A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES OF SELECTED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY OF NIGERIA, ABUJA

BY

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BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POST-GRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILIOSOPHY (PhD) IN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

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JANUARY, 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me and it is a record of my research work. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are well acknowledged by means of references.

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Luke Maje AYUBA **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation, titled **"A Critical Analysis of the Communication Strategies of Selected Development Projects in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja"** written by Luke Maje Ayuba, Registration Number PhD/Arts/05214/2008, meets the regulations governing the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Communication from the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and that it is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my dear mother, Chenji Ayuba who left us seven years ago. I remember you everyday and I truly miss you. Until we meet at the bossom of the Lord.

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I give God all the glory for actualizing my dream to attain this height of academic pursuit. It had not been easy, but God sustained the journey.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on a "Critical Analysis of the Communication Strategies of Selected Development Projects in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja". The study is basically a qualitative, descriptive research and has Desk Review and Field work as its Primary and Secondary sources of its Data collection. The field work which anchored on the Participatory Learning and Action underpinning methodological theory used the tools that encouraged Participatory Communication such as Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Transect Walks, Community Mapping, Pair-wise Ranking in order to arrive at the findings of the research. The Research used Paulo Freire's (1997) theory of Dialogical Pedagogy, complemented by Fierlbeck's (1989), theory of Social Interaction, where both Teacher and Student work together to solve problems on an equal footing through co-operation that sterns from communication and social interaction for the achievement of a desired revolution or change. The theories stressed the need for the dialoguers' collaborative process to make, remake and transform reality. The research therefore critically analysed the communication strategies that were used in carrying out selected Development projects in the Federal Capital Territory and found out that while the Fadama III, Integrated Agricultural project at Kekeshi Community in Abaji Area Council used communication strategies that were bottom-up and participatory and therefore achieved a level of success and sustainability, the Millennium Development Goals Water Scheme and that of the Resettlement of Garki Village Indigenes to Apo projects, recorded failures which the researcher attributed to the use of communication strategies that were top-down, one-way, gated, trickle-down and protectionist in nature. The researcher therefore drew inferences and concluded that participatory communication in development is only not necessary, but compulsory if sustainable development is to be guaranteed.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research and provides the structure of the research. The critical focus of the development is "Rural Development" and therefore, a historical review of rural development in Nigeria between 1960-1993 is being made, showing the concept of rural Development, the approaches, Nigerian government experiences and the problems affecting rural development in Nigeria. This culminates into statement of the Problem, Aim and Objectives of the study, Significance of the study and the Scope and Delimitation of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

It is now increasingly recognized that people's active participation is an essential component of sustainable development. Any intervention with the intent of achieving a real sustainable improvement in the living conditions of people is doomed to failure unless the intended beneficiaries are actively involved in the process. Unless people participate in all phases of an intervention, from problem identification, to research and implementation of solutions, the likelihood that sustainable change will occur is slim. Development Communication is at the very heart of this challenge. It is the process by which people become leading actors in their own development. Development Communication enables people to go from being recipients of external development interventions to generators of their own development.

The rural communities of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja, have suffered a long period of neglect and underdevelopment. This could be attributed to the absence of

participation of the intended beneficiaries in the development programmes of the FCT. As it were, policies and programmes were formulated and implemented without inputs from the communities that are the beneficiaries. This often results into faulty implementation with the attendant consequences of steady deterioration in the living standards of the rural communities.

1.1.2 Rural Development in Nigeria (1960 – 1993)

Rural development according to (Afigbo, 1991) is "the integrated approach to food production as well as physical, social and institutional infrastructural provisions with an ultimate goal of bringing about both quantitative and qualitative changes which result in improved living standard of the rural population".

Embarking on rural development is very important considering the fact that more than two-third of the Nigeria's population are living in rural areas, and they experience a lot of misery, poverty, morbidity and under-development (Afigbo, 1991). Reflections on the Nigerian Government experiences in rural development show that not much has been achieved even before and after independence. There exists a sharp contrast between policy formulation and its implementation. The resultant effect becomes more hardship and poor standard of living among the rural dwellers. This segment of the study will x-ray the various approaches to rural development by highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of each. It is common assumption that the government's failure in the various rural development strategies emanated from lack of national philosophical base, lack of cohesive identity, inadequate community participation, lack of grassroots planning and the inability to optimize local resources, among other problems.

Generally, development is seen as a process by which man increases or maximizes his control and use of the material resources with which nature has endowed him and his environment. Afigbo (1991), affirmed that development consists of five main ingredients: increasing material wealth for the use of individuals and the modern collectivity known as the nation; eliminating unemployment; eliminating poverty and want; eliminating inequality, and increasing the general availability of labour-saving devices. Development, from its inception, is a kind of totalistic movement and rural development is not an exception. Therefore, rural development is a multi-dimensional process by which productivity, income and welfare, health, nutrition, education and other features of satisfactory life of rural people can be improved upon or transformed. According to Igbokwe and Ajala (1995), the earliest attempts at rural development during the colonial era took the form of community development, and later agricultural extension. The community development approach emphasized self-help to improve health, nutrition and community welfare, whereas the agricultural extension approach was concerned with improving the agricultural productivity. The goal of both programmes ultimately was to produce primary products for the feeding of European industries. He contends that the first five years of Nigeria's independence witnessed colossal concentration of development efforts on the modern sector of the economy to the exclusion of investment in the rural economic base. Therefore, the problem has been how to make rural development sustainable. Towards this end, a number of development approaches have been pursued by the various governments in Nigeria. These consist mainly in the establishment of projects, programmes, and capacity-building institutions. It is widely believed that one shortcoming of these efforts is the limited local community participation in problem identification,

project prioritization, design, preparation and implementation. Suffice it to state that most of these development approaches are elitist and urban-biased, such that the rural areas are often given lip attention in virtually all ramifications of modernization process. The rural sector is characterized by absence of basic human needs and underdevelopment in agricultural and non-agricultural activities (Williams (1992). In line with the fore-going, Diejomaoh in Ayichi (1995) asserted that rural development is a process of not only increasing the level of per capita income in the rural areas, but also the standard of living of the rural population measured by food and nutrition level, health, education, housing, recreation and security. It is therefore the process of rural modernization and the monetization of the rural society leading to its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy.

1.1.3 Concept of Rural Development

Rural Development is part of general development that embraces a large segment of those in great need in the rural sector. Hunter (1964), was among the earliest to use the expression ***Rural Development*** which he considered as the "starting point of development" characterized by subsistence. World Bank in Ekpo and Olaniyi (1995) defined rural development as a process through which rural poverty is alleviated by sustained increases in the productivity and incomes of low-income rural dwellers and households. This definition is defective as it dwelt majorly on economic growth, which is just an aspect of development. Taking into cognizance, economic growth and social upliftment as aspects of development, Ijere (1990) regarded rural development, as the process of increasing the per capita income and the quality of life of the rural dweller to enable him become prime mover of his own destiny. Obinne in Ogidefa (2010) perceived rural development to

involve creating and widening opportunities for (rural) individuals to realize full potential through education and share in decision and action which affect their lives. He also viewed it as efforts to increase rural output and create employment opportunities and root out fundamental (or extreme) cases of poverty, diseases and ignorance.

Therefore, combining all the essential elements of development, Rural Development can be described as the integrated approach to food production as well as physical, social and institutional infrastructural provisions with an ultimate goal of bringing about both quantitative and qualitative changes which result in improved living standard of the rural population. It therefore, infers that agricultural production (development) is a component of rural development as more than two-third of Nigeria's 150 million citizens are farmers (Obinne, 2010), who live in an estimated 97,000 rural communities. Their lives are characterized by misery, poverty, morbidity and under-development (Ekpo & Olaniyi, 1995). Hence, it has been widely recognized that the rural areas and people are characterized by the following: general poverty trap, low income and investment ratchet, underutilized and/or unutilized natural resources, rapidly increasing population, under-employment and/or disguised employment, low productivity, especially of labour, low and traditional technology, limited enterprise or entrepreneurship, high level of illiteracy, ignorance, disease and malnutrition, near absence of social and physical infrastructures (like all-season roads, potable water, electricity, good schools, health centres, etc.), and political powerlessness, gullibility and level of general vulnerability (Lele & Adu-Nyako, 1991: 1 – 29).

Rural development has scope that is broad and elastic, and it depends on the interaction of many forces such as the objectives of the programme, the availability of resources for planning and implementation, etc. In developing countries, such as Nigeria, rural development projects will include agricultural set-up projects, rural water supply projects, rural electrification projects, rural feeder-road and maintenance projects, rural health and disease control projects, rural education and Adult education campaign, rural telecommunication system, rural housing projects and rural industrialization. Based on the scope of rural development (as the improvement of the total welfare of the rural low-income people), the following objectives of rural development according to Lele and Adu-Nyako (1991:66-67) evolved:

(i) To have greater commitment of the resources to the rural areas in terms of budgeting allocation and actual expenditure.

(ii) To ensure popular participation of the rural people in the identification of priorities, planning of programmes as well as their implementation.

(iii) To lay greater emphasis on the use of local resources and promotion of local skills.

(iv) To expand and improve on rural infrastructure such as roads, markets stalls, electricity, water and storage facilities.

(v) To maintain political and social stability

(vi) To create rural employment opportunities; and

(vii) To increase commodity out-put and production and subsequently increase food and food supply as well as rural farm incomes

From the objectives of rural development in Nigeria, Ijere (1990) postulates that the underlying principles of rural development are as follows:

i. The leaders and policy-makers should be committed to the philosophy of rural development for the improvement of the rural sector.

ii. There should be total community involvement in rural development. To ensure this, rural development organizers should delegate powers to local leaders at all levels of the population who should account for the exercise of that power. Also, a more suitable community participation approach using the people's institutions and leaders is imperative.

iii. Incentives and motivation should be built into the rural development system. These could be in form of citations, honourable mentions, honorary titles and prizes, competition between villages, towns and local government areas, organizing rural development day to select the best farmers, cleanest communities, accident-free communities, etc.

iv. All aspects of the peoples life should be affected by the rural development schemes to allow for even development.

v. A core of local leadership should be built-up to sustain the rural development effort. There should be a standing development planning committee in every community from which such persons can be mobilized.

vi. There should be development of appropriate skills (human capital development) as well as implementation capacity to sustain new technologies and improvement of social welfare.

vii. Rural development programmes should utilize the cultural values and practices of the people. It makes the scheme understandable and meaningful. Indigenous institutions such as age grades; youth organizations, clubs and town unions should be used in reaching the people and in mobilizing latent energies.

1.1.4 Rural Development Approaches

The overall aim of rural development efforts is geared towards the improvement of the lives of the rural population. However, several approaches aimed at arresting the ugly under-development situation in rural areas have been put forward. According to Ijere (1990: 52 – 54), they include the following:

1. **Growth Pole Centre Model:** This model is also known as "Growth Point Model". The model involves the development of a few strategic towns, communities and industries likely to activate other sectors. The model focuses attention on the development of few towns leading to the neglect of the rural areas.
2. **The "Big Push" Policy:** This approach is similar to the growth pole centre model except that it is more concentrated. It takes a few sub-sectors and expends most of the resources on them in the hope that in the long run, their multiplier effect will salvage the whole economy. The flaw in this model is that "in the long run" is not a specific period.
3. **The Selective Approach:** This model/approach involves the selection of certain sectors for development based on economic, political, social or religious grounds, which may not necessarily be related or inter-connected.

4. **The Protectionist Approach:** In this approach, the government carries out the development process on behalf of the people believing that it knows everything and that the people are not yet ripe to participate, in the management of their own affairs.
5. **The Top-down Approach:** It is also called the Top-bottom approach. It is a strategy based on passing down to the poor certain policies and directives from the governing bureaucracy. This type of rural development approach requires force to maintain and sustain it.
6. **The Decentralized Territorial Approach:** This approach centres on the dispersal of benefits to the rural area. It has minimum linkage with the city but with settlements of various sizes to act as service and market centres. The defect in this approach is the undue fear of towns being exploitative and parasitic, and the consideration that size alone could determine the performance of a settlement.
7. **The "Laissez-faire" Policy:** In this model, the authorities use the rule of the thumb, past experience, hind-sight and the free market mechanism to manage the economy, with the hope that the invisible hand of God would ensure optimum happiness for everybody.
8. **The Key Settlement Strategy:** This model is closely related to growth pole centre model except that its focus is on settlement. It assumes a focal point for a given rural area, and the concentration of all rural development resources in such a settlement. This in turn will serve other regions through its network of roads and communication. This model requires a long time to mature, and therefore it is more expensive.

9. **The Adaptive Approach:** It is a combination of selective approach and Laissez-faire policy and any other approach. It gives the people the opportunity to decide on their own lives, sometimes, under the guidance of the government.
10. **The "Bottom-Up" Approach:** It is also called Bottom-top approach or Rurism strategy. This approach implies that development starts with the people. It is a new political development strategy. Rurism is a coherent national and social-value system in which human and material resources are mobilized and allocated from the lower echelon of the economic and social strata to the top. It is free from any foreign ideology and infection. It promotes self-reliance, self-consciousness into balanced development of human and material resources. It is considered the ideal approach. However, it is costly and rather slow.

1.1.5 Government's Experiences in Rural Development

There has been a lot of rhetoric about the pattern of life and living in the rural areas. The rhetoric ranges from romanticized account of pastoral beauty and the serenity of living found in rural areas. To this, Nigeria is not an exception. There has been a lot of misunderstanding about what rural development is. The misunderstanding about the development of the rural areas is evident in the various governmental programmes that have been tossed around for; example whether it should be the provision of rural infrastructure or services. The experiences of government in rural development according to Ijere (1990) are viewed from two perspectives:

i. Pre-lndependence Experience
ii. Post-Independence Experience

A. Pre-Independence Experience in Rural Development

During the colonial era, Ijere (1990) notes, that roads and railway lines were constructed up and across the country, in the name of, and ostensibly for the development of rural areas. The real reason for this was to enable the colonialists and the imperialists to tap and evacuate agricultural products such as groundnuts, cocoa, cotton, and palm produce rather than just opening the hinterland for civilization. He continues that in the rural areas within this era, agricultural mechanization was introduced to increase the hectares of food production for export; and also for the maximization and exploitation of the rural areas. It then appears obvious that the objective of the development of the rural areas during this period is secondary and not of primary objective. In his opinion, he said this is most appropriate, because the colonial administration did not use the village, town and clan unions for purposes of rural development because of fear that they might constitute hotbeds of political propaganda. Rather, they became useful in tax collections and rallies on Empire Days.

B. Post-Independence Experience in Rural Development

After independence, the rhetoric and lip service were even thicker. This time, indigenous politicians and bureaucrats do it and many of who were themselves emigrates from rural areas. The period witnessed colossal concentration of development efforts on the modern sector of the economy to the exclusion of investment in the rural economic base. Government intervention in rural transformation were in response to lifting urban pressures emanating from rural neglect and improving export commodity earnings (Igbokwe & Ajala, 1995). They now cart away the nation's wealth for personal savings abroad for security. They started their attack on rural development through the institution of

marketing and commodity board. The aim of the marketing board was to help the farmers sell their produce in the world market to the advantage of the farmers, and also to cushion the effects of price fall in the world market. It is now known that not only were the farmers grossly underpaid from their labour, but even the money got from their taxes and levies which were supposed to be reserved to cushion the price effects were diverted into other uses. Example of such diversion was the construction of prestigious projects like the Cocoa House at Ibadan. In such way, the exploitative attitudes of the urban elites towards the rural areas continued unabated. Igbokwe and Ajala (1995) posits that the consequences of all these are hunger and famine that have hunted Nigeria, thus forcing the government to import all the foodstuffs that the country needed. So, it became more profitable and more sensible to remain in cities even as unemployed than to be enslaved in the rural areas just to feed the nation.

In the 1970s, there was a renewed effort in what was called rural development. The main idea was actually a desperate effort to ensure adequate food supply for the nation, especially for the parasitic urbanites (Olufokumbi, 1986). The efforts really served the needs of the cities through which the best and the choicest food produced were carted away by the middle men who had bought them at ridiculously low prices from the original producers. The policy was practiced, and implementation exploitative and impoverished to rural areas because they were aimed at enhancement of food and crop production only. Billions of Naira (Olufokunbi, 1986) has been spent on rural development projects, yet the conditions of the rural inhabitants continued to be poorer, abject and pitiable or miserable. This is because the projects were not aimed at developing the rural people, and where they happened to contribute to the development, such contributions were secondary and distant.

