement with global, national-state, and regional actors/institutions, and other national/global power holders (such as IMF, WB, WTO, powerful nations, state governments, multinational corporations, etc.) to seek social, economic, cultural, and environmental justice for affected and vulnerable individuals and communities. Issues include reclaiming of the commons, confronting the forces of neoliberalism responsible for the retreat of the state from providing social safety nets, and practices and policies that are damaging to local cultures, environments, or ways of life. Movements involved with the politics of self-actualization, on the other hand, deal with the rich diversity in people’s lives and attempt to protect them in the face of universalizing and normalizing tendencies. Interests could range from one’s political and religious beliefs, to sexual orientation, to unique identities including gender identity, and accompanying cultural/social/economic practices. New social movements in this area include local fair trade groups, local exchange and trading systems (LETS), ethical consumerism groups, alternate lifestyle groups, new age ecology groups, and many others (Tomlinson, 1999).

ALTERNATIVES TO THE NEOLIBERAL MODEL OF DIRECTED CHANGE

Below, we will examine varied and overlapping movements for social justice, including antiauthoritarian movements, NGOs working for progressive change, movements incorporating resistance communication and media mobilization for progressive change, activist

networks for change, and others, to understand the nature of their work, ethics, and methodologies, and also to learn best practices of social and political action toward the achievement of social justice outcomes. Another important objective is to distill from these movements the roles and outcomes of communicative actions in directed change, thereby documenting the important roles media and communication play in oppositional programs and other radical engagements for social justice.⁵

World Social Forum (WSF)

A large group of social movements that were united in their protests against the neoliberal political regimes and their harmful effects on people and communities around the globe came together in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in early 2001 to form a people's forum. This summit attended by about 20,000 participants from 117 countries was timed to counter the summit of the World Economic Forum (WEF) held in Davos, Switzerland (Gautney, 2010).

The WSF adopted a Charter of Principles that it released in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in April 2001 describing itself as an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences, and coalition building for action, by groups and movements opposed to neoliberalism and to the domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism (World Social Forum, 2006). Since the Porto Alegre forum, the WSF has organized forums annually in several locations around the world that include Mumbai (India), Caracas (Venezuela), Bamako (Mali), Karachi (Pakistan), Nairobi (Kenya), and Belem (Brazil).

The WSF has been conceived as a social encounter in opposition to the economic globalization principles and practices of the WEF (see Box 11.1). Communicative actions by WSF include social mobilization, networking, advocacy communication, resistance communication, media mobilization, participatory action, and other strategies to create active public discussion and debate among civil society organizations, and, thus, provide a vibrant democratic public sphere. As articulated in the Charter of Principles, important objectives include (*ibid.*):

Box 11.1**Snapshot of the World Economic Forum, 2014**

The World Economic Forum (WEF) is a premier meeting place for the top global leaders in business, industry, government, academia, and journalism. The WEF meets annually (usually in the Winter) in Davos, a resort town nestled in the Alps in Switzerland. It invites a couple of thousand leaders and selected intellectuals to discuss and debate important and pressing global issues, including development subjects such as health and the environment. WEF calls itself an autonomous organization, which is committed to directed change by engaging leaders in the political, economic, business, academic, and other civil society sectors to influence global agendas, usually in agreement with neoliberal economic and political principles and strategies.

The WEF has become an influential body for supporting and sustaining neoliberal policies and practices. At the WEF meeting in January 2014, 2,622 delegates were invited. The following breakdown shows the globally non-representative nature of these invitees:

- About 15% were women
- Two-thirds of the delegates were from Western countries (that make up 12% of the global population)
- 60% (1,595 delegates) represented the business world and 14% (364 delegates) were from government
- The 46 presidents and prime ministers at the summit represented 1.8 billion of the globe's 7.1 billion population
- Total worth of the 15 richest delegates was about US\$285 billion
- Stock market value of companies represented was about US\$12 trillion (about one-fifth of the global total)
- Academicians invited mostly represented the elite universities in the world (Harvard, MIT, Columbia, Oxford, University of Pennsylvania, INSEAD, Cambridge, and Yale).

Source: Compiled from *The Economist* (January 24, 2014: 51) and other sources.

- Bringing together organizations and civil society movements from all over the world;
- Circulating decisions taken by the Forum's movements and organizations widely in a democratic and nonhierarchical manner;
- Networking organizations and movements engaged in contestatory action at all levels from the local to global to build alternate futures;
- Providing an open space to promote reflective thinking and a democratic debate of civil society groups on various aspects of neoliberalism;
- Incubating ideas that prompt reflection of the social conditions produced by neoliberal globalization and circulate the results of the reflexive process in a transparent manner;
- Serving as a framework for the exchange of experiences by encouraging understanding and mutual recognition among constituent groups;
- Fostering an alternative social order in which economic activity is used to meet the needs of people and communities in an environmentally sustainable manner; and
- Most fundamentally, forging national and global links among progressive organizations and movements to empower nonviolent social resistance to the destructive outcomes of neoliberal policy regimes.

The WSF is an attempt by protest movements to put forward specific social and political goals that go beyond protest and opposition. Essentially, the WSF constitutes a global alliance to challenge a unique avatar of globalization incubated by neoliberal regimes (Klein, 2002). It functions as a meeting place for social movements and organizations. As such, it does not have a hierarchical structure nor does it espouse a homogenous political position.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

The term NGO originated with the UN when it accorded consultative status to civil society organizations not associated with state governments or corporate entities.⁶ Today, there are thousands of

NGOs involved in activities that include providing direct services such as family planning, health care, housing, water and sanitation resources, medical aid, foreign aid, disaster aid relief, rural and urban development, environmental justice, human rights, social welfare, free fair trade, debt relief, civic globalization, and much more.

The communicative actions of NGOs comprise advocacy communication campaigns, information politics (using information to effect policy changes or seek support), social mobilization, media mobilization, participatory action, lobbying, expanding the independent public sphere, education, cultural production, developing critical consciousness, resistance communication, shaping public opinion through powerful media campaigns, active networking with grassroots groups, targeting policy makers at national/global levels, and much more.

Examples of NGOs that have undertaken radical actions against global or national actors and other power holders include (see Gautney, 2010):

- *Amnesty International*, which employs mobilization of public opinion plus media mobilization to achieve its goals in repressing political persecution;
- *Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC)*, which engages in political lobby efforts and other forms of resistance communication, often contentiously, with politicians and neoliberal governments and institutions;
- *Greenpeace*, which engages in advocacy communication and media mobilization to highlight its efforts to stop environmental degradation;
- *Save the Children*, which has employed media campaigns, advocacy communication, and information politics to protect the interests of children;
- *Human Rights Watch*, which engages in media mobilization to highlight human rights abuses committed by governments and force changes in policies; and
- *Bern Declaration*, which used social mobilization techniques to expand global public communication and democratic debate by organizing *Public Eye on Davos*, a counter-summit to the high-profile WEF summit to “demand increased transparency

and accountability on (global) trade and financial decisions” (Gautney, 2010: 95).