However, Government of various regimes employed some strategies aimed at developing the rural areas in Nigeria. Some of the tried strategies as provided by Olufokunbi (1986) are:

1. **The National Accelerated Food Production Project (NAFPP).** This project was launched in 1973 and it continued until 1976 when it was replaced by the Operation Feed the Nation Programme. It was an impact-making agricultural strategy to increase food production in specific areas and sub-sectors of the agricultural economy. NAFPP relied heavily on the cooperative approach as well as on technical assistance for its success. The scheme was a well-conceived and guided change programme for rural development, especially in the area of food production.
2. **Operation Feed the Nation.** This programme was launched in 1976 by the then Head of State of Nigeria. Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo. It was designed to awaken in the generality of Nigerians the advantages of the agricultural occupation, especially, those living in the rural areas. The objectives of the Operation Feed the Nation were as follows:

i. to mobilize the nation towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance in food production.
ii. to encourage the sector of the community relying heavily on food purchase to grow their own food.
iii. to encourage general pride in agriculture.
iv. to encourage balanced nutritional feeding and thereby produce a healthy nation.

The Operation Feed the Nation was not specifically a rural development strategy, but the rural areas benefited through inputs and professional advice. However, Osuntogun and Olufokunbi (1986) observed that the Operation Feed the Nation rather than solving food problems created opportunities for the ruling class to appropriate national funds. They were appointed Board members as well as given fat contracts.

3. **The Agricultural Development Projects (ADP).** The projects commenced in Nigeria in 1975. The World Bank, the Federal and State Governments jointly own them. The ultimate objective of the Agricultural Development Projects system was to raise productivity, increase farm output, income and standard of living of the rural people. The emphasis was on the promotion of small-scale autonomous projects operated by a multi-disciplinary management unit. Using the cooperative approach, they tackled many aspects of agriculture, which include production, marketing, infrastructure and training. The problem with the Agricultural Development Projects was that they used a mixture of settlement and big-push approaches. As such, their heavy capitalization prevented their adoption by government and organizations.
4. **The River-Basin Development Authority (RBDA).** It was first launched in 1962, expanded in 1976 and further expanded in 1983. However, it was revised and curtailed between 1984 and 1986. The declared aim of the authority was to make the nation self-sufficient in food production and to uplift the socio-economic standard of the rural dwellers. Accordingly, Federal Republic of Nigeria (1981) reported that government provided in the Third National Development Plan huge sum of money to develop the main rivers of the country to benefit agriculture and

rural development. However, the activities of the authorities showed that the development philosophy was still the trickle-down approach as rural development was not a serious issue in the objectives of the River-Basin Development Authority, which included:

i. to undertake comprehensive development, both surface and underground water resources for multi-purpose use.

ii. to undertake scheme for the control of flood, and erosion, and for the water-shed management including afforestation.

iii. to construct and maintain dams, dykes, wells, bore-holes, irrigations and drainage systems.

iv. to provide water from reservoir and lakes for irrigation purposes to farmers and recognized associations, as well as for urban water supply scheme.

v. to control pollution in rivers, lakes, lagoons, and creeks. (Olufokumbi, 1986)

All the activities of the authorities were geared at the development of material things, objects and gadgets, and not at the development of the people as persons. The activities were only done for the people, not with the people and by the people. Also, the impact of the RBAs was limited due to conflicting policy changes and lack of management know-how. According to Okorie and Umezurike (1990), the RBDAs deviated from their traditional roles to that of food production. Moreover, the increasing cost of running them due to huge capital investment led to several policy adjustments.

5. **Green Revolution.** It is a crash programme launched in i980 by Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Administration. It was aimed at boosting food production in a bid to provide food to every Nigerian. The objectives of the Green Revolution include:
    - to make the country self-sufficient in food production within 5 years.
    - to return the country to its pre-eminent crop production stage within 7 years.

Unfortunately, it failed because the same government that instituted Green Revolution with the aim of making Nigeria self-sufficient as at 1985, embarked on a large-scale importation of rice from India and America, and essential food items for survival and sustenance (Otoghagua, 1999). Again, the sole intention of the programme was food and crop production so that the physical hunger of urban areas and the impoverished foreign exchange account of the government might be replenished. The presumption was that once agriculture was improved, and the yields per acre were increased, the peasant farmers who constitute the bulk of the producers would automatically have their economic and social standard improved. It is very clear that there was no mention of how to channel the money, extracted from the rural areas to develop the area.

6. **Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI).** The directorate was one of the numerous programmes that were instituted by the then President of Nigeria, Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida in 1985. It was a kind of home-grown social dimensions of Adjustment project for Nigeria. According to Ekpo and Olaniyi (1995), DFRRI has the following objectives:

i. to improve the quality of life and standard of living of the majority of the people in the rural areas by:

- improving greatly the quality, value and nutritional balance of their food intake;
- raising the quality of rural housing, as well as the general living and working environment in the rural areas;
- improving the health condition of the rural people;
- creating greater opportunities for human development and employment; especially self-employment and invariably enhancing rural income levels;
- making it possible to have a progressively wider range and variety of goods and services to be produced and consumed by the rural people themselves as well as for exchange;

ii. to utilize the enormous resources of the rural areas to lay a solid foundation for the security, socio-cultural, political and economic growth and development activities of the rural areas;

iii. to ensure a deeply-rooted self-sustaining development process based on effectively mobilized mass participation, beginning from the grass roots and spreading thereafter to the wider economy.

The Nigeria's DFRRI can be perceived as a kind of Integrated Rural Development Strategy. Its activities can be grouped into the following broad areas: Provision of Economic and Social Infrastructures, Production of Agricultural Inputs, Development and Dissemination of Improved Technology to enhance agricultural and rural housing and Mobilization for Mass Participation in rural development, viz:

a) Provision of Economic and Social Infrastructures: Available statistics from the DFRRI press briefing (1992) reveals that DFRRI developed rural access roads.

Government surveys indicated that 60, 000km of rural feeder roads were either constructed or rehabilitated under the first phase which was completed in 1987. In 1990, a total of 30,724.34km of rural feeder roads were completed and accepted as having met the required specifications under the second phase of the project. Another 55,576.24km of rural roads were constructed in 1991. However, in 1992, a total of 85,592.82km of rural feeder roads were completed, inspected and accepted as can be found on table I below. Another important infrastructure on which DFRRI's resources were concentrated was rural electrification. The first phase took off in 1987. Two model villages in each local government area of the country were selected for the project so as to serve as reference points in rural development in the country. By 1989, 142 electricity projects were completed in phase 1. In 1990, 114 communities in 11 states were provided with electricity. In 1991, 325 communities were supplied with electricity, and another 506 communities benefited in 1992. Also, on water supply to rural communities, 4, 000 wells/boreholes were reported to have been sunk by 1989. Another I, 291; 11, 310 and 18, 680 wells and boreholes were sunk in 1990, 1991 and 1992, respectively (Ekpo & Olaniyi, 1995).

Table 1: DFRRI's Completed Projects on Economic and Social Infrastructures

Year	Amount Allocated (₦ Million)	Feeder Roads (km)	Rural Electricity (No. of communities)	Boreholes/wells
1986	500	—	—	—
1987	400	60, 000	—	—
1988	500	30, 000	—	—
1989	300	30, 000	142	4, 000

1990	300	30, 728.34	114	1, 291
1991	152.3	55, 576.24	325	11, 310
1992	250	85, 592.82	506	18, 680

Source: DFRRI Press Briefing (1992).

b) Production of Agricultural Inputs: With respect to DFRRI's production activities, two special programmes for cultivating 50 million fruit trees and producing improved seeds or mass distribution were launched in 1986. In 1987, various research institutes were engaged in the Directorate's seeds multiplication and distribution, livestock, horticulture and aquaculture development programmes. The end of 1987 marked a total production of 3,624 tonnes of assorted breeder/foundation seeds for livestock. In 1990, 1, 633 tonnes of seeds of arable crops, 4, 598 million oil palm seedlings and 294,072 tonnes of groundnut seeds were distributed to farmers. Aqua culture also increased through the production of 2, 666 million fish fingerlings. In 1991, the achievements improved some 4, 033.13 tonnes of improved seeds. 17, 112 million seedlings, 2, 666 million fingerlings and 14, 529 tonnes of fodder seeds were produced and distributed to farmers. In 1992, 846, 224 fruit seedlings for horticulture, 5, 726.13 tonnes of arable crops seeds and 3, 466 million fingerlings were produced and distributed to farmers as shown on table 2 below.

Table 2: DFRRI's Supply of Agricultural Inputs

Year	Arable crops (tonnes)	Oil palm (million)	Groundnuts (tonnes)	Fodder seeds (tonnes)	Horticulture (tonnes)	Fish (million)
1987	—	—	—	3, 624	—	—
1988	—	—	—	—	—	—
1989	—	—	—	—	—	—

1990	1, 633	4, 598	294, 072	—	—	2.67
1991	4, 033.13	17, 112	—	14, 529	—	2.67
1992	5, 726.13	—	—	—	846, 224	3.47

Source: Adopted and modified from Ekpo and Olaniyi (1995).

c) **Development and Dissemination of Improved Technology:** Another important project embarked upon by DFRRI was its collaboration with Nigerian Building and Road Research Institute (NBRRI), Project Development Agency (PRODA) and Bida Polytechnic on research into the ways of using local raw materials, and improving local technology for constructing houses in rural areas, the rural housing unit of the Directorate trained about 250 technical personnel from all the states; on how to use locally available raw materials and technology for building houses. In 1992, a total of 8, 024 technical extension workers were engaged in various communities to boost rural housing. The number of rural farmers who were able to go to farm in motorized vehicles increased by 23.6 per cent of the rural population between 1986 and 1993, and 31.4% of the rural dwellers had access to new health facilities built during the periods.

d) **Mobilization for Mass Participation:** DFRRI encouraged and assisted in the formation of Community Development Associations (CDAs) and community banks (which have metamorphosed into microfinance banks). The CDAs became very significant in rural development. They identified projects, assisted DFRRI, and mobilized the rural dwellers to partake in modernizing their domain. Between 1989 and 1991, a total of 8,108 CDAs were registered. Also, community banks were established in almost all the local government areas of the country (Ekpo and Olaniyi, 1995).

The above suggested tremendous quantitative achievement by DFRRI in all areas of the objectives. However, the quality of amenities provided posed a lot of problems, which reduced the impact of the Directorate on the rural communities. Furthermore, considering that there are more than 97, 000 rural communities in Nigeria (Ekpo and Olaniyi, 1995), these achievements were far from being adequate to solve the problems of rural life in the country. Some other problems which DFRRI faced was its inability to find a modus vivendi with other executive agencies of government, and ineffective grassroots monitoring and follow-up systems due to the large extent of the areas to be serviced, and the paucity of staff and logistic support.

7. **National Directorate of Employment (NDE):** This programme came into being during Gen. Ibrahim Babandiga's regime. It was established to deal with the rising unemployment in the country. It was structured to offer job seekers an opportunity of finding employment or working on their own through agriculture, industry and handicrafts. Each participant in the scheme was empowered to find jobs or otherwise to benefit from loans guaranteed by the establishment. NDE had its attendant problems, which included low funding for all participants, poor preparation of job seekers and the application of bureaucratic systems.
8. **The National Directorate for Social Mobilization:** Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's Administration established the directorate in 1987. It was popularly called Mass Mobilization for Self-reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER). It pursued aggressively the mobilization and enlightenment of the people towards their rights and duties. It covered the whole nation appealing to the conscience and sense of responsibility of the people, which is considered a most important aspect of rural

development. It also stepped up a virile campaign for food production through its ***Food First Programme***.

9. **The Better Life Programme:** Following the outcome of Beijing Conference of 1985, Chief (Mrs.) Maryam Babangida initiated the Better Life Programme for Rural Women in September 1987. The objectives of the programme, according to Obasi and Oguche (1995:74-75), include:
   - To stimulate and motivate rural women towards achieving better living standards, and sensitize the rest of Nigerians to their problems;
   - To educate rural women on simple hygiene, family planning, the importance of child-care and increased literacy rates;
   - To mobilize women collectively in order to improve their general lot and for them to seek and achieve leadership roles in all spheres of society;
   - To raise consciousness about their rights, the availability of opportunities and facilities, their social, political and economic responsibilities;
   - To encourage recreation and enrich family life; and
   - To inculcate the spirit of self-development particularly in the fields of education, business, the arts, crafts and agriculture (pp.74 – 75).

The activities of the Belter Life Programme were remarkable to the extent that its impact was felt throughout the length and breadth of the country. Some of the achievements of Better Life Programme according to Ijere (1990:59) included:

i. It exposed the potentials of women in creativity and management.

ii. Women became actively involved in all government programmes from the grassroots.

iii. Credit and other inputs now flow to rural organizations more than ever before.

iv. It had the establishment of ministries of women affairs in all the states of the federation.

1.1.6 Problems Affecting Rural Development in Nigeria

Ijere (1990) remarked that rural development will continue to be a basic problem to developing countries including Nigeria, because of the following reasons:

1. **Lack of National Philosophical Base.** The Nigerian rural development strategy lacked a philosophical, ideological and holistic foundation. It had a body (policy-makers and government functionaries), but had no soul to give it life and sense of direction. The usual practice has been to be in office propounding slogans and manifestations for the people below. That was instrumental to the failure of some rural development projects such as Farm Settlement Scheme, Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution, etc. A philosophical base is typified by an internal motivating and compelling force or commitment stemming from faith and love of the sapiens in the rural sector and determination to work for their upliftment. Without philosophical super structure, rural development remains an echo of good intentions from government and urban dwellers.
2. **Lack of Integrated Pilot Demonstration.** Before 1976, there was no national rural development programme in Nigeria. What was in vogue was segmented or

unco-ordinated rural development where it is assumed that new programmes in one community will have ripple effects on other communities and institutions. According to Oyaide ((1988), the first Department of Rural Development at federal level was established in 1976 to mobilize people, initiate local projects with local leadership, promote agriculture, rural development and community projects. By 1978, the government was not so sure of what to do with rural development. As such, the term "rural development" was added to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, and later replaced with Water Resources. These occur because it is not certain about the place of rural development in the overall development strategy.

3. **Lack of Cohesive Identity.** Failures have occurred in rural development as people regard the social and cultural aspects of development as subordinate to the economic development. Any innovation that does not guarantee the cohesiveness of the group and respect for their history and beliefs have little hope of survival.
4. **Defective Local Economies.** People tend to treat rural development projects as charity or welfare packages. Few people are interested in the costing, evaluating and ensuring that targets are met. As such, production is emphasized in rural development policy while marketing and marketing outlets are neglected. For example, Kano State Government in 1983 poured in a huge amount of money (about ₦ 895 million) into Kano River Basin Agricultural Project with little or nothing to show for them on the ground. This however, needs to be investigated and proved.

5. **Lack of Core Project Leadership.** The failure of project leadership to come from within to sustain the development projects has led to the falling apart of things in rural development. The tendency has been to rely on official leadership for carrying out rural projects. These official leaders are not prepared to motivate and sustain the enthusiasm of the people in the face of conflicts, depressions and unfulfilled expectations.
6. **Inadequate Community Participation.** The top-bottom approach to rural development employed by government functionaries whip up enthusiasm among the people, as there is absence of total community participation. Due to the approach adopted, people evoke unwilling response as they are regarded as being incapable of standing on their feet.
7. **Lack of Grassroots Planning.** There is little or no attempt to allow the rural communities to identify the problems and goals, analyze their own needs, and commit themselves to the achievement of targets. Local experts, Chiefs and community leaders, were taken for granted in deciding what projects to embark upon, and where and how to execute them. The planners do not consult even the interest groups, the co-operatives, and professional organizations.
8. **Inability to Optimize Local Resources.** Due to Nigeria's penchant for foreign-made goods, local resources are neglected for the imported goods. Local talents and manpower as well as other resources are also ignored, thereby loosing the opportunity of evolving appropriate technology.
9. **Neglect of Community Structural Approach.** The pattern in Rural Development Programmes in Nigeria centres on the imposition of imported schemes whether or

not they are related to the cultural and sociological life of the people. Examples of these areas of neglect include: appointing new leaders where such leaders already exist, not making use of youth organizations, age grades and women's groups in the initiation and implementation of programmes.