The communicative actions and other political programs undertaken by these and other NGOs are usually to strengthen and empower civil society to act as a check on powerful governments, corporations, and other institutions. However, NGOs are vulnerable to corruption (Masilela, 1994). Further, NGOs need to attract donations in order to survive. Too often fund-raising has produced an *NGO-media* collusion whereby media are provided with vital sources while reinforcing or reproducing homogenous and negative representations of developing countries (Rothmyer, 2011). Critics contend that the work of most NGOs is not counter-hegemonic. In the next section, we will highlight the work of antiauthoritarian social movements and networks that directly challenge the hegemonic order and aim to build a new order in line with their image of a progressive society.

Antiauthoritarian Social Movements

These movements are comprised of anarchists and autonomists, who gained notoriety in the massive street protests against the WTO in Seattle in 1999. The media attention captured by these groups generally cast them (inaccurately) as young, rowdy vandals without a credible political philosophy or organization. Anarchists are activists who are antistatist, anticapitalist, and antiglobalization in their orientation and believe in radical actions to bring about directed change (Epstein, 2001). They do not believe that social change is teleological. Thus, they reject the grand narrative of orderly change, as employed in modernization theories. Their political philosophy emerges from both the libertarian tradition and autonomist Marxism (Graeber, 2002; Wright, 2002).

Gautney (2010) posits that anarchist praxis includes decentralized organization, mutual aid, voluntary forms of association, and direct action. Deeply suspicious of the state and its enormous power, anarchists reject politics favored by states and seek alternate futures through direct action, which could include demonstrations, protests, other forms of resistance communication, and practices such as

squatting in public places, creation of oppositional communities, self-help cooperative projects, civil disobedience, self-defense, teach-ins, political street art, marches, rallies, and vigils.

Direct action as a form of contestory engagement with power holders has had a long history. Gandhi used nonviolent direct action against the British colonialists in India. Other notable examples include: actions by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr and other US activists for racial integration and justice; the Solidarity Movement in Poland for political rights and freedom of speech; and the Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing, China, for political and economic reforms. Direct action has been employed since the 1960s by radical feminists, radical student groups, antinuclear movements, and punk groups against an authoritarian and patriarchal state (Gautney, 2010). Actions typically are organized within small affinity groups where members commit to and depend on each other. These affinity groups have been fairly successful in mounting protests and demonstrations at the summits of G8 (Group of Eight), WTO, Free Trade Area of the Americas, (FTAA) and WB meetings around the world (*ibid.*).

Other radical anarchist groups such as the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front have engaged in more radical strategies such as ecotage or acts of sabotage to protect the environment or animals against the authoritarianism of corporations and the state. Ecotage goes a step beyond civil disobedience but is nonviolent (Starr, 2006). A prominent example is the Chipko Movement in northeastern India in the 1970s, when local residents of a forest area hugged trees to prevent them from being felled by commercial loggers (Shah, 2008). In the post-9/11 environment, these defensive actions are often considered as acts of terrorism; however, as Starr (2006: 64–65) cautions, “Sabotage has been used by progressive movements throughout history, from labor struggles in the late 19th century to the antiapartheid movement in South Africa and antinuclear power activity in Germany and elsewhere.”

Social anarchists insist on democratic control over one’s life and life’s necessities, oppose private ownership of property, and believe in the re-appropriation of the collective commons by the people (Gautney, 2010). This is a throwback to an earlier time in history when people had direct access to social wealth not mediated by the commodifying practices of the market (DeAngelis, 2004). Today, some of these ideas and beliefs are played out in “contemporary anti-advertising campaigns,

street and subway raves, open source software, and other forms of Internet pirating in which people trade commodities, like music and film, instead of buying them from multinational corporations” (Gautney, 2010: 129; also see Hardt and Negri, 2004; Klein, 2001). The disappearance or the shrinking of traditional public spaces and public meeting places has led to a unique form of reclaiming the commons through the practice of land-squatting or taking over empty stretches of urban areas left vacant by businesses that have shut down or moved away. This was first popularized by anarchists in Italy in the 1970s and resulted in the Social Center Movement (Mudu, 2004). These social centers were used to provide a number of public services such as housing for the homeless and shelters for battered women, as well as places where people could congregate for music bands, public theater, public meetings, and other events (Gautney, 2010). Similar phenomena have emerged in other bleak cityscapes around the world. Rosati (2012: 95–96) recounts the story of Mark Covington, a community gardener and a social activist in the city of Detroit, USA,

who had gained international notoriety for the community garden, orchard, farm, library, and meeting/technology center that he developed in a neglected and underdeveloped part of the city.... In his impoverished neighborhood, Covington’s work on the land and his interactions with various networked communities through class visits, volunteering, web discussion forums, and so on, have created a kind of *communicative geography*—the construction of geographic knowledge to communicate it towards a particular goal—of anti-poverty. (Emphasis added)

Activities such as the above, where activists provide vital services to the public, are informed by a belief in the reinvigoration of the commons. Groups such as the US-based *Food Not Bombs* have picked up unconsumed food from commercial and other establishments and served them free to the poor and/or victims of disasters, such as 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City, the tsunami in Sri Lanka, and Hurricane Katrina in the US (Gautney, 2010).

Earlier, we referred to life politics or the politics of self-actualization, that is, the freedom to explore one’s individual potential to live a fulfilling life as an expressive human being. One strand of anarchism, termed lifestyle anarchism, centralizes the politics of self-actualization, sometimes to the extreme. Lifestylers believe in the freedom of

self-determination and control over all facets of social life including its demands and obligations. Their political philosophy is attributed to the egoism of Max Stirner and to 19th century Bohemians who differentiated themselves from mainstream society through resistance communication such as uniquely different lifestyles that included non-conformist clothing (Gautney, 2010). Hakim Bey (1991), another influential lifestyle anarchist, is known for his essay on Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ). TAZ are spaces in which one can escape from the social control of mainstream society to seek release and self-actualization. Bey is known for the creation of flash mobs, “in which groups of mostly strangers engage in nonsensical concerted actions, such as meeting in public places dressed in silly outfits or freezing like statues at an agreed upon moment in frequently traveled avenues like New York’s Grand Central Station or shopping malls” (Gautney, 2010: 115). Punk groups, on the other hand, conflate lifestyle anarchism with social activism. They exhibit their dislike of authority structures and mainstream cultural values and norms by publicly disowning and violating dominant fashions, music, and behaviors. They have created unique musical styles, clothing, and other artifacts as a form of protest against the status quo of mainstream society’s cultural norms. Gautney (2010: 116) posits that “punk and bohemianism operated as social formations that exercised their power through the collective resistance of authority structures manifest in cultural norms and values.” Tomlinson (1999: 88) refers to these actions as local resistance to a globalizing capitalism with its attendant deep consumerism and offers examples of counter-cultural movements such as ethical consumerism, fair trade movements, and alternate economic arrangements.

Media Mobilization for Social and Political Action

Media mobilization on behalf of social activism is an important factor in progressive social change. This involves both the production of media with activist content and seeking support of mainstream media for activist causes (Goodman, 2003; McHale, 2007). Media mobilization has been employed to: lobby influential persons, groups, and institutions; inform and educate citizens; facilitate advocacy efforts on behalf of victims of injustice; and seek support of mainstream media to

further these objectives. The potential of the media as catalysts in critical social change has been extolled by many. In social movement literature, media have been variously described as the *master forum*, a major site of political contest, and an important political space in our information age (Castells, 2004; Gamson, 1998; Ryan and Jeffreys, 2012).