In view of the foregoing, and in line with the modern trends of sustainable development which lay emphasis on the bottom-up approach in which beneficiaries of any development must be involved in decision-making, this dissertation situates the role of Development Communication within the context of rural communities of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Although there is increasing knowledge of the role of communication in development as well as the need to incorporate participation in development interventions, there seem to be two essential gaps in the development processes of policy makers and implementers of development projects namely:

(1) There appears to be a difference between how participatory communication is conceived in theory, and how it is practiced in the field;

(2) As a result of this difference, there also seems to be selective application of participatory communication model in development programme planning processes and implementation.

This study therefore suggests that at the heart of effective development, stands communication that is two-way and learns from the experiences of different stakeholders of development project. To this end, this research probes the following:

1. What are the factors in the planning process of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) that perpetually militate against participatory communication in development?
2. What evidence is there that adopting a participatory method will guarantee project success?
3. What should be the critical pathways that need to be adopted to communicate with project beneficiaries that would guarantee success and sustainability of projects?

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to interrogate whether the adoption of an appropriate communication strategy for sustainable development is necessary by the Development Planners and Implementers in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja.

Accordingly, the objectives of the study are;

(i) To examine the extent to which the administration of the FCT involves the target beneficiaries in the planning process of the development interventions.

(ii) To assess the process which the FCT administration adopted in arriving at its development priorities.

(iii) To probe the communication strategies that were used between the target beneficiaries and the government officials in carrying out the projects under consideration.

(iv) Ascertain if failure or otherwise of the selected projects are as a result of the absence of participatory communication.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The concept of participation in development projects has been gaining recognition since the mid 1970s. Similarly, the role of communication is acknowledged as a key element for any development project. However, despite the general acknowledgement of these two concepts, there seem to be no significant changes at the end of development projects. These factors are attributed to lack of sincerity in the ways these concepts are defined and used in the development interventions, which also reflects in the way participatory communication approaches are being implemented in the field. However, since the field is relatively new, much work needs to be done in order for both development practioners and end users to adequately understand the relevance of communication in development process. The researcher therefore considers this study as useful in the process of that understanding.

The significance of the study, therefore is to show the following:-

i. That participatory communication in development has the potential of empowering the stakeholders by having rights in decision – making with policy makers through information sharing, thereby transforming the beneficiaries into active agents of development efforts.

ii. That if participatory communication is truly involved, it will reveal traditional beliefs and dogmas which hinder the rural communities from accepting innovations, knowledge; and that information sharing will help to overcome this dogma, thereby leading to acceptance of shared opinions.

iii. That this study will investigate the reasons and causes of unequal relations of knowledge and power and call for change.

iv. That for sustainable development of projects to occur, sharing of information, mutual understanding between the experts and the stakeholders resulting into a reversal of knowledge is important and compulsory.

v. That there will be significant achievement in sustainable development, if there is sincerity in participatory communication in all the phases of development, from project conception to its completion.

1.5 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

Development as a field of study is very large and all aspects cannot be thoroughly discussed and analysed in a single study of this nature. This study will therefore explore how participatory communication was either applied or neglected in the execution of projects in the rural communities of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria. In order to do this, the researcher has selected three projects from three out of six Area Councils of the FCT. These are;

- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)motorized water scheme at Gaba in Bwari Area Council
- Resettlement of Garki indigenes to Apo Resettlement site in Abuja Municipal Area Council
- Fadama III Integrated Agricultural project Scheme at Kekeshi in Abaji Area Council.

The projects were selected to reflect the changing development thinking that encapsulates all spheres of life instead of emphasis on Economic and Technological Development. It is also noteworthy that it is difficult to isolate development efforts in the cities without

resorting to the dominant paradigm of development being viewed as improvement in City Infrastructure and Technology and other variables that refer to the economic indices. It is the researcher's opinion, therefore, that the rural communities, which oftentimes, experience neglect and lack the basic necessities of life, are the most appropriate areas to test developmental growth of a country, in line with the new development thinking.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives attention to a review of what other Scholars say about communication as it affect, development. The key words of the review, therefore, are, 'development' and 'Communication' and focuses, especially on the subject of participatory communication. In this sense, the main theoretical approaches of development will be reviewed drawing attention to communication elements in development. The general overview of communication that is participatory, showing signs of departure of communication viewed from the perspective of the dominant paradigm, will also be reviewed. The review will culminate towards an alternative theory that envisions communication as dialogic, two-way, participatory and circular, leading to empowerment and sustainability of development interventions.

2.1 The Concept of Development

Development as a concept has various definitions depending on one's ideological standpoint or professional inclination. For example, Rodney (1969) defines it as "…a many-sided process". He said at the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. From the above definition, it could be seen that development goes beyond economic indicators. This conception has been amplified by Todaro who in his view considers development as "…a multidimensional process involving the reorganization and re-orientation of the entire economic and social system. This involves, in addition, to

improvement of income and output, radical changes in the institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes, customs and beliefs' (Todaro, 1985:108). The main contention above is that development is both a physical process as well as the state of the mind in which, while the transformation of institution is one aspect, another, is that the thinking of the people must change. In his contribution to the meaning of development, Seers (1969:3) argues that:

> The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to employment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one of two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it will be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capita income doubled.

This definition by Seers is important for an understanding of development, because it is centered on improvement in the living condition of the individual. By implication, it means, the economy could grow without the country being developed. This is correctly observed by Todaro (1985:96) who says:

> There were, for example a number of developing countries which experienced relatively high rates of growth of per capita income during the 1960s and 1970s, but which simultaneously showed little or no improvement or witnessed an actual decline in employment, equality and real incomes of the bottom 40 per cent of their populations. By the earlier growth definition, these countries were developing. By the more recent Poverty, Equality and Employment criteria, however, they were not.

In their definitions, Lain Mclean and McMillan (2003:148), posit that development is a normative concept referring to a multidimensional process. They argue that it must be relative to time, place and circumstance. Continuing, they say, increased economic efficiency, expansion of national economic capacity and technological advancement are

generally accepted as necessary conditions, if development is to be sustained. However, based on the definitions of Rodney, Seers and Todaro above, development must necessarily include changes in social structure, attitudes and motivation. They argue that in some instances, the increase of general welfare embraces even spiritual and cultural attainments, personal dignity and group esteem. In this sense, development is defined, or at least, it so appears, as the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for the realization of the potential of human personality, which in Todaro's opinion include:

Life Sustenance: This concerns the basic human needs, without which, life would be impossible. Amongst which include food, shelter, health and protection. When these things are not available in the society, we may conclude that there is no development. (Todaro, 1985:96)

Self-esteem: This may also be referred to as self-respect as it is the wish of the society to be respected. To this end, most societies pursue those things that will give them respect. These include wealth and technological advancement. Most of the highly developed nations of the world like Japan and the USA have these essential features. (Todaro, 1985:96)

Freedom: Freedom as used in this context, means emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and freedom from the social servitude of man and nature, ignorance, or misery, institution or dogmatic beliefs. When a society is free from superstitious beliefs, it will have more choices available to it. (Todaro, 1985:96)

In spite of Iain Mclean and McMillan's position of development being viewed as increase in economic efficiency, technological advancement etc, they have incorporated, as other

conditions of development, an increased national self determination which is predicated in the notion that development is something the country does to itself, which also means reduction in external dependency, the need for self governance, accountable government and respect for human rights and sanctity of life, being admitted as features of political development.

The idea of development as currently conceived appeared after World-War II, even though its roots can be placed between the two World-Wars when the major powers of the time agreed that it was necessary to devise mechanisms to avoid engaging in other catastrophic conflicts among nations. It was well understood that better communication among countries was needed to deter potential conflicts and that wars had their major roots in the condition of poverty and inequalities that characterized the international scenario. That is why one of the main concerns of the United Nations was that of avoiding new wars by assisting countries around the world to achieve sufficient level of economic growth. According to Esteva (1992), the development project started, when President Truman stated, in 1949, that the role of the rich countries was to address, the under-development of other countries, by fighting the poverty that affected more than half of the world. This entailed a worldwide programme to support the local economies, while at the same time, promoting the spread of democratic values and institutions. Truman made it clear that achieving greater production, through the application of scientific methods and technological knowledge, would lead to peace and prosperity for the whole world (Escobar, 1995). Following this line of thought, development has been considered and dealt-with, almost exclusively in economic terms. Even then, it was acknowledged that majority of the world population was plagued by hunger, poverty and related problems.

In addressing this problem, the richest countries, which basically were the major democracies of the West, chose one of two paths to follow. The first was to engage in a critical reflection about their colonial past and try to address the consequences of their actions around the world. This is with the aim of reshaping the world relations and a redistribution of wealth and power, according to the ideals of international justice and democracy. The second option was to neglect the past and continue along the established path of trying to help or to push the rest of the world in "catching-up". This latter option did not require any admission of wrong-doing, and expectedly this is the option that has been adopted.

It is for this reason therefore that many scholars have regarded development as an arbitrary construction aimed at maintaining the privileges of the industrialized countries. Esteva (1992) refers 'openly to the development intervention of the West' as a means for the West to perpetuate its global dominance. In the same direction, McMichael (1996) refers to the "development project" as mainly emphasizing the conscious strategy of the developed countries to deal effectively with the consequences of decolonization, whereby, maintaining old privileges. Framing human development in economic terms made it easier for these countries to maintain their domination, although not any more by imposing their military might, but using their equally powerful economic strength. This viewpoint was also amplified by Escobar (1995). He talks about the "problematization" of poverty as a way of following and justifying outside intervention in developing countries. He recognized that conditions of poverty have existed all along human history, but most societies had developed ways to deal with it through community boundaries and other

social mechanisms. Escobar adds that, massive poverty appeared only with the rise of capitalism that broke down community ties and deprived many people access to the most basic resources e.g. water, land, etc. Once the poverty problem was constructed, framed and legitimized, the industrialized nations that are richer came up with a mission to "modernize" backward countries and their people, and make everybody follow in the footsteps of most successful western countries. Ashcroft and Masilela (1994), push this critique even further. In discussing the outcome of a meeting of experts organized by FAO (1987a), they noticed how, even the final documents of the experts who were at the forefront of participatory communication at the time, entertained a number of elements indicating how participation was still ill-conceived, and viewed development aid from a vertical perspective, rather than horizontal, and blamed the poorest countries as the main cause for their conditions. Ashcroft and Masilela highlight how, in the FAO reports, statements such as "motivate to appropriate action" or "overcome socio-cultural barriers" were always used in reference to people and not to the technical specialists and they ask, "Is there some unilateral decision-making about who is the problem and who is the solution?" (FAO, 1994:279)

After World War II, and for many years, the field of 'development' had been shaped by a wider global confrontation: the cold war. This confrontation took place in every aspect of social life, especially at the international level, with each of the superpowers trying to pull countries within their sphere of influence. Development became a battle-field fought with the various development models and approaches, even though, according to Hopkins and Wallerstein (1982), the capitalist system was the only one available. They argue that capitalism's power was so dominant that it shaped the international boundaries of

development, drawing all relevant actors, including communist countries, to compete in a race that envisioned development mainly, when not exclusively as economic growth, thus neglecting other important aspects of human life.

In the fight against the socialist ideology about emphasis on the non-economic factors of development, one of the major economists of the dominant paradigm labeled his book a 'Non-communist manifesto'. In the book, Rostow (1960), maintains that all societies were expected to go through certain specific phases of economic growth based on certain assumptions of the capitalist economy that the main cause of backwardness of the third world is due to poverty arising from socio-cultural barriers. To achieve that goal, most financial and human resources devoted to development have been channeled through projects. Framing development through projects presented a number of advantages for those holding positions of responsibility both at national and international levels. On one hand, those conceptions were not only consistent with the scientific, measurable approach of the western model, but it also allowed for a greater degree of control, both politically and economically by donors. On the other hand, recipient countries found the project approach quite convenient as they could implement activities that they would otherwise not have the capacity to carry out.

By the 1970s, projects became the hegemonic answer to development, and as such they had to follow certain formats and fulfill certain functions along the lines set by the dominant approach. Carden (2000), argue that the role of projects became so tantamount that in many cases, they became not just the focus, but the end point of development efforts. Even if being increasingly questioned, the role of the experts and consultants gained a central relevance within this context (Chambers, 1998; Shepherd, 1998). The role

and rationale behind 'the project approach' does not appear to be questioned by any major player of the development world, despite the fact that after all, a large number of development projects failed to produce significant results.

A number of factors are blamed for those failures; among them is the failure to implement the project within budgets according to the plan, which would ensure achieving the expected objectives (Cusworth and Franks, 1993). According to Hornik (1998), failures of development projects can be divided into three main areas: The first being theory failures, the second being the false assumption that a certain development problem is linked with a certain solution; and finally, political failures, due to the lack of politically conducive environment. Other researchers have identified project failures as residing in poor formulation and planning, inadequate design, insufficient understanding of local realities, use of inappropriate technology, ineffective training methodologies and lack of enabling policies (Anyaegbunam et al; 1998; Hornik, 1988).

In addition to all of these, Fraser and Villet (1994) gave an insight that: "…Most of the causes attributed to project failures can be traced back to the insufficient involvement or the lack of involvement in the decision-making process by the people towards whom the development efforts are aimed, herein lies the development impasse."

Most international organizations and non-governmental organizations working in the development world have also come to agree with this position that lack of people's participation is one of the major factors for the failures of many projects (Anyaegbunam et al, 1998). It has been often cited as a major cause, for not only achieving the set objectives, but also for the lack of sustainability in projects that initially appear to be

successful. Similar to participation, sustainable development has become another key term in development and remains a highly controversial term, defined and interpreted in many different ways (Ghai & Vivian, 1992). When referring to development projects, the term "sustainability" can be defined as "the degree to which assisted activities remain active or continue to deliver benefits to people after international funding ended" (Rondinelli, 1993:2). In more general terms, sustainable development can be considered to imply the use of the available resources in such a way that they will not be depleted for future generations' (Wilkins, 2000).

Most development efforts in recent years have been re-oriented to include those two tightly interrelated key concepts of, 'Participation' and 'sustainability' (Anyaegbunam, 1999). The World Bank which has been one of the major organizations devoting increasing attention to people's participation, according to Jaffee (1998), has identified three main components related to the assessment of sustainable development: produced assets, natural capital and human resources. Despite this fact, most international agencies are devoting special attention and resources to sustainable development, shaped by people's participation, as one can hardly be detached from the other (Rahnema, 1992). It is however known that many of these organizations have often been accused of using participation only at face value in order to legitimize their interventions (Rahnema, 1992; Cooke & Kothan 2001). Whatever the case, there is no doubt that participation, with its corollary, sustainability, is now inescapable in development thinking. The addition that also needs to be made is the horizontal communication, which allows both interveners and the beneficiaries a clear understanding of the issues.

Since the 1940s, the field of development studies has been characterized by changes in the conceptions about the process of development itself. These changes are as a result of the need to find a common ground between the concept of development and how it is practiced in the field. Consequently, there are a myriad of views about its definition and the strategies pursued to achieve development. These varied views have gained grounds since the 1950s with literatures in development theory and practice blossoming since the mid 1980s. This is particularly so, because both ideas portray how development should occur and the efforts made to put various aspects of development into practice.

Hettne (1995:5), says development involves three things: development theories, development strategies and development ideologies. He defines development theories as: "A set of ostensibly logical propositions which aim to explain how development has occurred in the past, and/or how it should occur in the future". He explains that this can be normative, that is, they can speak with some degree of certainty, based on what happened in the past using past indices. It should however be noted that development is dynamic. Therefore, even if all the parameters used to judge development in the past are available, it is not a guarantee that these sets of rules would be workable today. He defines development strategies as:

> The practical paths to development which may be pursued by international agencies, states in the so-called developing and developed worlds, non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, or indeed individuals, in an effort to stimulate change within particular nations, regions and continents (Hettne 1995:7).

In essence, this definition provides efforts to change existing economic and social structures and institutions in order to find enduring solutions to the problems facing decision-makers. Hettne argues that this type of development implies an actor–normally

the state. He defines development ideologies as: “development that reflects social, economic, political, cultural, ethnic, moral and religious influences as objectives (Hettne 1995:8). It should be noted that both in theory and practice, early perspectives on development, were almost exclusively concerned with promoting economic growth. Subsequently, however, the predominant ideology within the academic literature changed to emphasize political, social, ethnic, cultural, ecological and other dimensions of wider processes of development and change.

Theories in development are distinctive by virtue of the fact that the intention is to change the society in some defined manner; for example, the age-long battle between economic policies which increase growth, which is a form of development but widens income disparities. Those policy imperatives also which seek primarily to reduce inequalities within the society, another form of development.

Perhaps, what is common in all these theories is a practical effort to bring a synergy with the concept of “development thinking” which will indicate the sum total of ideas about development that is, including pertinent aspects of development theory, strategy and ideology. This is in spite of the fact that the various theories have not been able to come up with a sequence of theories that build directly on the next theory. It will therefore be noted that as new set of ideas about development come into lime–light, earlier theories and strategies still remain and stack up, one upon another, co-existing sometimes as what can only be described as a very convoluted and contradictory manner. In discussing development theory, therefore, attention should be drawn to the tendency of social science paradigms to accumulate rather than fade away.

2.1.1 Main Theoretical Approaches

This section provides a historical overview of the three main theoretical perspectives or paradigms in the field of international development; that is, the Modernization Theory, the Dependency Theory, with its related World Systems Theory, and the Participatory Paradigm. The role ascribed to communication in each of them will also be briefly discussed. The term 'paradigm' in the context of this study is as stated by Guba (1990:17), which is used to denote "a basic set of beliefs that guides action, whether of the everyday variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry".

2.1.2 Modernization Theory

The Modernization Theory which arose soon after World War II, argues that the best, if not the only way, to achieve successful development consists in the adoption and diffusion of those values and approaches that ensured the success of the western way of life. At the individual level, modernization requires a high degree of empathy and an attitude ready to abandon traditional beliefs and embrace change (Lerner, 1958). At a cultural level, it requires an open mentality guided by faith in the 'scientific approach', whose roots lie in the principles of enlightenment. At the political level, it requires the adoption of the democratic system; and at the economic level, it advocates a strong belief in the virtues of a free market.

Within the liberal doctrine, modernization, considered as the dominant paradigm, regards development as a linear, evolutionary and unidirectional process (Servaes, 1991). In the context of this paradigm, underdeveloped countries are considered as mostly responsible for their conditions. Hence, it is their responsibility to catch-up and bridge the gap that

separates them from the developed countries. This, according to the theory, would be achieved only by taking advantage of the assistance offered by the rich and developed countries and must also copy their steps.

Many of the core elements of this theory, even though criticized through the years, have achieved a powerful hegemonic influence and are still permeating most aspects of life. Communication and media in particular, have been regarded as a primary instrument needed to achieve, maintain and strengthen modernity. Communication in this paradigm has been concerned as a one-way process, passing messages from one point to many others usually in a vertical, top-down manner. According to Lasswell (1948), Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), and Klapper, (1960), modernization paradigm has led to the first systematic attempts to apply communication in development. Some scholars, such as Lerner (1958), Rogers, (1962) and Schramm (1964), had a specific interest in studying how communication could be used to foster national development, which, at that time, was considered predominantly in economic terms. These were among the most prominent scholars promoting the core beliefs of the dominant paradigm, that is, blind faith in science, liberal democracy, free market, and in the need for people to be able to adapt fast to the changing world. To be effective, all of these would be channeled through the institutions of the nation–state.

Despite all the financial and human resources, poured into developing countries, the modernization approach did not record significant successes. The decade of the 1970s did not witness the expected outcomes and the optimism placed in the scientific and modern approaches of the theoreticians, practitioners and leaders around the world began to fade away (Burkey, 1993). In the 1980s things got even worse as large numbers of people in

many developing countries experienced a significant decline in their living standards (Chambers, 1997). That is why the modernization paradigm has been increasingly critiqued from a number of perspectives and for a number of reasons. First of all, it was considered to be ethnocentric, or better still, 'western centric', disregarding other possible values and approaches to life, different from those of the west. In this regard, Servaes (1991), notes how the dichotomy between modernity and tradition is a biased one, with no real scientific or objective grounds to justify it. It considers the modernization paradigm theoretically flawed, as it put the blame on developing countries without solid arguments. From a methodological point of view, he criticizes it because it is rooted in the tradition of evolutionism, which does not pay particular attention to the source of change. From a logical point of view, he criticizes its theoretical assumptions that appear to wrongly imply that a sequence of events in chronological order is enough to establish a link of cause-effect (Servaes, 1991:56).

Finally, one of the major points raised by the critics of the modernization theory, consists in the predominant, if not exclusive, focus on economic dimension, therefore neglecting other aspects of human life. Yet, this paradigm appeared to have greatly failed precisely in its main mission i.e. to foster economic growth in the Third World countries. Criticisms to this paradigm became so much that even their main proponents started to re-evaluate some of its major assumptions. Rogers (1976), openly acknowledged some of the main flaws when he paid more attention to the people at the other end of the development equation and emphasized the need for a different, more people-based approach. Nevertheless, it was observed that he still could not escape from the boundaries of the traditional vertical and linear communication model. Some ambiguities of approaches were identified, for

example, when Rogers made reference to Maoist China, which on one hand supported the need for popular participation, but was unable to step out of the old one-way, linear flow of communication, on the other. The category labeled 'development communication' basically followed the same direction, in which communication was predominantly used to diffuse innovations and to support social marketing campaigns.

2.1.3 Dependency and World Systems Theories

The criticisms against modernization resulted in the emergence of an alternative theoretical approach that originated in Latin America from a politico-economic perspective – the Dependency Theory. One of its founding fathers, Frank, (1969), criticizes the fact that modernization scholars usually placed the full responsibility, and blame, for their condition of under-development, mainly within the door steps of the developing countries. Based on a structural analysis of the international capitalist system, Frank considered development and underdevelopment as part of the same process, arguing that they are caused by specific historical, economic and political factors. Hence, the causes of underdevelopment should not be located internally within countries, but externally, for example, it should be attributed to the aftermath of the colonial past and other forms of exploitations. Dependency theory considers that the imbalance in the world's economies is due to the international patterns of domination.

In this conception, the dominant countries in the western hemisphere are considered to take advantage of their technological know-how, superior infrastructure and economic power to strengthen their lead, while the main role of the developing countries continues to be that of supplying raw materials and cheap labour. In order to overcome this situation, countries

in the periphery are required to become economically self-reliant, thus, breaking the economic ties of dependency and to form alliances among themselves in order to become a bigger political weight. The ultimate goal would be to change the overall international set of relationships. In this respect, the dependency theory fuelled the demand for the New International Economic Order as well as those of "the great debate" of the 1980s which centered mainly on the need for the developing countries to be non-aligned to any western or eastern powers for any reason. In conjunction with this debate for the New Economic order also, came the struggle to democratize information. This is because there is an intrinsic relationship between the discourse of economies and its communication. The relationship is that, whoever controls information, its production and distribution would also control perceptions and thought processes through which issues are apprehended. It then became a twin fight that alongside the debate for a New International Economic Order, there was an urgent need for the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (Nordenstreng, 1990).

The dependency theory had a significant impact in the development policies in a number of Third World countries, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, resulting in the adoption of import-substitution policies by many of those countries (Escobar, 1995). This strategy aimed at protecting national industries from outside competition by subsidizing them and putting high tariffs on imported products. The main idea according to McMichael (1990) was to stimulate the growth of domestic industrialization in order to reduce or sever dependent ties with richer countries. Even though this strategy appeared to be partially successful in a few countries, e.g. Brazil, it failed to achieve its goals in most countries. The result of protecting and supporting local industries often resulted in poor quality

products and in insufficient production. This led to the necessity of asking for more loans, thereby, a new form of financial and political dependency emerged (Servaes, 1991).

In communication, the anti-dependency proponents advocated a coalition of the Third World countries in order to counter-balance the authority of the first and second world countries. These are part of the fall-out of the great debate of the 1980s. They also proposed that developing countries should increase the amount of trading, communication and information exchange between each other. The acknowledgement of Third World countries' common status as an oppressed force, assisted in compacting them into a more homogeneous movement, such as the non-aligned movement earlier stated, which had some significant results in the 1980s. The debates on a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), started to gain importance and force on the agenda of most international institutions which was making the west become jittery. However, with the fall of the Soviet Union, the impact of the Non-aligned Movement reduced and the NWICO gradually lost relevance.

The dependency theory had been critiqued for simplistically dividing the world into two blocs: core and periphery. This categorization neglects the fact that there are also internal factors affecting the development of nations, such as the role of national elites (Servaes, 1991). These elites have often formed strategic alliances with those of the developed world and they are playing significant roles in shaping, often in negative ways, the development process of their countries. In this way, by attributing the causes of underdevelopment strictly to activities of the capitalist world, dependency theorists as agreed by Worsley (1984), neglected to consider other causes contributing to the same problem. Another critique regards the fact that no attention is given to the difference in the

political, economic status of developing countries, resulting in a big and potentially rich country as Brazil or India, being put in the same category of poorer countries such as Honduras and Mozambique.

However, the World-Systems theory refines the theoretical model of dependency and, through the work of Wallerstein, overcomes its flaws by adopting a more holistic approach, encompassing world dynamics within a single system. In their work, Wallerstein and Hopkins (1982), starting with an historical analysis which dates back to the sixteenth century, interpret the global scenario as a unified world-system. The mechanisms operating at national and international levels are those typical of capitalism and, despite its many forms, once deprived by its different attributes, the essence of that system remains the capitalist one. Hence, the dynamics of international relations and the causes of underdevelopment can all be considered internal to the system, according to the international division of labour and the control of resources.

In making this reconfiguration clear, Wallenstein (1982) divides the world into four main categories: the core, the semi periphery, the periphery and the external arena, thereby addressing some of the flaws caused by the oversimplified division of the dependency theory that divided the world into two blocs only. His main contribution consists in elevating the framework for analysis from a national to a global level. In this way, he eliminates many of the fallacies encountered in the dependency paradigm.

As it is usually the case for doctrines close to Marxist positions, world-systems theory has been criticized for its strong emphasis on economic factors. This, however, cannot be entirely justified, since describing and analyzing the international scenario as defined and

constructed by capitalism would inevitably lead to focusing on economic considerations. It should also be noted that although Wallenstein has given the primacy to economic factors, he openly acknowledges the importance of political and cultural elements in a number of his writings, arguing that: "…there has been a lot of political injustice meted to the third world in the post colonial era in which the third world was forced to be consumers of finished goods from their former masters". (Wallenstein, 1982)

2.1.4 Towards an Alternative Theory

The search for a different vision and approach in development practices is currently linked with people's participation and empowerment. Participation is a concept that has been gaining increasing recognition and prestige both in the discourse and in the practices of development. Its significance consists in the attempt of transforming people from passive recipients to active agents of development efforts. There are a number of reasons for this shift. Perhaps the major one is stated by Ashcroft and Masilela (1994:282) who says: "If peasants do not control or share control of the processes of their own development, there can be no guarantee that it is their best interest that is being served".

The communication process in Alfred Kuhn's opinion is essential to the creation of social reality and for effective and sustainable development. Human social systems came into existence through the forging of communication network that binds people together into groups, organizations, communities, nations and cultures, (Alfred Kuhn 1957:17). Literature on social organizations abound with corroboration of this assertion. In his analysis of social systems, Alfred Kuhn (1975:67) identifies communication as the means whereby components of the system can be made to achieve the interaction and

organization necessary for its sustenance. Pool (1973:30) sees communication networks as the thread that holds social systems together. Furthermore, Denton and Woodword (1985:47) declared that the achievement of social order depends upon "the development of a sense of community among the people". They admit that this process is complex, but would be attained primarily through communication. Several other writers, notably Deustch (1955:12), Katz and Kuhn (1966:39), Rogers (1976:15), have also made similar observations that the development of the sense of community for a meaningful social order is dependent on effective communication. The importance of communication, therefore, in development has been known for quite some time and it has been already illustrated that soon after World War II, a number of Scholars such as Lerner (1958), Rogers (1962); Schramm, (1964) had studied the issue giving their perspective on how best to use it.

In 1980, UNESCO established the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The report of the Commission (McBride, 1980:258) emphasizes the importance of incorporating communication policies and strategies in national policies as well as the importance to adopt communication approaches that will involve people "in the diagnosis of needs and in the design and implementation of selected activities", hence, the emergence of communication for development.

The purpose of communication should be to make something 'common' or to participate in doing something. It implies the sharing of meanings, perceptions, world view or knowledge. In this context, participation implies an equitable division of what is being shared, which is why participatory communication is almost naturally associated with a balanced two-way flow of information. If there is a two-way flow of communication, it

logically follows that there should be participation from all the parties involved in a particular communication initiative.

In Pretty's (1995) opinion however, there is no consistent definition or operationalisation of the term 'Participation' neither in theory nor in practice. This, therefore according to him allows the labeling of projects as 'participatory' even when it is certain that there is a very limited and partial involvement of the local people, the so-called beneficiaries. Uphoff (1985) gave four different ways of participation as follows:

Participation in Implementation: this is where people are actively encouraged and mobilized to take part in the actualization of projects. They are given certain responsibilities and tasks or are required to contribute some resources.

Participation in Evaluation: this is where people are invited to critique the success or failure of a project, upon completion.

Participation in Benefit: this is where people take part in enjoying the fruits of a project, such as water from a hand pump, medical care from a 'barefoot' doctor, a truck to transport produce from market, or village meetings in the new community hall.

Participation in Decision-Making: this is where people are invited to initiate, discuss, conceptualize and plan activities they will do as a community. Some of these may be related to more common development areas such as building schools or applying for land tenure. Others may be more political, such as removing corrupt officials, supporting parliamentary candidates, or resisting pressures from the elites. Yet others may be cultural or religious in nature such as organizing a traditional feast, prayers for an end to the drought, or a big party, just to have a good time.

Some development initiatives provide people with opportunities for all the four ways of participation. Many do not, and restrict participation to one or two ways. It is expected that if participation could be used and applied in a genuine and consistent way, decisions that have been traditionally taken by outsiders (i.e foreigners, experts), can gradually be made by insiders (Local Communities). Participation cannot be reduced to people's involvement in the implementation of projects, but it should start from the very beginning. If people do not have the power to decide their priority needs and problems, there can be no true participation. Similarly, there can be no open and balanced flow of information unless all parties share a similar amount of decision-making power in the communication process.

Anyegbunam et al (1998), illustrates this with the use of *Johari's* Window as follows:

Window 1: Open Knowledge	
What they know	What we know
Window2: Our Hidden Knowledge	
What they do not know	What we know
Window 3: Their Hidden Knowledge	
What they know	What we do not know
Window 4: The Blind Spot	
What they do not know	What we do not know

The Johari's window above helps to show the collaborative effort involved in problem solving in a project circle. This illustration starts by acknowledging that both insiders and outsiders share something in common (e.g. Language, certain understanding and perception of situations) and that common knowledge constitutes the starting point. The next two quadrants refer to the specific knowledge of each group. The 'outsider' experts, with their University degrees etc surely have some knowledge that the insiders do not have. However, the latter, having lived in those places for generations, have an in-depth knowledge and deep understanding of the implications of the issues at stake that may hardly be understood by the outsiders.

Therefore, starting from common grounds, both of them must work together, combining their knowledge and experience to deal with the last quadrant: what neither of them knows. The unknown area represents a major problem or need to be addressed and solved.

Even though participatory communication has been used for sometime, only recently has it been widely acknowledged as a crucial component, if not a universal right in itself of development practices (Coldevin and FAO, 2001). In this sense, according to Hussein (1995:176) "… most, if not all, international agencies are now incorporating participatory approaches into their development projects since participation has become the dominating ideology in contemporary thinking in both governmental and non-governmental agencies"

This is because it is considered as an indispensable element for guaranteeing the success and sustainability of development projects. Its relevance has been openly acknowledged in a number of international conferences such as the Earth Summit in 1992, the International

Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the World Summit in 1995; and many others.

These days, most development programmes seem to carry the participatory mark as a sign of purification from the mistakes of the past. However, the wide convergence in participatory approaches has not resulted in a unified paradigm; but rather, it has generated a number of well-intentioned models, not always consistent with each other. Among these myriad of approaches, a few are worthwhile mentioning: these include the multiplicity paradigm (Servaes, 1991), the Autonomous Development (Carmen, 1996). Another Development (Melkote, 1991; Jacobson, 1994), derived from the conception of former United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold and further promoted in the Cocoyoc Declaration; the empowerment approach (Friedmann, 1992), the Liberation Approach (Freire, 1997), the Dialogue paradigm (Guba, 1990) and all the heterogenic conception of the participatory, people-based development, such as that of Chambers (1997) and many others.