There are countless examples of how social movement actors have used the media to further an activist agenda. We provide one, which deals with an environmental problem caused by a huge factory farm called *Buckeye Eggs* in the home state of one of the authors. The untreated waste and other irregularities from the chicken farm robbed the residents in the nearby counties in central Ohio of clean air and water, while also unleashing a fly and beetle infestation of biblical proportions (Drake, 2012). The local grassroots coalition called the Concerned Citizens of Central Ohio waged a protracted fight against Buckeye Eggs using activist communications strategy and mobilizing the print media, including the local newspaper *The Marion Star* and national media such as the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and national television, to publicize the environmental danger created by factory farms, and to advocate increased government regulations of such industrialized farming.

There is a rich tradition of using video/film documentary as a medium for protest and social transformation. Grounded theory has shown that video/film has special features such as multiple cues, a variety of language styles ranging from formal to casual, and a personal character that can be effective in creating awareness, generating enthusiasm, and motivating audiences (McHale, 2007). In the early part of the 20th century, documentary filmmakers such as John Grierson in Britain and Pare Lorentz in the US sought to increase awareness about social issues and to promote change by focusing on poverty and degrading social conditions. More recently, films such as Michael Moore's *Bowling for Columbine*, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, and *Sicko*, and Errol Morris's *Fog of War* and *Thin Blue Line* have focused on critical issues of injustice in society and have been successful in elevating public consciousness on many pressing problems (McHale, 2007). Documentary films have been used effectively in social movements seeking progressive change on issues such as fair public housing, environmental hazards caused by industrialized *factory farms* or by strip mining, and countless other causes such as safe work places, anti-death penalty, and more (McHale, 2007; Whiteman, 2004).

Locally based and produced participatory theater and similar folk forms constitute other examples of activist media that have the potential to not only raise community awareness of inequities but also involve the community in a public dialogue to examine disempowering and empowering norms and practices. Activist theater groups employing Paolo Freire's and Augusto Boal's critical methodologies have staged plays in urban and rural areas in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean to develop counter-narratives to resist social norms and practices perpetuating unequal social and cultural relationships in their societies. Participatory folk theater around the world has provided entertainment mixed with a social critique of dominant norms and practices that sanction inequality and marginalization based on gender, caste, ethnicity, and other factors (Harter et al., 2007; Tufte, 2012). These activist communication forms have conscientized local communities to inequities and injustice and in the process have created or recreated identities and practices to promote progressive change and build social capital. They also exemplify the role and potential of non-text-centric media in development (Sharma, 2012).

In summary, media provide important channels for social movements to create visibility to their causes, shape audience opinions, and influence power holders. However, many critical scholars and communication activists warn that the mass media are not neutral in these contests but are instead strongly connected to the transnational economy and the neoliberal policy regimes (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Herman and McChesney, 1997). This fact requires effective strategies on the part of movement organizers to effectively tap the mass media without sparking a backlash or other serious consequences. Ryan and Jeffreys (2012: 186) suggest several strategies for social movement actors to mount effective and sustained protests for social justice such as enabling access to mainstream and movement-controlled media, building of cultural resonances with concepts such as equality and rights, and active use of social networks and other allies in protest movements.

Communication Networks for Change

In Chapter 3, we discussed at length the complex connectivity brought about by globalization in the 21st century. Robertson (1992: 8) has

described globalization as “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” What does this imply for global cultural politics? Of particular importance is the role of new media and ICTs. They constitute a double-edged sword because on the one hand, these penetrating technologies have forever removed the security of locality, but on the other hand, they simultaneously make possible new forms of global cultural politics:

[A] sense of our mutual interdependency combined with the means for communicating across distance is producing new forms of cultural/political alliance and solidarity...the global perspective of the ‘new social movements’ may prove to be embryonic forms of a wider, more powerful order of social resistance to the repressive acts of globalization. (Tomlinson, 1999: 30)

Reed’s Law states that the utility of a social network increases exponentially on the Internet, thus, providing users with a very powerful vehicle for activism (Pavlik and McIntosh, 2011). Castells (1996) has predicted the power of networks and their flows to eclipse the importance of physical places. He predicts that the fundamental nature of societies would be reset by media, information, and communication networks and flows in the 21st century, giving rise to the networked society. Thus, inclusion in digital networks means visibility, control, and power, while noninclusion signifies disempowerment. These ideas directly support organizing and networking for social action by localities, be they spatially organized or affinity-based.

Globalization scholars have invoked the phenomenon of glocalization in observing the insertion of local identity into global networks, making it possible to coordinate and promote the identities, perspectives, and rights of local spatial and affinity-based communities in global solidarity networks and political movements (Kraidy, 2003; Robertson, 1995). Escobar (2000) argues that when localities insert themselves in global networks, they become *glocalities*, which are neither local nor global. He cites indigenous people’s movements in the Americas, which have successfully exploited the Internet for projecting their identity and their politics to the global level. Networking makes possible global coalitions of interests that may speak against powerful players and institutions. Local activism, therefore, has the potential of rapid geographic dispersion through digital networks leading to multiplier effects (Palmer, 2007). Conversely, local activism

can gain strength from global activism via technological networks (Hartnett, 2007). *Act locally, influence globally* should be the slogan for the new century. Several examples of social and political actions buttress these ideas (Palmer, 2007):

- In 1994, Zapatistas, the indigenous people of the Chiapas region in Mexico successfully exploited the potential of the Internet to bring their story of injustice to the world and at once turned global attention on the repressive actions of the Mexican government officials who were acting as agents for a neoliberal order (see also Chapter 6).
- The infamous Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) was crafted in 1995–1998 by a few powerful global players and countries to protect and expand their interests without any consultation with global civil society, even though its effects would have been disastrous. In 1998, networks and coalitions of resistance globally prevented this accord from being signed into a binding agreement.
- In 2003, hundreds of thousands of people all over the world marched against the Iraq War—in Australia, Japan, Syria, Italy, Germany, France, Spain, US, and other countries, making it the largest coordinated political protest in recent memory (Hartnett, 2007).
- Antiglobalization social movements mounted significant popular protests against the forces of neoliberalism in Seoul, South Korea (1997), Prague, Czech Republic (2000), Genoa, Italy (2001), Buenos Aires, Argentina (2002), Quebec City, Canada (2001), and Cancun, Mexico (2003).
- The activist groups *Access Now* and *Fight for the Future*, along with other groups, were successful in rejecting a new ITU-sponsored global treaty on Internet governance in 2012, which was feared to increase the surveillance capacities of governments on Internet traffic.
- In the US, online activists such as *Aavaaz*, *Fight for the Future*, *Demand Progress*, and others defeated the Hollywood-influenced antipiracy legislation (Stop Online Piracy Act [SOPA]) in 2011–2012 by organizing millions of net users and other citizens to protest over the Internet.

- In the Philippines, activists organized a campaign to protest a cybercrime law, which influenced the country's Supreme Court to put the law on hold (*Economist*, January 5, 2013).
- In Brazil, the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB), a grassroots organization, is involved in ongoing protests and challenges to the government and big companies that are planning to build huge hydroelectric dams, which are environmentally destructive and would displace thousands of indigenous and Afro-descendant communities.

Cyber activism has become a global norm. There are new tools, techniques, and tactics available now for net users to organize, voice their opinions, take on new identities, and protest, thus, potentially empowering them as political actors. Globally, social media websites, smartphones, and Twitter are currently significant in terms of influencing, networking, and sharing (see Box 11.2).

Box 11.2
Crowd Sourcing 2.0

Moveon.Org, Change.org, and Avaaz.org are groups that have successfully used the Internet to organize for political actions. Most of these activist groups are charities. *MoveOn* is a community of more than 7 million Americans that uses online tools to lead and participate in campaigns for progressive change (www.moveon.org). Moveon has created opportunities for regular folks to participate in the political process and have an influence. Change.org is the world's largest petition platform, empowering people all over the globe to craft the change they want to see. According to its website, there are more than 25 million Change.org users in 196 countries.

Every day people use our tools to transform their communities—locally, nationally and globally. Whether it's a mother fighting bullying in her daughter's school, customers pressing banks to drop unfair fees, or citizens holding corrupt officials to account, thousands of campaigns started by people like you have won (www.change.org).

(Box 11.2 contd.)

(Box 11.2 contd.)

Avaaz is a global web movement to bring people-powered politics to decision-making everywhere. Avaaz empowers millions of people from all walks of life to take action on pressing global, regional, and national issues, from corruption and poverty to conflict and climate change (www.avaaz.org). For-profit outfits such as Purpose.com are now being set up to incubate progressive ideas and organize social missions. Recently, Purpose.com has organized protests for activist groups on issues such as a campaign to eliminate nuclear weapons, scrapping a law in Sweden that required sterilization of people who had had a sex change, and temporarily saving a local high school in Rio de Janeiro (*Meu Rio*) from being demolished to make way for buildings for the 2016 Olympic Games. In addition, this group is providing consulting services to charities such as Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and American Civil Liberties Union to build mass movements for social causes that include provision of clean water and green projects using solar power. It is planning to export local anti-corruption campaigns such as the *Meu Rio* model to other places around the world. In addition, it is making available open-source campaign tools free. One such tool will help activists to quickly form flash mobs.

Source: Compiled from a report in the *Economist* (January 26, 2013: 60).

Gerbaudo (2012) argues that activists' use of Twitter and Facebook extends cyberspace to real places. Examples show how social media have been used as part of a project to reappropriate public space, which involves the assembling of different groups around *occupied* places such as Cairo's Tahrir Square and New York City's Zuccotti Park.

Hardt and Negri (2004) provide a useful description of a network methodology employed by the activist group, the Direct Action Network (DAN). In this network, "each local struggle functions as a node that communicates with all the other nodes without any hub or center of intelligence. Each struggle remains singular and tied to its local conditions but at the same time is immersed in the common web" (ibid.: 217). Numerous affinity groups and

other movements such as the Rainforest Action Network, Green Party, AIDS Housing Network, and Public Citizen have used DAN to achieve specific action outcomes of resistance like occupying a public place, civil disobedience, and conducting teach-ins (Gautney, 2010). Other networks include the Peoples' Global Action (PGA) and *Via Campesina* that have played pivotal roles in contestory engagement and struggle with global power holders for social justice. These networks have provided powerful roles and identities for local actors who were previously scattered, remote, passive, and marginalized in order to empower them as active agents of change in coalitions of resistance to the neoliberal political regimes.

Escobar (2000) argues that information and communication networks have proved to be effective tools for local places and interest groups in their struggle against globalizing forces. Networks are the new currency for progressive change. They have become important vehicles for emancipatory politics and practices by indigenous actors and affinity based groups to reassert the importance of place and all its attendant features such as local knowledge, practices, lifestyles, norms, and culture. The movements are producing new actors, ideas, practices, and identities attempting to focus political discourse on local people and their human rights. These new actors are networking with other local places and creating *supraplaces* and glocalities that aim to protect and sustain unique local cultures and interests against the globalizing tendencies of powerful groups to normalize and standardize. Escobar (2000) further attests that these movements are bottom-up and tied to local places and practices, that is, sites of labor and marginalization, rather than the *universal and placeless interventions* and practices of global forces. In politics of self-actualization, social networking is providing a means for local voices, places, practices, and interests to preserve and further their unique identities and cultures.

DEVCOM FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN DIRECTED CHANGE: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Following Giddens' ideas on a theory of critical change and distilling the communicative actions of progressive organizations and movements, we present a conceptual framework below to describe the roles devcom could play to address and counter inequality and injustice in

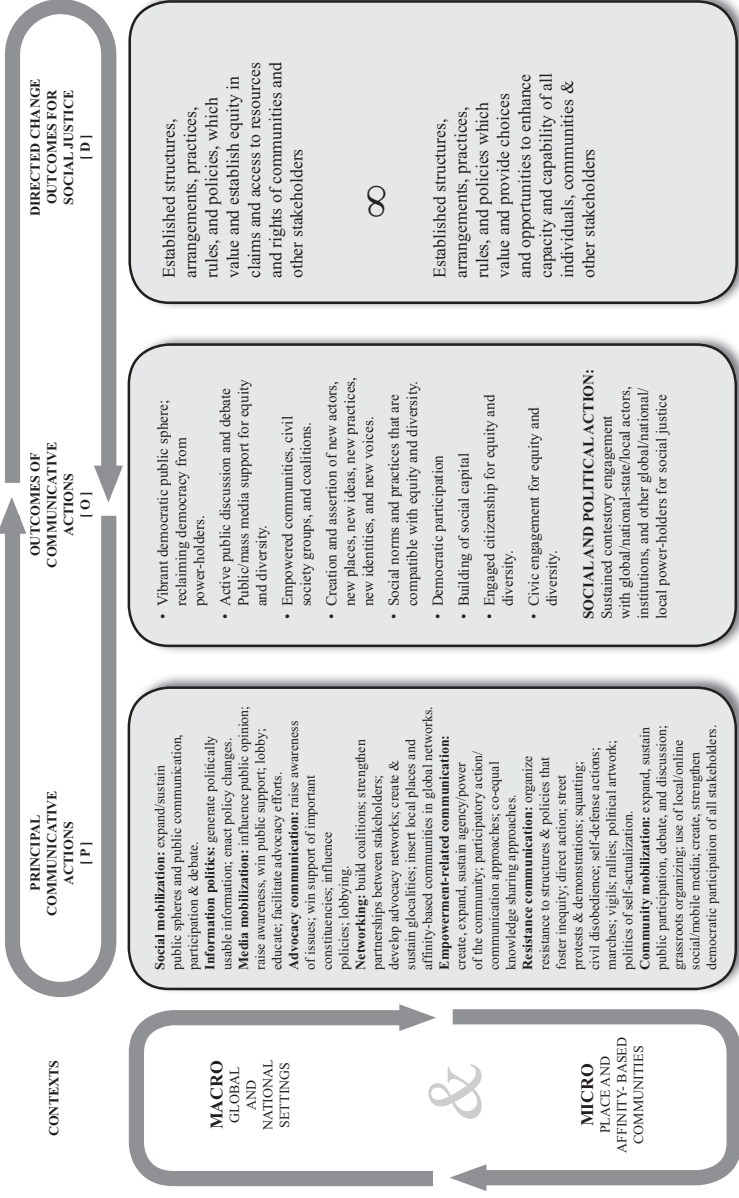
directed change. These roles would include emancipatory political and social action (as evidenced by *freedom from* underdevelopment, inequality, and servitude), and the politics of self-actualization or life politics (described as *freedom to* explore one's individual/group potential and live an effective and meaningful life as an expressive human being). In this framework, we will be stepping out of the traditional box within which devcom activities and goals have been contextualized in the past and attempt to create a new avatar for devcom, which is in sync with contemporary global challenges. Other scholars make similar arguments. Escobar comments that in the age of globalization, which he terms as post-development, the field of devcom should advance beyond the narrow confines of the old paradigms of development and change (Escobar, 2000; see also Brigg, 2002). According to Escobar (2000: 168):