The participatory paradigm is a frequently used term meant to describe this family of approaches. However, despite its more limited use, the researcher adopt the one suggested by Guba (1990), the dialogue paradigm, because according to Freire, dialogue is at the heart of participation, communication and even empowerment (Freire, 1997). In addition, dialogue implies a positive and constructive attitude towards problems and possible conflicts. Differently from the proponents of the modernization and the dependency paradigms, most of the advocates of this proposed paradigm, or group of theoretical approaches, are not even attempting to provide a grand theory, aimed at a theoretical interpretation of the world. They seem more interested in identifying and analyzing draw

backs and limitations of current development practices, especially at the community levels and in attempting to identify normative approaches that could provide operational guidelines in the field. Some of the basic features of this approach are the emphasis on people, the indigenous vision of development and attention to power issues. The missing factor is the communication process that is supposed to be two ways, and endogenous.

Therefore, in subscribing to Freire's dialogic paradigm, which puts communication at the centre, the proponents of this perspective are supporting a radically different conception from the traditional one: a model that is characterized by dialogue and a horizontal flow of information. In this approach, communication loses the top-down connotation rooted in the modernization paradigm and becomes, instead, a tool for empowerment (Freire, 1997). Even when used in mass-media, messages are expected to originate from the people themselves rather than from the "experts" (Mody, 1991: 99).

Participatory approaches have been often critiqued from many perspectives (Ranhema, 1992) and they can hardly be considered outside of the modernity paradigm. Nevertheless, they constitute a step directed at challenging the current development boundaries and push them a bit further. Unfortunately, alternative visions of development have a hard time materializing in practice as they often encounter implicit and explicit resistance due to established routines and beliefs rooted in the dominant paradigm. The formal recognition of the many flaws in the modernization paradigm (Rogers, 1976; Servaes, 1991), has not resulted in a significant paradigm shift in practice, even though the focus of development gradually shifted towards an increased attention to all aspects of human life, and not considered along merely economic determinants.

The increasing rise of liberal democracy as the dominant form of government at the global level has opened the way for considering people taking part in the decision-making processes concerning their own lives, as a required attribute in all development efforts. Many United Nations agencies have been very active in promoting this perspective, among them are: Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Funds (UNICEF), and the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP), which is probably one of the most outstanding agencies in this respect.

The reasons for the adoption of participation in development, however, are not to be located exclusively within the political context of democracy. As early as 1982, White (as cited in McKee, 1994:215), had summarized the major reasons for the adoption of this approach in ten points:

i. More will be accomplished
ii. Services can be provided at a lower cost
iii. Participation has intrinsic value for participants, alleviating feelings of alienation and powerlessness.
iv. Participation is a catalyst for further development efforts.
v. Participation leads to a sense of responsibility for the project
vi. Participation guarantees that a need is identified and that the beneficiaries are involved in the analysis of the need
vii. Participation ensures that things are done the right way.
viii. Participation ensures the use of indigenous knowledge and expertise.
ix. Participation brings freedom from dependence on professionals.

x. Participation brings about "conscientisation" i.e. it helps people understand the nature of the constraints which are hindering their escape from poverty.

Despite all the listed benefits, participation has remained a highly praised term, but a poorly adopted one. This is probably due, also, to its multifaceted conception and the many sensitive issues involved in its application. Almost any development practitioner has his/her conception about the meaning of participation, causing some divergent views on what participation truly entails and how it should be applied. However, the richness or ambiguity of the concept is not considered to be a problem by everybody. Servaes argues that in dealing with participation, rigidly defined theoretical structures are only not feasible, but also not desirable (Servaes, Jacobson & White, 1996). He claims that participation's strength derives from its flexibility in adapting its strategic approach according to the situation. However, other scholars tend to believe that this constitutes a major weakness of participatory approaches, which can be easily adopted and used in a number of ways, often not consistent with the participatory philosophy. Huesca (2000:75): states:

> Indeed, participation has been embraced by development scholars who have incorporated this notion into modernization practices, such as message development and social integration. The pluralistic spirit of the participatory turn in development communication has had the ironic effect of redeeming the Dominant paradigm from its critics.

Uphoff (1985), in a taxonomy that has also been adopted by other scholars, considers that participation as applied in development projects can be divided into four categories: participation in implementation, participation in evaluation, participation in benefit and; participation in decision-making. Although there are advantages in adopting such

categorization, there are some major concerns, for example, linking participation with specific phases of the project will invalidate the whole idea about participation. Participation is supposed to run a full cycle of the project life.

Another controversial point in Uphoff's, taxonomy consists in the way he defines the phases related to the project. There is no mention of participation in the assessment or research phase and; as far as participation in "benefit" is concerned, even if providing an interesting perspective upon which to assess participation, it seems to be rather de-linked from others. (Pretty et al, 1995:61) also sub-divided participation into seven different ways according to which development organizations interpret and apply participation in the field. These range from passive participation, where people are simply told what is happening and it is considered as mere head counting, to self-mobilization, where people do not only have the power to take decisions, but can also initiate the process. In between these two extremes, there are other kinds with different degrees of people's involvement. The full typology as provided by Pretty et al; is as follows:

i. Passive participation
ii. Participation in information giving
iii. Participation by consultation
iv. Participation for material incentives
v. Functional participation
vi. Interactive participation
vii. Self-mobilization

Historically, terms such as 'participation' and 'participatory' entered the development discourse in the 1950s (Rahnema, 1992). However, this trend started to catch up only towards the end of the 1970s when new approaches aimed at giving people a bigger role in development efforts emerged. Examples of this can be found in research methods paying closer attention to people at the local level e.g. Rural Rapid Appraisal, Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Action Research; and in the increased attention paid to this approach by development agencies. An example of this can be found in the 1973 United States foreign Assistance Act calling American aid to involve intended beneficiaries in the planning and implementation phases of development projects. (Cornwall, 2000). Among the family of Participatory Approaches, Participatory Rural Appraisal is probably the best known. It started to become popular in the 1980s as a research method, trying to reach a balance between the researchers needs to be scientific in their approach and the community's rights to participate in activities concerning their own well-being (Chambers, 1993).

By spending extended periods of time in the community, PRA researchers are expected to understand better and pay very closer attention to the needs and problems identified and defined by the community. As a result of Chambers field work, PRA has gained increased relevance internationally. It started by considering the rural-poor as the most disadvantaged and often, illiterate members of the society. Chambers promote a number of participatory techniques and tools that need no literacy skills. In this way, he encourages all people to bring out their knowledge and ideas openly. This approach facilitates people's involvement in the problem analysis process and stimulates the "reversal of learning": from the rural-poor, to the experts. This point is illustrated effectively by one of the

phrases Chambers often uses in these experiential workshops: “everyone is ignorant, only in different fields”. His work is in many ways consistent with Freire’s approach. They both share a sincere concern for the empowerment of the oppressed and the disadvantaged sectors of the society which often tend to be in rural areas.

The strengths and weaknesses of participation and empowerment are also evident in one of its best-known approaches, which originated in the 1970s, Participatory Action Research (PAR). From the beginning, PAR was received with suspicion by most international agencies, as it was characterized, according to Fals-Borda & Rahman (1991:24) by:

> An activist and somewhat anti-professional bent-as many of its proponents quit university posts; hence the importance attached to such innovative field research techniques as social intervention as well as militant research with a political party organization in mind.

In essence the proponents of PAR plunged into the field of participatory communication with the aim of brainwashing the local society and trying to convince them that their ideas are better than that of the local communities and therefore should abandon their traditional method of doing things. This kind of activism can also lead to a sort of ideological imposition on people, which ultimately negates the essence of participation and empowerment. With time, the PAR matured and acquired a more reflexive mode. It is still however, an approach which is strongly opposing the basic theoretical and practical assumptions of the dominant positivitist – scientific paradigm; and its research approach is now being applied in a more systematic and less militant way (Fols-Borda, Rahman, 1991). Its scope also is geared towards the investigation to change unequal relations of knowledge and power. It also maintains a number of substantial methodological differences from other conventional approaches to development, the main one being its call

for change and its renunciation of being an exclusive umpire in development interventions. At its very core, PAR aims to be an empowering experience for the poorest peoples and those peoples are expected to use it to bring change, hopefully for the better.

The main weaknesses of these kinds of approaches, as argued by their opponents, reside in their "scientific and biased" approach to development. This critique is rooted in the traditional conception of the dominant paradigm, which assumes that there is single, objective and verifiable reality that can be investigated, explained and addressed through objectively verifiable methods. The assumption is that science will lead to the "truth", hence, everybody operating contrary to this process is wrong. In the dominant paradigm, science has been regarded as the main element of modernizing the world, and this carried a number of assumptions that cannot be easily eliminated. PAR and similar approaches envision a constructionist epistemology, which does not imply a single, objectively verifiable world, but rather a number of equally valid realistic views socially constructed. In this, way, truth loses its absolute value, while dialogue becomes a methodological and epistemological instrument to change the world. This means that the so called expert does not have to be unnecessarily rigid in his ideas, but must also lay his cards on the table for mutual scrutiny by the community.

Another alternative approach focusing on people's participation, is constituted by the "autonomous development" envisioned by Carmen (1996). He considers participation to be the missing link between the people and development. At the same time, he is very critical about the way in which the concept of participation has often been defined and applied in development, even by some of its renown advocates. Carmen (1996:87) argues that: "participation has often been used in a way that has implicitly made the poor

responsible for their own misfortunes and it has put all the blames for their conditions on internal aspects, thus, neglecting, economic and political factors outside their reach". According to the Manila Declaration, there is a need "for a fundamentally different" model of development based on the principles of the: "sovereignty of the people who are the real actors of positive change". It posits that the legitimate role of government is to enable people pursue their own agenda. People must be allowed to control their own resources, have access to relevant information, and create a machinery in which they can hold government officials accountable. It is the government's elementary duty to protect those rights. Those who would assist the people work their development must recognize that they are the ones who are the participants in the support of the people and not vice verse: i.e. the interventionist principle and its arrogance is turned on its head.

The process leading to people's participation can be time consuming and nerve-racking. That is why, despite their increasing popularity, participatory approaches have undergone a number of criticisms. The most common are their limited effectiveness due to contradicting approaches (top-down vs bottom-up) at different levels, i.e. research, planning, implementation, evaluation which are easily subjected to external manipulation , that they are difficult to reproduce on a national scale and that they often adapt a patronising approach as a way of using "conscientisation" techniques (Midgley et al, 1986). The evaluation of the outcomes resulting from participatory approaches remains a controversial issue. Other problems include the tendency of local communities to concern themselves with their own self-interests and the possibility that community participation may be "high-jacked" by powerful groups within the community, i.e. men at the expense of women. People's participation can be further discouraged when people feel they are

being looked down upon by others with higher socio-economic status (Jones and Pandey, 1981).

The problems stated above, by no means slow down the momentum for participatory approaches, which entail major theoretical and attitudinal shifts by development workers, especially the well remunerated international workers, in line with the doctrine of Freire (1997:58). Local extentionists and other field workers face a similar problem. It is certainly not easy for a person who has gone through many years of schooling and has been trained to talk and impart-knowledge, to suddenly sit and listen, learn from the "ignorant peasants". Knowledge, however, is not a prerogative of those holding a university degree. In the decision making process, indigenous knowledge and people's perceptions are as important as academic knowledge and scientific information (Chambers, 1997).

Chambers (1997), recounted his personal experience in northern Namibia where government extension agents were complaining that local farmers were not only ignorant, but were also stubborn because they failed to follow a number of procedures that would increase their crops yield. One such procedures required farmers to plant their seeds in rows, as against the way it was traditionally done through broadcasting. The extentionists tried to convince them that research has shown a higher productivity rate when seeds were planted in rows. But as hard as the extentionists tried to explain this to farmers, they would not do it. When the FAO experts were invited to carry out a Participatory Communication Rural Appraisal (PRCA), they soon found out that there was a reason for the farmers' behaviour. They found out that the farmers' experience is that, every time they attempted to plant the seeds in an orderly manner, i.e. in rows, the rodents quickly found

out the pattern and ate most of the seeds. Broadcasting their seeds, therefore was not due to ignorance, but was a conscious strategy that allowed them to save a significant number of seeds from the attack of rodents. He concluded that this is just an example where the scientific accuracy of experimentation usually done under a controlled environment in a laboratory, was not compatible with the real situation in the field. This shows that researchers and projects' personnel must learn to listen to and understand people's point of view, since, after all, they are the primary stakeholders of the process. The emphasis of this process is on sharing information, mutual understanding and reversal of knowledge (Chambers, 1993, 1997). That is why training approaches, educational theories and capacity building activities are crucial in this context.

A number of scholars have emphasized the relevance of participation in a number of fields, among them are: Milbrath (1965), Cernea [ed], 1985), Burkey (1993), Chambers (1983), 1993 and 1997), in which even if they are studied in different contexts, participation is demonstrated to be a valuable approach. Miller and Mong (1987) investigated participation and its effects in the decision-making process of organizational systems. They indicated that participation has a number of different attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural beneficial effects leading to increased performance. Marshall and Stohl (1993) studied participation among line workers and found that the degree to which workers were involved and empowered in the information system was related to the workers' satisfaction and performance. Therefore, no matter the context, participation appears to be a winner, in a two apparently contradicting realities such as that of supporting people's empowerment and that of improving worker performance. Efforts to incorporate the principles of participation within the communication processes have

basically implied changing the classic model of vertical information flow into a horizontal, circular flow.

Communication models following this perspective will also have to take 'power' into account, since authentic participation entails empowerment. Participating in the development process signifies having the power to make and take decisions concerning one's own well-being. However, participation cannot be restricted to the realm of development projects. It cannot be a simple means or strategy to increase projects sustainability, but it is bound to be a component of a larger picture as stated in the UNDP Annual Report (1993:21) which states: "Since participation requires increased influence and control, it also demands increase empowerment in economic, social and political terms".

2.2 Communication: An Overview

Early communication theory took the form of models. In a classic communication theory text book published in 1972, C. David Mortenson defines a model "… as a systematic representation of an object or event in idealized and abstract form". According to him, a model of communication is a still picture of a moving process. Models of communication are therefore useful in identifying the basic component of the communication process and how they relate to each other. A model aids in conceptualizing processes of interest and in generating questions for richer forms of theory. Models are helpful as metaphors that guide our ability to visualize concepts of interest in terms of one another as they help us to clarify complex processes. However, communication models are oversimplified and mask complex processes that cannot be modelled, often leading to premature conclusions.

Models are very limited and thus, are best thought of as only a most rudimentary form of theory. The earliest known models of communication were developed by Aristotle (1865) in his theories of Rhetoric and proof. Aristotle's purpose was prescriptive – to instruct others to be effective persuasive speakers.

Contemporary communication theory according to Edna Rogers (2009), is descriptive, and that its purpose is to describe, explain, predict, and/or control communication phenomena. She continues that early 20th century views of communication were highly mechanistic, treating communication as a machine – like process, wherein information or messages are depicted as travelling through channels. These mechanistic models are also known as linear models because the communication process is depicted as a line. There is a common consensus among scholars that the most influential linear model is Shannon and Weaver's Mathematical Model, developed to help telephone engineers design efficient ways to transmit electrical signals from place to place. The Shannon-Weaver mathematical model was essentially a line from left to right that travelled through boxes, depicting an information source through a transmitter (encoder), which transforms the message to a signal, sending it through a channel that is affected by noise. The signal then passes through a receiver (decoder), which transforms the signal back to a message that finally reaches the destination. The Shannon-Weaver model was not meant to describe face to face human communication, but it provided a base line from which to do so.

Numerous models of face-to-face human communication were based on the Shannon-Weaver linear model. Scholars of human Communication took a message-centered approach in modeling communication. The most basic form of linear communication models is often called a model of communication as action, depicting a sender (or source,

or speaker), transmitting a message through some channel to a receiver – still a line drawn from left to right. In 1960, communication scholar David Berlo coined the term SMCR to describe this type of linear model, denoting the model components of Sender (or Speaker or Source), Message, Channel and Receiver. Models that depicted communication-as-action were unsatisfactory because they were too heavily focused on the Sender or Source of the originating message.

In 1954, Wilbur Schramm created one of the first models of face-to-face human communication. Rather than a Sender and a Receiver, Schramm's model depicted interpreters, who were simultaneously encoders and decoders. Though messages were still depicted as travelling along a line, the line was circular, beginning with the first interpreter as an encoder, travelling to the second interpreter as a decoder, and then returning from the second interpreter as encoder back to the original interpreter as decoder. Schramn was the first scholar according to Makardjeva (2204) to model communication as an interactive process. This form of model is known as a circular model, also called a model of communication-as-interaction.