We may understand post-development as opening the possibility of reducing the role of development as a central organizing principle of social life in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; as a heuristic device for seeing local realities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America differently.

In this framework (see Figure 11.3), social justice outcomes are operationalized under the broad categories of *freedom from* inequality and *freedom to* explore one's individual or group potential to live a meaningful and satisfying life. Thus, the outcomes of directed change include emancipatory politics and the politics of self-actualization in contexts that range along a local–global continuum with social justice as the ultimate goal. Social justice outcomes are defined and operationalized for macro- and micro-level contexts. The macro level would constitute the national or a global context comprising other nation states, supranational bodies, multinational businesses, global civil society groups, and coalitions. The micro context would include spatial and interest-based communities.

The POD framework represented in Figure 11.3 presents goals expected in directed change efforts that facilitate social justice outcomes (phase D); outcomes expected from media and communicative actions (phase O), which would constitute the means or processes by which directed change goals (phase D) may be achieved, sustained, or strengthened; and, principal communicative means (phase P) by which the outcomes desired by media and communication (phase O) may be realized. The model represents a dynamic process. Therefore, throughout the model, the interactivity between the different phases

Figure 11.3
Devcom for Social Justice in Directed Change: The POD Framework



Source: Authors.

(P, O, and D), and the overlap between macro and micro contexts are stressed. The overlapping, reinforcing, and cyclical nature of the actions and outcomes between the various phases of the model and between the macro and micro contexts indicate that the process is neither linear nor teleological. The process is open-ended, multi-contextual, dynamic, and ongoing.

The POD model is conceptualized broadly and is useful for its heuristic value, framing a critical discussion of the concepts, processes, and outcomes of directed change for social justice, especially the role of devcom actions in this contested and never-ending process. First, the model rejects the methodological nationalism bias⁷ of the earlier development programs and discourses. The process of directed change assumes cosmopolitan politics that posits global, national, and local connectivity, thus, setting up a platform for the interaction of varied communicative ideas and strategies in multiple sites. Second, the model does not suggest that the process is causal or even predictable, given the differential contexts and power positions of the actors and the contested nature of the process of directed change. Third, it is stripped of teleology bias, which is frequently encountered in earlier models. While the ultimate objective is the achievement of social justice, the indicators of social justice will vary across time and contexts because the outcome of directed change is never a universal end state of everlasting development, but is actually a protracted, sustained, and contestory engagement and struggle between varied actors for achieving specific goals in overlapping local, national, and global settings.

The goal in the model is to articulate alternate futures that ensure equity in claims and access to rights and resources, especially the commons, as well as provide credible choices and opportunities for individuals and communities to live expressive and meaningful lives. Stakeholders of change will exhibit different value positions, have different visions of alternative futures, and hold differential power positions. Since there are no permanently privileged agents or constituencies in the process of directed change, the struggle to articulate and establish social justice is an ongoing process. The specific meanings and scope of social justice articulated by the stakeholders will vary in each instance according to historical contexts, opportunities, and potentialities. Thus, structures, policies, rules, arrangements, conventions, and practices will need to be constantly monitored and

tweaked by stakeholders to meet social justice goals in multiple settings during different epochs in history. This takes us back to the start of the model; thus, the process is never ending.

CONCLUSION

As we conclude this section, we recognize that despite opportunities for coalition building and protest via the Internet and the many encouraging examples cited above, neoliberal agendas remain hegemonic (McChesney, 2013). The challenges to progressive change are indeed formidable. Thus far, the various alter-globalization, anti-globalization, leftist, and people's organizations and coalitions have been largely unable to seize political power and transform the political and economic power structures toward the goals of emancipatory justice and greater human rights.⁸ Protests, occupy movements such as those all across the US in 2011, and other confrontations have not successfully transformed into a larger political movement for progressive change.⁹

However, in the global epoch, devcom can and should find ways to make use of networks and progressive social movements to assist local communities, interest groups, the vulnerable, and the marginalized to strategize for social justice. Some ideas that we offer to create and sustain a counter establishment to neoliberalism are to:

- Increase investment in emancipatory and life politics;
- Create an alliance of progressive groups, institutions, and individuals driven by an ideology of human rights, equality, and fair play;
- Convert people, institutions, and authorities to the importance of equality and social justice;
- Network progressive organizations and individuals who are devoted to good governance, equality, and social justice; and
- In general, seek to strengthen people power against the globalizing forces of neoliberal political regimes.

This chapter and indeed this book have attempted to put devcom at the center of the social justice movement today in the area of

communication and directed change. We hope that the framework, ideas, and strategies presented here help bring together related traditions such as community organization, community psychology, social work, political organization and action networks, and critical education/training under the umbrella of communicative actions toward empowerment and social justice outcomes in directed change.

POSTSCRIPT

A strong undercurrent in this book is communication activism for social change. We view ourselves as scholar activists. Frey and Carra-gee (2007: 30) describe such scholars thus: “These scholars chose to conduct research that potentially could make an important difference for marginalized and under-resourced individuals, groups, organizations, and communities attempting to promote social change and social justice.” We are committed to communication activism research, that is, scholarship that attempts to make a positive difference in the lives of people and communities, especially those that have been marginalized and their cultures degraded (Napoli and Aslama, 2011). We believe that there is a symbiotic relationship between critical theory and interventions in directed social change (Banerjee and Logan, 2008; Reddi, 2008). They feed each other. This has been borne out time and again when theoretical understandings have inspired communication activism and vice versa.

Social system change requires a transformation of existing power relations. This not only means dealing with enclaves of power and influence that are deeply anchored in global, national, and local structures, but also necessitates the active participation of individuals and communities in intervention efforts affecting their welfare. These are not easy tasks. However, they are essential for genuine and progressive social change toward a more socially just planet.

NOTES

1. See Chapter 5 for a more detailed critique of the neoliberal paradigm.
2. The IT revolution also has produced new millionaires and billionaires who increasingly seek to sustain and grow their wealth and power (see McChesney, 2013).

3. China and India have been an exception to this trend. In these states, the governments have enacted social development policies.
4. This is a far cry from the dominant development discourse in which individuals and communities in the Third World are force-fitted into categories such as *developed*, *developing*, and *underdeveloped*. They have ended up being statistics in development programs and objects to be molded by outsiders.
5. We recognize that there have been countless progressive movements around the world at different times and in local, national, and global contexts. However, due to space constraints, we confine our attention to a few examples.
6. There are a few organizations such as government-organized NGOs which are directly associated with states (see Gautney, 2010).
7. We have described this earlier as the tendency to use the nation state as the sole frame of reference.
8. Some countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Venezuela have been the exceptions.
9. An exception has been the conservative Tea Party Movement in the US. It started in 2009 as a protest against big government. Tea Party candidates won many seats in the US Congress and state houses in 2010, and have significantly changed the discourse and practices of the Republican Party to fit their view of the world. This example shows very clearly how in a successful social movement, discussions in homes, churches, family gatherings, etc. can potentially end up as part of the demands that larger society may need to accommodate.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT/ UNDERDEVELOPMENT

I. Period of Great Development (3500 BC to AD 1700)

Ancient World Civilizations

- *North Africa and West Asia:* Mesopotamia (3500 BC to 2000 BC); Egypt (3000 BC to 2100 BC)
- *Indian Subcontinent:* Indus Valley (2700 BC to 1700 BC)
- *China:* Shang (1500 BC to 1000 BC); Han (350 BC to AD 200); Ming (AD 1368 to AD 1644)
- *Sub-Saharan Africa:* Axum (AD 300 to AD 1100); Ghana (AD 700 to AD 1200); Mali (AD 1200 to AD 1400); Songhai (AD 1500 to AD 1700); Zimbabwe (AD 1200 to AD 1500)
- *Central America:* Mayan (AD 500 to AD 1500); Aztec (AD 1325 to AD 1525)
- *South America:* Inca (AD 1200 to AD 1525)

II. Period of Colonization (16th to 20th Century): From a State of Development to Underdevelopment

Period of Pillage and Rise of European Commerce (16th to 17th Century)

1. *European Expansion to the Americas:*
 - Iberian settler migration to South and Central America;
 - Spanish Armada; English, French, North European settlers to North America.
2. *European Expansion to Africa:*
 - Portuguese slave traders to Angola;

- French and English commercial traders to West African Coast;
- Dutch to Cape of Good Hope.

3. *European Expansion to Asia:*

- Portuguese to Malacca and coastal stations throughout East;
- Foundations of British and Dutch East India Companies;
- English acquire Indian coastal towns;
- Dutch take Malacca, dominate Eastern trade;
- Spanish conquer Pacific Islands, notably the Philippines (1570).

Period of Dominance of Merchant Capital (18th Century)

1. *Main Period of Slave Trade:*

- From Africa to Americas;
- Enforced labor through slavery and reduction to serfdom;
- Enrichment of metropolitan Europe, especially its rulers.

2. *Protectionism:*

- Iberian market closed to competing colonial produce;
- British textiles protected from Indian cloth imports (AD 1700);
- Raw agricultural produce, precious metals, spices became colonial export staples.

3. *Mercantilism:*

- Rise of merchant class;
- Merchant marines, navy protection;
- Colonies limited to trade only with motherland empires.

4. *Britain and France Vie for Global Dominance:*

- British Industrial Revolution and French Revolution;
- British expansion into India and the plunder of Bengal.

Period of the Rise of Industrial Capital (19th Century)

1. *Britain Defeats Napoleon, Gains Worldwide Naval Supremacy*

- British opium wars against China;
 - Chinese and Indian indentured labor to Africa and West Indies.
2. *French Conquest of Algeria and Expansion to West Africa*
 3. *European Revolutions of Mid-1800s:*
 - European settlers to White Dominions in Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

Period of New Imperialism: Late 19th Century

1. Scramble for Africa (and rest of Asia) by European powers (1880–1914)
2. Spanish–American War
3. US acquisition of the Philippines and other Pacific territories

III. Period of Decolonization (19th to 20th Century): *Emancipation of Underdeveloped Colonies*

1. Rise of European liberalism and decolonization in the Americas (early 19th century);
2. Decolonization of Asia and most of Africa (1945–1970).

APPENDIX B: HIGHLIGHTS OF MEDIA, COMMUNICATION, AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES SINCE WORLD WAR II¹

I. Genesis of Organized Development Assistance

Birth of Multilateral Development Assistance (1945):

1. Bretton Woods, USA meeting in July 1944, gave rise to International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the United Nations (UN) family of specialized agencies;
2. Ushered Keynesian economic policies in which states actively intervened in industrial policy and set up a number of welfare systems such as in health care and education.

Emergence of Bilateral Development Assistance (1949):

1. Truman's Point Four Program

II. Development of Emerging Third World (1950s)

1. Foster self-help by capital infusion and diffusion of modern innovations mostly from the West;
2. Industrialization, urbanization, and westernization considered critical for development;
3. Prescription of universal stages for industry-driven national growth;
4. Emphasis on need for radical change in Third World social structure and individual attitudes and behavior;
5. Subjugation of agriculture (large- and small-scale) to priorities of industrialization.

III. First Decade of Development and Change (1960s): *Period of Great Optimism*

1. Dominant Paradigm of Development
 - Economic growth through industrialization and urbanization;
 - Capital-intensive technology;
 - Centralized economic planning;
 - Underdevelopment in Third World is due to internal problems in a country;
 - Biased social structure;
 - Traditional attitudes and behavior that constrain development.
2. Dominance of the Mass Media and Powerful Media Effects Hypothesis
 - Belief in the bullet theory of communication effects: powerful, direct, and uniform effects on people;
 - Mass media considered as magic multipliers of development benefits;

- Mass media considered as agents and indices of modernization;
- Potential of mass media to give rise to the Revolution of Rising Expectations;
- Setting of standards for minimum criteria of media availability for development;
- Ten newspapers, five radios, two televisions, and two cinema seats per 100 people;
- Importance attached to diffusion of modernizing (but mostly exogenous) innovations.

IV. Second Decade of Development and Change (1970s): *Period of Pessimism*

1. Disappointment with rate and nature of development
2. Explication of the *Development of Underdevelopment* hypothesis:
 - Focused on exploitation of the periphery (i.e., the Third World);
 - Underdevelopment of the Third World seen as a consequence of development of Europe.
3. Critique of the Dominant Paradigm of Development:
 - Neglect of social structural and political barriers to change;
 - Exaggerated emphasis on the individual as locus of change;
 - Victim-blame hypothesis.
4. Problems with the Use of Mass Media for Development:
 - Potential to widen knowledge gaps between information rich and information poor;
 - Could lead to Revolution of Rising Frustrations;
 - Mass media not an independent variable in development but dependent on environmental factors.
5. Weaknesses of the Diffusion of Innovations Model to Help the Disadvantaged due to:
 - Communication effects bias;

- Pro-innovation bias;
 - Pro-source bias;
 - In-the-head variable bias;
 - Pro-persuasion bias;
 - Top-down flow bias of messages and decisions;
 - Authority-driven models rather than user-driven models;
 - Absence of a process orientation;
 - Widening of socioeconomic and communication benefits gaps
 - Gender gap increasingly evident.
6. Coup in Chile (September 11, 1973) spearheaded by General Pinochet with backing by the CIA, US corporations, and prominent local business elites.
- Led to the assassination of democratically elected Salvador Allende.
 - It violently stamped out all social movements and left-leaning political organizations as well as other progressive organizations and policies including health care for the poor.
 - Ushered the early experiments with neoliberalism under the tutelage of Milton Friedman and other University of Chicago economists.
 - Economy was restructured to suit the interests of big business corporations, both domestic and foreign.
 - Served as a model for neoliberal policy regimes soon to follow in UK, USA, and other regions.