These basic models of communication are often referred to as a transmissive view of communication because they depict communication as a process by which something (a message, information, etc) is transmitted from one person to the other. But even this model of communication-as-interaction, quickly became unsatisfactory as human thinking became more sophisticated and the focus shifted from messages to meaning and communication scholars began to focus on the communication process not as the exchange of messages or were transmission of meaning, but as the creation of meaning.

The third generation of communication models was non-linear models also called communication as transaction. Transactional models focus on the functions of communication and represent the origin of constitutive view of communication. Makardjieva contends that the most famous of these models was developed by Dean Barnlund in 1970. She explains that, Dean used a complex graphic representation of spirals and curved arrows to represent the continuous unrepeatable, irreversible nature of communication. In this sense, meaning was viewed as assigned or attributed, rather than received. Along with interactants, decoding, encoding and messages, Barnlund's model included a set of Valenced cues: public cues (in the environment) private cues (in or on the persons), and deliberate behavioural cues (non verbal and verbal). All these components are depicted as interrelated and constantly evolving. This shift from linear to non-linear modeling represents a shift in thinking from transmissive to a constitutive view of communication.

2.2.1 The System Theory in Communication

In Classical Rhetoric theory, Robert Craig defines a system as an integrated set of interacting variables that together create a larger pattern of a whole. He takes a family as an example in which he says families are only possible by virtue of interactions among members, which results in the family having its own unique character. He concludes that System theory is a broad approach that applies this idea to any number of natural, social and personal phenomena, including cognition, interpersonal relationships, social groups, communities, organizations and institutions, etc.

Providing a common way of thinking about complex phenomena, system theory has had a major impact on many fields, including communication. Infact, Robert Craig has identified system thinking as one of seven major traditions of communication theory. System theory has been fruitfully applied to several aspects of the communication field, and many communication theories reflect the tenets of system theory. Three levels of system theory illustrate such applications as follows:

1. Communication As Relational Control

Relational control theory represents a communication-based, process approach for studying personal and social relationships. When this theory was developed by Edna Rogers (2009), in the early 1970s, there were few process centered theories of communication. Thus, a primary goal of the theory was to give central attention to the temporal, influencing processes of communication that, in turn, form the interactive patterns that are descriptive of relationships. With this theory, relationships are viewed as being creatively performed and shaped, built upon and turn down, by the members' codified patterns of relational control. Through the message of message exchange, members reciprocally offer definitions of self in relation to the other and simultaneously define the nature of their relationship.

In playing out these everyday social dynamics, definitions offered by either party can be resisted, modified, accepted or ignored. In this way, members actively influence one another with their individual behaviours, yet the socialness of their actions reside in the jointly produced relational patterns of interrelating with one another. Each of these moment-to-moment enactments merges into more encompassing patterned sequences that increasingly capture more of the holistic quality of the relationship.

2. Communication As Relational Dialectics

Relational dialectics is grounded in the dialogic perspective of Mikhail Bakhtin (Baxter, 1994), who views each interaction as consisting of multiple opposing voices. Dialogue is seen as an ongoing process of the simultaneous fusion and differentiation of the participants enacted views. The centripetal forces of fusion pull members together, while the centrifugal forces of differentiation push members apart in continuing cycles of push-pull oscillations. In taking a dialogical approach, the theory of relational dialectics highlights the ongoing tensions of relationships and how these tensions are managed.

The theory developed in the mid 1990s by Leslie Baxter and Barbara Montgomery, rests on the central premise that relationships are socially constructed through the dynamic interplay of opposing tendencies continually emerging in the participants' interactions. Relationships are seen as constantly in flux; thus, relationships remain unfinalised and always in process.

Baxter and Montgomery maintain that relational change emanates from the interdependent, mutually negating contradictions, or in dialectic terms, the unity of oppositions. The life force of these ongoing fluctuations resides in the communication processes of members.

Among a host of dialectics that shape interpersonal relationships, three are typically seen as most central: autonomy-connection, openness-closedness, and; novelty-predictability. (Baxter, etal, 1994). Each of these dialectics is based on a both and notion that captures the tensions of being both connected and separate, revealing and concealing, stable and changeable. The management of these and other tensions is an ongoing feature of life. Baxter et, al, gives an instance, when one person's view of being closely connected is seen

by the other as quite separate, the oscillating push and pull of opposing forces are set in motion. Relational tensions never disappear, but can be managed in different ways. Consequent upon the oscillating contradictions, four strategies were identified by scholars as being commonly used to manage the dialectical tensions of relationships: Selection, Cyclic alteration, neutralizing and reframing. Selection involves making a choice as to which of the opposites to emphasize as an enduring relational theme, such as selecting togetherness over individual interests. Cyclic alteration is a strategy that at different times focuses on one opposition and then the other in an ongoing rotating pattern – alternating time shared together with time spent apart. Neutralizing strategy involve diluting the intensity of the oppositions as a unity rather than opposites – the recognition, for example, that close relations can only be intimate with the freedom of autonomy as L. Edna (2009) posits: "Managing the multiple oppositional tendencies of relationships presents an ongoing challenge for relational members with this theory centered on the interwoven dialectic tensions of competing discourses, the theory brings new understandings of complexities of interpersonal relationships".

3. Communication As Relationship

Within the relational communication tradition, relationships are seen as small systems that are established, maintained and changed over time by interaction (Gregory Bateson, 2004). Bateson maintains that when two people are talking about a subject, they are not only addressing the subject, but are also commenting about the nature of the relationship. Every message has both 'Content' and relationship implications, so that the interaction is always more than a simple exchange of information. Instead, the interaction builds something bigger – a relational system. This can embody any number of characteristics, but always

these attributes are made in the interaction of individuals in the relationship. For example, relationships almost always have a control dimension that reflects the patterns of control exhibited in the interaction. The control dimension may be one of dominance, submission, or some sort of balance.

4. Communication Networks

Communication scholars have also been interested in larger systems in which group link to other groups within organizations and communities. Larger social structures like organizations and communities are comprised of, and come into being because of interaction among individuals and groups. Karl Weick (1996) showed how the term organization is something of a misnomer, because organization is really an ongoing process of organizing, that consists of people responding to one another's actions. Linda Pintnam and Cynthia Stohl (1998), refer to such groups as bona fide groups because they occur naturally as the result of communication. The boundaries of the group are permeable, meaning, what is defined as in the group versus out of the group is vague and always changing. Part of this permeability is the result of multiple group membership. Because members are always part of other groups, communication passes back and forth among groups and brings them together in a larger system. This means that bonafide groups are always in interaction with their environments, being influenced by, and influencing the larger system.

In time, people begin to cluster together into groups that have frequent communication. A larger organization or community is really a network consisting groups linked through

communication pathways. According to Peter Monge, et al (1978) and his colleagues, they said:

> System structure can be depicted in this way, showing how the frequency of communication between individuals and among groups creates clusters that are more or less centre to the overall organizations. Groups also cluster according to shared information, beliefs, values and behavior.

In conclusion, because communication always consists of a complex set of interactions, many communication theories have taken naturally to system theory (Stephen, W.L. 2009). It is appealing because it can be used to understand narrow situations as well as very broad ones and provides a set of ideas for connecting them. Most scholars in communication today would agree that the power of system theory lies in its ability to highlight interrelationships and interaction over individual traits and attributes. As a result, it has been helpful in exploring and depicting communication as a process rather than a thing.

In this segment, priority will be given to communication as it affects 'development'.

2.3 Development Communication

Development communication has its origins in post war international aid programmes to countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa that were struggling with poverty, illiteracy, poor health and a lack of economic, political and social infrastructures. Development communication commonly refers to the application of communication strategies and principles in the context of development. It is derived from theories of development and social change that identified the main problem of the post-world war in terms of lack of development or progress equivalent to the western countries. Recent definitions state that the ultimate goal of "development communication" is to raise the quality of life of

population, including increased income and well-being, eradicate social injustice, promote land reform and freedom of speech, and establish relaxation centers for leisure and entertainment (Melkote 1991:229).

In the communication field, modernization theory led to the systematic and rigorous attempts to research communication applications in the development context. A few scholars started to devote increasing attention to communication process and effects, among them Lasswell (1948), Katz and Lazarfeld (1955), and Klapper (1960); while others such as Learner (1958), Rogers (1962), and Schramm (1964) became particularly interested in studying how communication could be used to foster natural development, which at that time was conceived predominantly in economic terms. Communication was expected to help modernize people's attitudes and ways of thinking, which would be conducive to support the economic model already adopted successfully by the west, in accordance with the belief that individuals have to change before development could truly take off (Milkote and Stevens, 2001).

Communication in the dominant paradigm is basically associated with the linear, mass media model aimed at transmitting information and messages from one point to another or many others, usually in a vertical top-down fashion. This idea was rooted in the strong belief in the persuasive power of the medium, especially before the 1970s. It was associated with the use of media to persuade people to achieve, maintain, and strengthen development goals, and the media's role was paramount in this campaign. UNESCO, for example, considered the media to be a crucial means for promoting change, and in the 1960s, it provided guidelines about a country's desirable per capita consumption of television sets, radio receivers, newspapers and cinema seats. This heavy emphasis on

media was owing to the belief that this form of communication, when used properly, was capable of changing people's mindsets and attitudes. In 1948, Lasswell provided a blue-print to decision-makers and managers on how to use communication to persuade audiences to change their behaviours. Its model can be summarized in the following five questions: WHO says WHAT? In WHICH channel? To WHOM? With what EFFECT? Over time, this basic model was refined and changed by other communication specialists, but it did not lose its linear flow from a central source to many (passive) receivers, as indicated by the renowned Berloss formula (1960) that illustrated the process of communication as Source – Message – Channel – Receivers (SMCR). The common conception of strategic communication is also rooted in this theoretical framework.

The failures attributed directly or indirectly to modernization caused a rethinking of the theoretical models of reference for communication. This is because it became increasingly evident that the media alone would not change people's mind-sets and behaviours. Theories such as "the hypodermic needle theory" or "the bullet theory" which over-emphasized the power of media over people lost their relevance. Scholars such as Berlo, D.K (1960), Beltran Salmon (2006a) agree that with time, it became progressively more evident that media impact was not as direct and as paramount as commonly believed, and that audiences were also not as passive as believed.

Even though communication studies reviewed and downgraded the influence of media, giving more relevance to the role of interpersonal communication, the model of reference remained the same. None of the newly emerging theoretical approaches questioned the overall validity of the one-way and usually top-down flow of information. Although it would be unfair to label them as propaganda. Diaz (2006) is of the opinion that it is not

difficult to see the manipulative potential of many communication applications within the modernization paradigm.

Until the late 1980s, most development institutions conceived and applied communication primarily for the dissemination of information and adoption of innovations. The emphasis placed on tangible communication products neglected the potential of communication as dialogic, cross-cutting, investigative tool (Berlo, 1996). This emphasis was so pervasive that the medium appeared to be more important than the content itself, which echoes Marshall McLuhan's famous slogan, "The Medium is the message'. Unfortunately, the available data indicated that the most important message was that media were not the answer to development problems, at least, not in the way and manner they were being used.

It was only during the 1970s and early 1980s that new perspectives in development communication began to grow stronger. The Latin American school of thought was very influential in promoting the new communication concept, based on the two-way horizontal model. Lius Ramiro, Beltran Salmon (2006a), and Juan Diaz Bordenau (2006) were some of the influential scholars working on this idea.

In the Dependency and World Systems theories, communication is being narrowed to the role of media and information flows in the overall international scenario. Among the main issues on top of the agenda in the 1970s and 1980s as captured by Escobar (1995) were the demands for a New International Economic Order, put forward by developing countries. In line with those demands, communication and information issues also ranked high on the international agenda. The "non-alligned movement", an alliance formed by 77 developing

countries (Chamber, 1997), was a key player in demanding a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Such demand gained high visibility in the international scenario because of the debate that took place at the UNESCO. The heated debate on communication resulted in the renowned report, "Many voices, One-World", published by UNESCO in 1980. Despite the influence it had in political and academic circles, the report did not have a significant impact on the conception and operations of development communication. The main focus of the report was on freedom of information and how media and communication technologies should be used to promote a fair and balanced flow of information (MacBride, 1980).

Developing countries complained about the uneven flow of media programmes and information coming from the richer countries, especially the United States which had a dominant position in the production and distribution system world-wide. They viewed this imbalance as a form of cultural imperialism and wanted some regulations to address this situation. The United States and its allies considered such requests to be a form of undue interference, even, censorship, on "the free-flow of information". They considered the media world as a market place that should be ruled by supply and demand without other external interferences. In the 1980s, the battle over NWICO reached its climax, leading to the withdrawal from UNESCO of the USA and Great Britain (Lasswell, 1948). This and other political events in the following years weakened the bargaining power of the non-alligned movement, and finally with the fall of the Soviet union, many of the issues raised by NWICO lost much of their relevance in the international scene.

The proponents of the dependency theory vigorously supported the rethink of the communication agenda along the lines of a more balanced flow of communication at the

international level, yet at the national level, they often neglected to consider the horizontal component of communication within countries and failed to give proper attention to the potential of privately owned media and community media. While arguing against the "free-flow" argument proposed by the United States and its allies, the "dependentistas" remained rooted in the classic media – centre conception of communication, mostly from the state perspective. Ideally, the state is expected to represent the wider public interest, but the reality shows that it is hardly the case. According to Mefalopulos (2008): "Dependency theories did not consider and support the wider role that "free" communication systems, and not just media, at different levels could play in creating spaces and actively engaging broader sectors of society in development". Therefore, despite significant differences between modernization and dependency theories, their communication model was basically the same. A one-way communication flow, with the main difference between the two theories being who was controlling and sending the message, and for what purpose?

Santucci (2005), contends that successful communication interventions do not always need to rely on media to engage and inform audiences, but that they can also rely on more participatory and interpersonal methods. According to Jegede (2010): "the conventional media are quite good for communicating change messages to the elites, but may not be ideal and suitable for the poor and under privileged for a number of factors. It is dominated by radio, television, newspaper".

This viewpoint is strengthened by Okwori, Z (1994:9) who states:

> Conventional media are owned and controlled by government or members of the ruling/dominant class. Since the media changes people's perceptions and attitudes by giving them information and awareness, whoever controls them, eventually influences patterns of thinking.

In line with the above thinking, therefore, only a handful of people, especially the elites, according to Okwori (1994), control materials that go through these media. It follows then that ideas and values emanating from the media are those that predominantly affect the lives of the elites and enhance the status-quo, thereby keeping the poor uninformed, unchanged and perpetually underdeveloped, powerless and needy. Consequently, the rural issues that affect the majority of the people rarely receive any attention in the media; and Okwori posits, "when they do, they are either a nostalgic trip to a fading past, or a revelation of rural resources to be exploited to serve the urban and dominant elites".

In looking at communication in the media perspectives, okwori sees it as primarily a political megaphone which allows leaders to amplify their voices so that they could be heard clearly for the people to accept their intended reforms. Verzosa and Mitchell also share this view as they say the essence of communication is to create awareness of the reform programme which has been concluded and formulated by the technocrats and policy advisers and already approved by government officials. This is on the assumption that people will be prepared to support reforms once they become aware of the programme.

This is at variance with Burkey (1993:39) who states that:

> Social/behavioural change is a process of transformation in which people increase their awareness of their own capabilities and common interests and use these knowledge to analyze their needs; decide on solutions, organize themselves for co-operative efforts and mobilize their own human, financial and natural resources to

> improve, establish and maintain their own social services and institutions within the context of their own culture and their own political system.

This in essence, means any communication intervention must focus on the needs of the beneficiaries and should seek to understand and find ways to overcome the specific barriers they confront in adopting a new behaviour, whether these barriers are cultural, structural, social and personal.

The many efforts to change the way communication has been conceived and applied in development has led to an increasing recognition of the importance of establishing two-way flows to share knowledge, opinions and perceptions among stakeholders. The report of the 8th UN Inter-Agency Round Table on Communication for Development discussed this field along three main strands (UNFPA 2002): Behaviour Change Communication, communication for social change, and Advocacy Communication. Behaviour change communication is probably the most renowned strand because it has been used in many different projects and programmes. Its conception and application are rather controversial, since it is typically considered by some to promote voluntary change in attitudes and behaviours based on informed choices. In this respect, behaviour change and social change are seen as two faces of the same coin. However, this strand has also been widely criticized for giving two much emphasis to the role of persuasion played by communication through the traditional one-way model and for the focus on individual change that usually neglects social factors and often makes it difficult to scale up the intended change.