V. Alternative Conceptions of Development and Change (1970s): *Period of Ferment*

1. Growth with equity models: Reduce inequality and improve conditions of the poorest of the poor;
2. Emphasis on active participation of the people in development activities;

3. Encouragement of self-determination and self-reliance of local communities;
4. Freedom from external dependency;
5. Opening of the People's Republic of China to the world and the lessons learnt from its development model;
6. Importance given to small, indigenous technology;
7. Emphasis on meeting basic needs of people: food, clean water, shelter, basic education, security of livelihood;
8. Sustainable environment models first discussed; UN Conference on Environment, Stockholm, 1972;
9. McNamara's (President of WB) New Directions Policy (1973):
 - Integrated rural development—all existing constraints to development must be addressed simultaneously.
10. Women in Development (WID) was a focus of increased advocacy, following research revealing the neglect of WID projects;
11. Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act (1973) mandated that USAID projects to explicitly consider women;
12. Distinguished between relative poverty and absolute poverty: relative poverty signifies that some countries/people are poorer than others while absolute poverty means a life degraded by denial of basic human necessities;
13. Shifts in views on population as primary constraint
 - Population Conference in Bucharest, 1974.
14. Proposed reorientation of development policy from trickle-down to equitable distribution of economic benefits; proposed switch from economic targets to meeting basic needs;
15. Re-emergence of local culture and religion in development activities: renewed interest in studying the positive role of local culture in social change; highlighted the role of folk media in devcom;
16. Growing awareness of gender inequities in development; WID initiatives launched;
17. First World Conference on Women held in Mexico City in summer, 1975. The Conference, organized by the UN Commission on the Status of Women, was scheduled to coincide with the 1975 International Women's Year, calling attention to persistent global discrimination against women;

18. UN General Assembly proclaimed 1976–1985 the UN Decade for Women, five months after the Mexico City conference and at the urging of the conference;
19. New roles suggested for communication in development:
 - Communication in self-development efforts, that is, user-initiated activity at the local level considered essential for successful development at the village level;
 - Communication should be a catalyst for change rather than sole cause;
 - Encouraged dialogue between users and experts.
20. MacBride Commission Report, *Many Voices, One World* discussed by UNESCO (later published, 1980);
21. Suggested communication strategies to narrow knowledge gaps between the information rich and information poor; reduce pro-literacy bias through tailored messages and formative evaluations;
22. Attempted the use of communication to conscientize the people to the harsh realities in their environment;
23. Margaret Thatcher elected in Britain (1979). She abandoned Keynesianism and stridently ushered a new economic model fashioned along neoliberal economic policies: confronted trade unions, dismantled social welfare schemes, privatized public enterprises, offered tax breaks to big businesses, and attacked forms of social solidarity that hampered competition.
24. Volcker shock (October 1979). Engineered by the US Federal Reserve Bank, which abandoned Keynesian fiscal and monetary policies by instituting a very tight monetary policy in the US that steeply raised interest rates and brought in a period of deep recession in the US, drove debtor countries to brink of insolvency, and started the long era of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) to follow in the 1980s.
25. Start of the Second Gilded Age (1975 to present). A long period of stagnation in real wages of working and middle classes. Vast increases in the incomes and wealth of the rich leading to huge inequities between the wealthy and working classes.
26. UN General Assembly adopts CEDAW, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, December, 1979.

VI. Third Decade of Development and Change (1980s): *Lost Decade of Development*

1. Ronald Reagan elected as president in the US (1980). Reinforced the neoliberal policy regime of Thatcher in the US. Led to further deregulation, tax cuts for the rich and business corporations, attacks on trade unions and other professional organizations. Solidified the long decline in real wage levels of the working and middle classes in the US.
2. Global recession in most industrialized countries;
3. Serious economic difficulties in developing countries: balance of payment problems, loan repayment difficulties, drastically lowered prices for exports;
4. Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP adopted by lending agencies:
 - A neoliberal economic model employed;
 - Role of the state curtailed;
 - Increased reliance on the market;
 - State expenditures in social services sectors significantly reduced.
5. Increase in poverty among the poor and marginalized;
6. Heavy pressure on the natural resource base among the poor and the marginalized;
7. Increased awareness of gender inequities and of global differences in women's priorities and analyses of inequities.
8. Mid-decade Conference on Women, Copenhagen, 1980. Discussions focused attention on equal access to education, health care, and employment.
9. End-of-Decade Conference on Women, Nairobi, July 1985. The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women were adopted at the conference. In December, 1985, the UN General Assembly released a document on the implementation of the forward-looking strategies.
10. Gender and Development (GAD) increasingly replaced the WID discourse. GAD recognizes that relations between women and men, that is, underlying structures of gender relations, need to be addressed in development before women can benefit.

VII. Decade of the 1990s and Beyond: *New Directions and Activism in Directed Change Processes.*

1. Rio de Janeiro Summit on Sustainable Development, 1992. This was a United Nations Conference on Environment and Development:
 - Sustainable-environment perspective strengthened;
 - Sensitivity to environmental degradation;
 - An important outcome was an agreement on the Climate Change Convention which in turn led to the Kyoto Protocol.
2. Human needs-oriented development proposed: concern for human rights, more humane values and respect for human life; Human Rights Conference, Vienna, 1993.
3. Discussions on global population policy. Population and Development Conference, Cairo, 1994.
4. Zapatista Rebellion, 1994.
 - This was an uprising against the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by indigenous people of Chiapas, Mexico.
 - Many consider this as the first informational guerrilla movement where the Zapatistas' struggle became a global event through the Internet.
5. Discussions on global social welfare policy. World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen, 1995.
6. Return to basic needs orientation.
7. Focus on participatory approaches in communication and development:
 - Participatory action research;
 - Strengthening of critical consciousness among people in a community;
 - Empowerment strategies proposed.
8. Rise of postmodern, poststructuralist, postcolonial, and feminist scholarship:
 - Challenges to logocentric and Western views and models;
 - Questioning of universal truths and notions of objective social reality;

- Deconstruction of dominant ideology of power;
- Sensitivity to diversity in cultures, views, practices.

9. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing

- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted. The Beijing Declaration identifies 12 critical areas of concern for women and girls globally.
- *Women and the Media* is named as a critical area of concern and includes globalization and new information technologies, September, 1995.
- The 12 critical areas of concern are:
 - Women and Poverty,
 - Education and Training of Women,
 - Women and Health,
 - Violence against Women,
 - Women and Armed Conflict,
 - Women and the Economy,
 - Women in Power and Decision-making,
 - Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women,
 - Human Rights of Women,
 - Women and the Media,
 - Women and the Environment, and
 - The Girl Child.

10. Post-Beijing:

- *Gender mainstreaming* becomes popularized;
11. People-centered development approaches stressed: self reliant, participatory, local, and sustained.
 12. Increased trends toward globalization in lifestyles, tastes, fashions, and mass mediated entertainment; Ascendancy of global markets and companies.
 13. Rise of cyberspace, new information and communication technologies and time-space compression.
 14. ITU proposes the idea of a global summit on information flow, 1998.

15. Kyoto Protocol to the UN Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is an international treaty that sets binding obligations on industrialized countries to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. This is an environmental treaty with the goal of preventing human-induced interference of the climate system. 190 countries (all UN members, except Andorra, Canada, South Sudan and the US), as well as the European Union are Parties to the Protocol. The US signed but did not ratify the Protocol and Canada withdrew from it in 2011. The Protocol was adopted by Parties to the UNFCCC in 1997, and entered into force in 2005.
16. Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) was a draft agreement negotiated between members of the OECD (group of rich countries) in 1995–1998. Drafted with little to no consultation with civil society groups, its ostensible purpose was to develop multilateral rules that would ensure international investment was governed in a more systematic and uniform way between states. When its draft became public in 1997, it drew widespread criticism from civil society groups and developing countries, particularly over the possibility that the agreement would make it difficult to regulate foreign investors. After an intense global campaign was waged against the MAI by the treaty's critics (networks and coalitions of resistance of progressive movements from around the globe), the host nation France announced in October 1998 that it would not support the agreement, effectively preventing its adoption.
17. Global Days of Action, 1998.
 - Coordinated by the group Peoples' Global Action, it took place during the WTO Ministerial in Geneva, Switzerland. Tens of thousands of protesters participated in five continents against the WTO.
18. Massive protests by activists against the WTO meeting in Seattle, USA in December 1999. This is considered by many as a prelude to the formation of the World Social Forum.
19. Beijing+5 Women's Conference, New York, June, 2000.
 - Five-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

20. Millennium Summit of the UN, 2000. All 193 UN member states agreed to achieve eight international development goals by the year 2015. The goals are:
 - Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger,
 - Achieving universal primary education,
 - Promoting gender equality and empowering women,
 - Reducing child mortality rates,
 - Improving maternal health,
 - Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases,
 - Ensuring environmental sustainability, and
 - Developing a global partnership for development.
21. The World Economic Forum (WEF) is a Swiss non-profit foundation. It describes itself as an independent international organization committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic, and other leaders of society to shape global, regional, and industrial agendas. The foundation is funded by its 1,000 member companies, the typical company being a global enterprise with more than 5 billion dollars in turnover. The flagship event of the foundation is the invitation-only annual meeting held every year at the end of January in Davos, Switzerland, bringing together chief executive officers from its 1,000 member companies as well as selected politicians, academics, NGOs, religious leaders, and the media.
22. The World Social Forum (WSF), January 2001. Organized in Porto Alegre, Brazil, as a counter-summit to the WEF held annually in Davos, Switzerland. The organizers conceived the WSF as a social encounter against the economic emphasis of WEF. The WSF attracted over 20,000 participants from 117 countries consisting of trade union activists, farmers, intellectuals, NGOs, social movements, and others. Subsequent WSF meetings have taken place in Porto Alegre (2002), Porto Alegre (2003), Mumbai, India (2004), Porto Alegre (2005), in Caracas, Venezuela; Bamako, Mali; and Karachi, Pakistan (2006), Nairobi, Kenya (2007), and Belem, Brazil (2009).

23. UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 56/183, formally authorizing the dual World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) set for 2003 (Geneva) and 2005 (Tunis).
 - UN Secretary General Kofi Annan challenged Silicon Valley to invent technologies appropriate in the developing world and help support and ground WSIS.
24. The Monterrey Consensus, 2002. This was the result of the Conference arranged by the UN on International Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico. Over 50 Heads of State and 200 Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Development, and Trade participated in the event. Governments were joined by the Heads of the UN, the IMF, WB, WTO, prominent business and civil society leaders, and other stakeholders. New development aid commitments from the US and the European Union and other countries were made at the conference. Countries also reached agreements on other issues, including debt relief, fighting corruption, and policy coherence. Since its adoption, the Monterrey Consensus has become the major reference point for international development cooperation.
25. Iraq Antiwar Protests, February 16, 2003. Hundreds of thousands of people marched all over the world from Australia, Japan, Syria, Italy, Germany, France, Spain, US and other countries making it the largest coordinated political protest in recent memory.
26. 47th Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, New York, 2003. Women's participation and access to media and ICTs as tools for their advancement and empowerment was discussed, 2003.
27. UNDP's *Human Development Report 2003* is titled *Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty*. The report emphasizes the role of technology in supporting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 2003.
28. WSIS, Phase 1, Geneva, December, 2003.
 - WSIS Disability Caucus issued a statement highlighting the absence of persons with disabilities in the Draft Declaration of the Principles for WSIS, December, 2003.

29. Women and ICT: Challenges and Opportunities on the Road to Tunis Workshop, held in Arusha, Tanzania, October 20–22, 2004. 12 Countries represented.
30. WSIS, Phase 2, Tunis, Tunisia, November, 2005.
31. Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI)—an agreement signed by G8 (group of rich countries) leaders at the summit in Gleneagles, Scotland in 2005. The leaders pledged to cancel the debt of the globe's most indebted countries.
32. Beijing+10 Women's Conference, New York, February–March, 2005. Ten-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Conference discusses globally uneven and ambivalent progress toward gender justice in view of the changing international policy and political environment, particularly following the terrorist attacks of 9/11.
33. Beijing+15 Women's Conference, New York, March, 2010. The UN Commission on the Status of women undertook a 15-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Emphasis was placed on obstacles toward achieving the MDGs.
34. Rio+20 or Rio Earth Summit, 2012. This was the UN Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Limited gains achieved but no decisive accord on climate change policies.
35. ITU-sponsored Treaty on the Internet (2012) blocked by key Western and African countries in response to widespread protests by civil society and other progressive movements. The treaty if passed would have given individual governments greater powers to control international phone calls and data traffic.
36. Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) was a US bill introduced in 2011–2012 to expand the ability of US law enforcement to combat online copyright infringement. Proponents of the legislation who included the Motion Picture Association of America, pharmaceuticals makers, media businesses, and the US Chamber of Commerce stated it protects the intellectual-property market and corresponding industry, jobs, and revenue, and is necessary to bolster enforcement of copyright laws. Online activists and other

stakeholders organized millions of net users and other citizens to protest over the Internet. US House Judiciary Committee postponed plans to draft the bill.

NOTE

1. Some parts prepared with the help of Dr Joseph Ascroft, Iowa City, USA. Other entries have been culled from a variety of sources.

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