Communication for social change is the strand closer to the newly emerging paradigm in development, since it emphasizes the importance of two-way communication and the need

to facilitate stakeholders' participation and empowerment. Change is now expected to be defined with the people and not for the people, making communication for social change closely aligned with the participatory communication perspective. Finally, Advocacy Communication involves the use of communication to influence specific audiences, policies and programmes on key development issues.

Notwithstanding the above classification, this study adopts a different classification, similar to the one often found in literatures that compares, contrasts, and defines development communication approaches within two broad families: diffusion and participation.

The diffusion model is rooted in the modernization paradigm, characterized by the intent to use communication media and methods to persuade people to change specific behaviours. The participatory approach is based on a two-way model of communication whose primary goal is to involve and empower people in the definition, design, and implementation process of development initiatives. Despite their differences, the two conceptual models are not completely antithetical to each other: elements of each can be combined in a hybrid approach as illustrated below.

Table 2: Basic differences in the two Communication Models

Elements	Modernization/Diffusion /Monologic	Participation/Participatory /Dialogic
Main scope	Disseminate information and/or persuade audiences to change attitude /behavour	Ensure proper dialogue for sharing knowledge and perspective to achieve broad conceptions leading to change.
Model of reference	One-way, linear often top-town	Two-way, horizontal and circular
Basic conception of development communication	Communication method and media applied in the development context	Professional use of dialogic methods to assess and ensure stakeholders' involvement
Main role of the communication specialist	Decode, design and use methods and media products to persuade audiences to change	Facilitate dialogue, analyse the situation, and propose the appropriate strategy for change
Timing of communication intervention	Usually at the implementation stage when objectives have already been decided	Best used at the beginning of the project, before objectives have been defined

Source: Mefalopulos (2008)

The elements presented in the table above help to identify which approaches might be most suitable in a given communication situation. Social marketing, media campaigns, information dissemination, lobbying, awareness raising and persuasive and strategic communication are all approaches associated with the diffusion model. The approaches often adopted in the participatory perspective are community mobilization, conflict resolution and other dialogue-based approaches.

In the emerging participatory paradigm, the emphasis on participation in development implied increased attention to communication, because there can be no participation without communication. In other words, the added emphasis in participation helps to mainstream communication in many initiatives, and at the same time, promotes a more dialogic and two-way conception of communication. The mode of reference is significantly different from the traditional one, since it is now characterized by dialogue and by a

horizontal flow, enabling the balanced sharing of perceptions and knowledge. In this perspective, the top-down features rooted in the modernization paradigm get diluted, and communication acquires a more interactive connotation aimed at facilitating participation and empowerment. Even when using the mass-media, messages can be expected to originate from the people themselves rather than from "outside – experts" (Mody, 1991).

Because genuine participation in development implies having the opportunity and the power to take part in decisions concerning one's own well-being, participatory communication models need to take the issues of power and empowerment into account. Mefalopulos argues that what is frequently referred to as 'participation" in many cases, is not, at least not in a significant way as demonstrated in the table below which illustrates a participation ladder, starting with the lowest form which is merely a form of token participation, to the highest form, where local stakeholders share equal weight. This is similar to the one earlier presented in this study, by Pretty et al (1995:61)

TABLE 3: A Typology of Participation in Development Initiatives

Passive Participation	Stakeholders participate by being informed about what is going to happen, or has already happened. People's feedback is minimal or non-existent and individual participation is assessed mainly through head-counting and occasionally through their participation in the discussion.
Participation by Consultation	Stakeholders participate by providing feedback to questions posed by outsiders, researchers or experts. Because their inputs are not limited to meetings, it can be provided at different points in time. In the final analysis, however, this consultative process keeps all the decision making power in the hands of external professionals who are under no obligation to incorporate stakeholders' input.
Functional Participation	Stakeholders take part in discussions and analysis set by the project. This kind of participation, while it does not usually result in dramatic changes on "what" objectives are to be achieved, does provide valuable inputs on "how" to achieve them. Functional participation implies the use of horizontal

	communication among stakeholders.
Empowered Participation	Stakeholders are willing and able to be part of the process and participate in joint analysis, which leads to joint decision making about what should be achieved and how. While the role of outsiders is that of equal partners in the initiative, local stakeholders are equal partners with a decisive say in decisions concerning their lives.

Source: Mafalopulos (2003: 11)

From the above categorization, it is imperative to note that when stakeholders are not involved from the beginning of any development intervention, they tend to be more suspicious of the project activities and may not give their cooperation to support the development project. Conversely, when communication is used to involve them in the definition of an initiative, their motivation and commitment tends to be higher. The participation of stakeholders in defining development priorities has advantages other than just gaining their support. It gives outside experts and managers valuable insight into local reality and knowledge that ultimately lead to more relevant, effective, and sustainable project design.

Anyaegbunam (2004), painted a scenario in which stakeholders' perception differed and how major problems can arise because of these divergent perceptions. According to him, a team of experts from the Ministry of Land and Water in South Africa embarked on a communication initiative that was aimed to increase crop yield, thus, enabling higher food security, better nutrition, and higher income for poor farmers. Unfortunately, the experts did not involve the farmers in the identification, assessment and planning phases of the project. This lack of proper communication at the initial stages generated suspicions in the farmers; who are the so-called beneficiaries of the project, and therefore led to misunderstanding and negative attitudes throughout the implementation of the project.

The cause of these problems and ultimately the failure was the lack of two-way communication. The end result was the opposite of what was expected-insecurity and frustration on the side of the farmers, instead of increased confidence and a better quality of life.

The above position of the negative consequences of perception divergence was corroborated by Mefalopulos and Kamlongera (2004). They cited an example that in a development project in Southern Namibia, government officials identified an agricultural area in need of urgent assistance. They said farmers were surviving through subsistence agriculture, that is, their harvest was consumed entirely for their survival. A donor was asked to fund a project to build a small dam that would serve the community. An irrigation project was designed to improve the living conditions of community in the dry and remote rural area. The overall goal of the project was to increase food security and incomes, as it were. The assumption was that with regular supply of water throughout the year, farmers could:

(i) Exercise control over their crop production, thus, ensuring enough food for each household on a regular basis.

(ii) Diversify their crop and adjust planting and growing schedules to meet market demands. The expected benefits, according to Mefalopulos and Kamlongera as enlisted by the project designers, were crop diversification, leading to a richer diet; a decrease in malnutrition rates, income generation through marketing more valuable crops; and finally, the overall benefit of making farmers more prosperous and confident in their abilities. With such possible expectation in mind, the dam

was built after informing the local stakeholders about the construction, but without consulting them or engaging them on the scope of the project.

After a couple of years, the managers of the project became worried about the large use and misuse of water, but was confident about the success of the project. Accordingly, they considered charging a small fee to farmers for water use from the dam, which was before now, free. With this development, the stakeholders' reaction started to change and the situation started deteriorating dramatically. Consequently, Communication-Based Assessment known as Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal was conducted to determine why farmers' participation was low and why many of them opposed the project. The communication team comprised local development workers and outside researchers who spent a couple of weeks in the community. They discovered that the perception of the community were the opposite of those envisioned by the project officers. Instead of feeling more confident and secured about food, the farmers felt trapped and less secured. The main cause of these two divergent perceptions was found in the lack of communication and participation with stakeholders during and after the project.

From the above narration, it could be seen that from the onset of the project, problems and solutions were perceived strictly from the point of view of the experts and involving the local stakeholders in the process was not considered important. As a result, from the inception, farmers were suspicious about the intentions of the project. This made Rahnema (1993:117) to opine that:

> A number of major international aid organizations agreed that development projects had often floundered because people were left out. It was found that whenever people were locally involved, and actively participate in the projects, much more was achieved with much less, even in sheer financial terms.

This is corroborated by Shapered (1988), who confirmed that even the United States Agency for International Development and the World Bank (1992) had reported similar findings. When adopted from the very beginning of the process, such as poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, or in projects formulation, communication activities are ideally poised to facilitate dialogue and mutual understanding among stakeholders. Early incorporation of communication allows the use of all available knowledge and perspectives and analysis of the situation, thereby minimizing both political and technical risks. With timely information in hand, project Managers can refine a project's scope and objectives with a deeper understanding of the environment in which it will be implemented. In doing so, Honik (1988), posits that "they can avoid communication mistakes, including those characterized as "the political explanation of failures". Through the unveiling of political and other types of risks, and by seeking a broad consensus through participation and mediation among various positions, development communication helps Managers to identify the best strategy to adopt for sustainable development.

They argue that a development strategy that uses communication approach can review people's underlying attitudes; and that traditional wisdom helps people adapt their views and to acquire new knowledge and skills and spread new social messages to large audiences. Therefore, the planned use of communication techniques, activities and media, gives people powerful tools to experience change of ideas among all sectors of the society and also lead to greater involvement of people in a common course. This, in their view, is a fundamental requirement for a sustainable change and development. This is supported by Jegede (2010) who, in spite of his opinion that the potentials of communication and information processes in development have not been fully realized and maximized for

development purposes, re-states that, the relationship between communication and development is well established such that communication is a key index of development. The UNDP Annual Report (1993:21), confirms this as it states "…since participation requires increased influence and control, it also demands increased empowerment in economic, social and political terms".

The process of adopting new ideas can be facilitated through participation of members of the community (Kingo, 1993:22). He says in this process, members of the community will know what to adopt; it will be easier to decide and that they will feel free to express their knowledge and information needs and other needs they have; to build capacity to deal with the expected social changes. People need both technical knowledge and awareness-raising information. These types of information and knowledge are not separate from other areas of life. They are part of the development process. In Kingo's words, "in the process, information and knowledge become a development resource". This information resource, gives the community power over their environment and life in general. Kingo (1993:30) continues that:

> In some cases, the development of the rural people is not a priority for experts, top politicians and civil servants that are working in the cities, it is therefore important for the rural communities to take up the responsibilities of organizing themselves and ensuring that their community has access to adequate supply of information and knowledge to support their development.

Rural development is often not a priority at the national level for most countries. Therefore, few resources are made available to carry out these tasks. This limitation means people must build their knowledge-base carefully. Kingo (1993:40) laments that:

> When one looks at the average village of tropical Africa today, the lack of the most basic information in almost any area of development is astonishing. Twenty years after independence in the sub-saharan Africa, most villages have neither latrines, nutrition and childcare; they do not know how to build a simple cart, a plough or single millet grinder, if these people are living in a Sahel, they waste more energy per inhabitant for their domestic needs than the extra-ordinary profligate in the west.

Kingo reveals that the people ignore the most "elementary facts concerning their own bodies and said a mother of ten children has no information on the process of pregnancy, or why in some cases they lose half of their children before the age of five. Hence, the need for knowledge in the areas of hygiene…, etc.

Rapid human development depends on the creation of a string of Civil Society in order to enable community members to build their capacity for the integration of information and knowledge into their various development activities. Such capacity empowers people to solve intelligently, the problem that exists in their community.

This notion is particularly relevant, since UNDP has been one of the main United Nations agencies that is trying to broaden the conception of development beyond the strict boundaries of the economic dimension. It is believed that UNDP was among the first to promote the idea that stakeholders should be engaged in development initiative from the very beginning and play an active role throughout the process. This meant that local people should have the power to take part in the decision making process, through communication since power can be conceived as the ability to shape social context (Wilkins, 2000).

Narayan (2003:14) conceived empowerment "as the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable, institutions that affects their lives". This definition is consistent with others found in the

literature. Freire (1997), has been one of the most renowned scholars, practitioners, and activists who have significantly shaped this notion. According to him, people's empowerment can be achieved through a process of awareness, or "conscientization" that requires people to be aware of their conditions through a totality of reflection and action; and the key to achieve this kind of empowerment is through communication and dialogue. For Freire (1997:70), dialogue is an act of creation and the act of naming the world is in any way equivalent to creating the world. He asserts: "to say the true word… is to transform the world, saying the word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of every one" Freire (1997). Ensuring that everybody says the word is a task of dialogue, which is needed to empower stakeholders, enabling a meaningful change. Thus, a genuine and sustainable change, aiming at a better and more just society, can be achieved and legitimized through an empowered dialogue only.

It is important to note that social exclusion is one of the elements contributing to the overall poverty dimension (Sen. 1998). Eliminating or significantly reducing social exclusion through the dialogue use of communication, is a step toward a world without poverty. The deprivations arising from feelings of exclusion from relevant decisions and from seeing limited available options can be successfully addressed through communication, since it is by communicating that individuals perceive and define their conditions and construct their reality in social network. At this point, the relationship between participation, empowerment and communication should be clearer. The newly appreciated model of horizontal communication opens up new spaces for dialogue among stakeholders and facilitates the exchange of knowledge, empowering people to participate actively in the process affecting their lives. In this perspective, media are no longer the

central element of communication, but one of the tools to be used according to the circumstances. The linear communication model loses part of its persuasive dominance and is complemented by a simpler, at the same time, more complex, two-way circular model where the sender is at the same time the receiver and vice versa. The combination of these elements in the emerging development paradigm is shifting the focus from media to people, from persuasion to participation.

Perhaps, it is necessary to point out some basic misconceptions about the role and application of Development Communication. In a survey commissioned by the development communication division of the World Bank, Fraser, Restrepo-Estrada and Mazzei (2007), studied some attitudes of development managers toward communication. The findings indicated that many managers and decision-makers are fully aware of the role communication plays in development programme. The report showed that most of them use it in a broad and at times, confused way.

According to research findings, they usually conceive communication mostly in terms of public relations, media production, information dissemination or corporate communication. This calls for the need to reposition and clarify the scope, body of knowledge and practical applications of the field of development communication. Since the use of communication in development has been associated historically with information dissemination and one-way persuasion, it is not surprising that many managers and decision-makers involved in development, focus, primarily, or even exclusively, on these aspects. This leads to wrongful application of interventions, as communication is only applied halfway through the project-cycle, rather than within the initial phase of project conception when it is more strategic and cost-effective.

Nevertheless, the principle of reciprocity, the equal distribution of opportunities to contribute and the freedom to raise any proposal are common to participatory communication. By and large, distinguishing development communication from other areas of communication is essential as failure to do this would lead to misconceptions and wrong applications and expectations. Issues regarding the misconceptions of the role development communication should play is quite enormous and controversial and cannot be exhausted in this research. It will only serve as a teaser for other scholars to explore.

2.3.1 Communication for Development: Theory and Practice

The importance of communication in international development has been known for quite some time and it has already been illustrated that soon after the World War II, a number of scholars for example, Lerner (1958), Roger, (1962), Schramn, (1964) have been thinking on how to incorporate communication in development interventions.

In 1980, UNESCO which established the International commission for the study of Communication problems had studied the issue giving their perspective on how best to use it. The report of the commission (MacBride, 1980:258), emphasized the importance in incorporating communication policies and strategies in national policies as well as the importance of adopting communication approaches that would involve people "in the diagnosis of needs and in the design and implementation of selected activities". Communication in international development is usually defined and conceived in a number of vague and often contradictory ways. The confusion and ambiguity reflected in the many terms used in the literature to characterize this field, is one of the main obstacles towards achieving an alternative, coherent, common conception. One of the ambiguities for

example is that, communication for development may refer to a variety of top-down communication approaches rather than participatory communication. In spite of this, communication in development is suitable as it will indicate a broad family of approaches trying to distance themselves from the old one-way communication model for at least a couple of reasons. First, a number of international agencies are increasingly adopting this to denote participatory communication approaches, including the FAO, African Development Community, Centre for Communication for Development, and a host of others. The other reason for adopting the term consists in the fact that other terms used for the same purpose have even closer ties with the heritage of the dominant paradigm. Wilkins (2000:197), refers to Development Communication as: the Strategic application of communication technologies and process to promote social change". Even though participation is not clearly implied in her definition, she uses this term paying particular attention to the issue of power in communication as a needed component to achieve meaningful participation. However, the term "Development Communication" has originated in the 1960s to describe the field of communication research addressing the needs of developing countries to be addressed through the vertical use of the mass-medium (Melkote, 1991). Among some of the first well-known scholars in this field were Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962) and Wilbur Schramn (1964), all of whom mentioned a linear one-way use of communication technologies and processes. This fact makes it difficult to recycle the term to indicate current attempts to change Traditional practices with alternative, more horizontal models. Coldevin (2001) notes that in the 1970s a number of agencies from the United Nations started to use a number of terms to describe a growing interest in the use of communication to support development projects, among them, Project

Support Communication by UNICEF, Information Education Communication, and Development Support Communication by FAO; later changed to Communication for Development. All these efforts, though accompanied with best intentions, were basically to improve communication component, usually technology-driven, or information based, into every development projects of the United Nations agencies rather than trying to achieve a paradigm shift in the way communication should be conceived and applied. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (1998) illustrate how, even in the quarters where these terms originated, they were conceived primarily as a way of including media to support the main objectives of projects. That is why Development Support Communication developed in FAO with a similar focus, is still a term critiqued and viewed with suspicions by proponents of participatory approaches, despite Melkote's (1991) attempt to define it as horizontal, two-way model. As stated above, Communication for Development has been increasingly understood to incorporate a two-way model of communication, especially within FAO 1994b:3, as can be seen by the following statement which defines it as "…A social process aimed to establish a sincere permanent dialogue among the different development actors,to support and strengthen the selected activities in order to put the basis for joint-management, needed for achieving the success of the effort undertaken".

A number of other FAO documents refer to communication for development along the same lines, including the one selected for this study-Participatory Communication.

In summary, it should be clarified that a number of different terms have been used to illustrate new models and participatory approaches of Communication for Development, among them: Development Communication (Mody, 1991; Wilkins, 2000), Development support Communication (Melkote, 1991) and Communication for Development (Coldevin,

2001). All of these are controversial terms as they have been also used in ways that could be hardly defined as participatory. In the course of this research, the research understood that the term Participatory Communication allows a clearer understanding about the approach in question. Hence, the researcher will adopt Communication for Development to refer to this field in general and to facilitate a common understanding among the target audience. The researcher will also use the term Participatory Communication with 'normative' connotation, indicating approaches trying to establish models which envision people's participation and empowerment.

Participatory Communication started gaining ground in the late 1980's and early 1990's, when a number of Scholars worked increasingly within these perspectives, among them are: Wang and Dissanayake (1984), Servaes (1991), Modi (1991), White; Sadanandan and AsCroft (1994). Servaes (1991) openly addressed the need for a new paradigm in Communication for Development, and Mekolte (1991) discussed possible alternative paradigms both of them being aware of a new more participatory communication model. The common ground for all these Scholars is the focus for a more horizontal flow of communication, away from the traditional top-down model that basically envisioned a sender, a Message and a Receiver. The emphasis is more on a user and bottom-up oriented approach in order to involve people in the decision making process (Servaes, 1996). Participation is also raising other questions and the issue of power and empowerment assumes higher relevance.

Ascroft and Masilela (1994) summarized the main obstacles encountered by this approach in its initial stages into three major problems. First, the birth of what was then called Development Support Communication was the credibility and acceptance this approach

had. Most development specialists, especially extension officers, failed to see the advantages of adopting the approach and tended to be more suspicious than being relieved by the new concept. The second covers the location of the DSC services which were placed under information divisions rather than under planning or broader development units. In this way, communication was still conceived as a media-driven activity, rather than a people-based one. The third problem was the lack of personnel specifically trained in this field. There was a problem of specific curricula in this field in practically all countries around the world, developed or developing ones alike. According to Mefalopulos (2003: 72),

> For years, the Heads of Development Communication units and divisions had multiple backgrounds ranging from agricultural extension, to Mass Communication, rural sociology or even International Law. They all had to adopt and promote this discipline by applying its principles through a painful process of learning by doing, having very limited services and models to guide them.

Anyaebunaun et al; 1998; Coldvin, 2001; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998; Jacobson and Servaes, 1999; Melkote, 1991; Modi, 1991 agree that, definitely, the main characteristic of Participatory Communication is the horizontal exchange of information among parties involved which is often identified with dialogue. In this model, there is no pre-determined sender or receiver, since everybody is expected to serve both at the same time. This implies not just a shift in the old communication model, but rather a paradigmatic shift, as it requires a different normative conception of the world under a different balance of power, which would be more equally distributed. This means, if people were hitherto, passive recipients, they will be empowered and become active, and have to make their voices heard in the decision-making process through participatory communication. On the other hand, it

is clear that yesterday's decision-makers would have to give up a big part of the power they use to hold in making those decisions. If at the basis of communication there is dialogue, planning of development projects that claims to be participatory, can no longer be decided in far-away offices, but should be carried out in the relevant communities with the people and not for the people.

Another characteristic of Participatory Communication is the fact that it should be considered as a process rather than being represented as a static model. FAO has been working in this direction since the 1980s, (Balit, 1999), conceiving Participatory Communication as a social process that intends to achieve a common understanding among all participants and have them act on the basis of consensus that has been achieved. This implies that Participatory Communication should be presented throughout all the phases of any development intervention. Seeing it as a process, not only shifts the focus toward a more complex and articulated reality, but it also nullifies one of the questions being asked in this respect: "participation in what activity?."

Finally, the endogenous focus of Participatory Communication as seen by Melkote, Servaes (1991) indicates that there cannot be a predetermined formula for universal messages, channels or models to be followed, but that a research for the most appropriate way according to the situation and culture. This search should be conducted with, and guided by, the primary stakeholders. However, even if the applications are different, the foundation of Participatory communication should be solid and well-defined, following the core principles illustrated above. If this is achieved, then its theoretical framework can be consistently interpreted, its practices uniformly applied and its results clearly assessed and recognized.

There is still too much ambiguity in this area and this mainly derives from the difficulty of fitting participation within a definite theoretical box, in line with the positivist's tradition; it's major weakness starts from the vagueness of its definition and the variety of interpretations that affect its practices. Its strength resides in its dynamic process built through dialogue, whose outcome cannot be easily predicted. In an attempt to synthesize the main body of literature, it would be noted that, first of all, participatory Communication requires having an open attitude, being ready to listen and learn. It also requires a strong commitment to work with all people, especially the poorest and the disenfranchised; and accept that their empowerment means a loss of power from the outsiders. This will require time specific skills in Participatory communication that would assist the Community to investigate and identify their problems, needs, and priorities and skills that would assist the community in formulating and selecting appropriate strategies. Unfortunately, at the moment, Participatory Communication continues to be a vague and ambiguous concept. Until these weaknesses are overcome, it will remain a "spineless" concept that could be used for any purpose. By being defined and conceived in ways often vague and inconsistent, it is not likely to be applied consistently in the various phases of the Project Cycle. On the contrary, it is likely to be used in different ways, at different stages and for different purposes. This vagueness is a sensitive issue, since it can be an asset for those sincerely committed to participation, allowing flexibility that leads to more effective strategic maneuvering against the stakeholders. It also provides a more comfortable protection for those who are more pre-occupied with Projects' budgets and quantifiable results rather than people's empowerment, as it is capable of legitimizing almost all sort of approaches; even the most vertically guided ones. It should also be noted

that Participatory Communication can be directed towards a particular end, or be open-ended and non-directive (Modi, 1991). Modi discusses how Development Communication has been used for Participatory Communication approaches. She even suggests that Participatory Communication can be used in a "non-participatory manner", for example, by involving people in designing messages aimed at producing programmes that will try to manipulate the audience according to someone's else priorities and interests. Her position in that respect is that Participatory Communication could be used to involve audiences in the message design by enabling them to decide the kind of content and formats they need. This is in line with the main philosophy of the concept as agreed upon by most Scholars and practitioners. Tehranian (1990) highlights one of the biggest, unresolved contradictions in the establishment of the participatory approaches. That is, whose development are we talking about? By discussing national development of Third-World Countries, can we assume that it is about people of that Country? Tehranian presents two, often contradictory perspectives. He compares the different roles and functions expected to be performed by Communication as seen from the top, i.e. Government decision-makers versus the ones expected from the bottom, i.e. the majority of the people, usually in rural areas. This discussion further highlights some of the few contradictions rooted in Participatory Communication as conceived and applied in the contemporary period. For those who attempted to apply Participatory Communication approaches in real life situations, it should be evident how the two perspectives mentioned above, usually negated each other. In one perspective, communication basically tends to serve the following purposes: promotes and consolidates people's consensus on national goals; maintains and re-enforces the social order; supports national agendas as defined from the top. In the other

perspective, it assumes a different connotation. It becomes a means to have people's voices heard and empowering them by taking active parts in decisions on matters that directly affect them, both at the local level and within their societies. More specifically, communication is expected to facilitate education and learning approaches through media, encourage and promote participation in the development process; promote people's participation in institutional activities; identify and provide channels for horizontal as well as vertical networking to exchange relevant information; and to provide relevant information on grassroots priorities and needs to policy makers. Tehranian analysis is a useful reminder of the practical obstacles that could be encountered in achieving full participation in the decision-making process.

Participatory Communication, while providing a radical departure from many of the shortcomings of the dominant paradigm in communication, is still riddled with contradictions and vestiges from the past and it does not seem to go far enough in turning the table round. If participation is the name of the game, then the whole way of thinking about communication would have to change, i.e. from a vertical, universal process, to a horizontal multi-linear one, as people's participation is likely to result in changes in power patterns. That is why participation is not always welcome, especially by governments with a stronger authoritarian connotation (Lisk, 1985). Power is inherent in the communication process; hence, to achieve a more balanced and participation system, the communication model must be changed accordingly.

2.3.2 Empowerment and Participatory Communication

The UNDP has been one of the first United Nations' agencies to conceive development beyond the strict boundaries of the economic dimension. All people should be empowered to participate in the definition of the development boundaries from the very beginning to the end. It advocated that Stakeholders should not only take the lead in this process, but, should also have the power to define their own worlds. The issue of power is central to participation, since participation without the power to take decisions would be meaningless, especially if power is conceived as the ability to shape social context (Wilkins, 2000). Nevertheless, empowerment can be a more relevant concept than 'power' due to its redeeming and liberating qualities at an individual level as mentioned by Freire (1997) and others, when considering participatory approaches.

In defining 'Power' as used in a broad sense by Weber as cited in Galbraith, (1983:2), he said it is "… the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of other persons". Dorothy Rowe as cited in Chambers (1997:76), provides another definition as "… in the final analysis, power is the rights to have your definition of reality prevail over people's definition of reality". By combining the two, it can be stated that power is the capability of imposing one's will upon other people's, in order to have a certain vision of reality prevail. If power is conceived this way, it implies that power has the possibility and capability to impose a group's social construction of reality upon the rest of the people in that society and, in its most advanced hegemonic form, make it appear normal and sensible. Power can be exercised in many ways, from the most brutal, physical force and less effective, i.e. through the use of repression and terror, to the most sophisticated, i.e. the hegemonic construction of consensus as indicated by Gransci (1971). In development, power is

mostly exercised through decisions concerning the selection of development priorities, methodological perspectives and field implementation approaches, usually exercised in offices far-away from the local realities. Participatory approaches, even if still rooted within the old paradigm, are a step in trying to change this situation and this presupposes 'power' or 'empowerment' according to different perspectives.

On the other hand, empowerment is a relatively new term, especially as used in development. It is an issue that has been neglected for a long time, and has been investigated more in relation to working conditions than in the broader social context. The basic difference between power and empowerment lies in the different focus of the two. Power can be seen as something established or imposed by individuals or groups of individuals upon other individuals or other groups. Empowerment instead, can be considered as something coming from within. As stated by Cornwall (2000 '58), "it is not something that can be done to people, but something people do by and for themselves". This is true, especially at an individual level. Melkote considers empowerment on three different levels: 'Individual, organization and community'. At a community level, he sees empowerment "as a process whereby the community gains increasing control over making decisions concerning their own lives (Melkote, 2000:45). In a subsequent article, Melkote (2002), has openly and directly linked empowerment at any level, to "the establishment and exercise of social power. Hamelink (1995:133) considers empowerment as a necessary part of the process through which people achieve the capability to take control of decisions concerning their own lives; and so, Hamelink states:

> Empowerment enables people to define themselves and to construct their own identities. Empowerment can be the outcome of an international strategy, which is either initiated externally by empowering agents or solicited by disempowered

> people. Empowerment can also be coincidental in which case, it happens as a result of a human act that did not intend to capacitate people or that even intended to disempower people.

Hamelink's statement above provides a broader perspective on empowerment. He also further reflects on the differences, between power and empowerment, since, even if he states that the original meaning of empowerment is to give power, he also acknowledges that empowerment can be considered to mean self-empowerment i.e. people making themselves powerful. Therefore, even if empowerment has been defined and conceived in a number of ways, all of them include the notion of individuals being able to take control of decisions regarding their lives, or liberating themselves from structures and relationships of domination (Freire, 1977).

In order to understand why empowerment has gained such significance, it will be useful to give a brief historical overview of the history and adoption of one of the current cornerstones of the world's system-democracy' which can be simply defined as the rule of the people by the people. This originated from the ancient Greece and the conception of democracy in those times was quite different from the present day. After Athens' experience, for almost 2000 years, democracy has not been a popular system in other parts of the world. Only recently, democracy, or a certain conception of democracy gained a formal primacy among the political system of the world (Fierlbeck, 1998). There is no consensus on how to define democracy. However, there are two basic features of Western democracy that are generally considered fundamental. These are: Freedom and equal opportunities in social and political life.

The concept of freedom entails people being able to think, speak and act freely; and being able to have a choice among a number of options. Equality on the other hand, implies that "people are fundamentally equal in some important respect and from this; it follows that all should be treated equally in certain specific political respect" (Beetham, 1994:8). Similarly, that "all people have an equal opportunity on an ongoing basis to determine the structure and direction of society" (Fierlbeck, 1998:14). The idea of equality is certainly a debatable one, carrying two different families of meanings. The first indicated a kind of sameness or homogeneity, and the second indicates a sense of justice or being treated fairly (Lummis, 1992). The latter is the conception most relevant to this study since the "equality assumption" implies that all citizens are equal with respect to their right to decide the appropriate political course of their community (Beetham, 1994).

In order to take decisions over their own lives, individuals need to participate in an active manner; and to do that, they need to have the power to decide and act upon those decisions. This issue is crucial for most international agencies. Since the beginning of the 1990s, UNDP has identified the lack of control over one's own life as one of the major constraints for people around the world. People's lack of power affects their lives in every possible aspect. Sen (1999), in a core critique to the dominant paradigm refers to the "un-freedom of poverty and inequality, "to emphasize the limitations and the patterns of domination of the current conception of liberal democracies.

The "Cocoyol Declaration on Self Reliance" was one of the instances where a different kind of development was openly discussed. A people-oriented development, which would have participation as an essential requirement for all its practices, cannot leave out of consideration people's empowerment. Involving people in the decision-making process of

development implies a two-fold effort affecting the traditional equation of power in the existing social structure. On the one hand, grassroots communities need to become empowered to take decisions concerning their own well-being; and on the other hand, outside experts and donors need to be "disempowered" in order to release control of the driving seat of the decision-making process. The latter occurrence is always the harder to achieve, as power is hard to conquer, but even harder to renounce.

Paulo Freire (1997), one of the leading persons in this field, sees communication as a basic component of people's empowerment. A genuine revolution, aiming at eliminating the patterns of domination in the society, can be achieved and legitimized only through dialogue with people. He believes that people's "empowerment can be achieved through a process of awareness or "conscientization." This implies reaching a level of consciousness whereby the oppressed become aware of their condition through a totality of reflection and action. The most effective tool in this process is dialogue. Freire rejects the authoritative approval of most social institutions, especially the educational ones. He believes dialogue is the best way, not just to acquire knowledge, but to empower people. Freire (1997:70) posits: "Dialogue is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of mankind". Empowerment is needed to liberate both the oppressor and the oppressed, thus enabling a genuine participation. Freire (1997), states that years, or centuries of mental indoctrination, economic exploitation and political domination have produced a perverse mechanism of dependency between the various social parties and the only ones who can change this are the people themselves.

Chambers, one of the major advocates of participatory approaches, deals with empowerment from a different angle. He believes that involving the poor in their own development efforts and allowing them to take decisions over their own lives will lead to their empowerment. He believes that power can be both an enabling and a disabling factor. Misguided power can be a devastating instrument in development, as many failures of international projects have demonstrated, and power can also be considered a disability, when it imposes the construction of reality of the ones on top and negates that of the ones at the bottom.

In this respect, Chambers (1997:77) raises two interesting questions: "whether all power tends to deceive; and whether exceptional power deceives exceptionally." For Chambers, empowerment basically means putting people in control of decision concerning their life. He considers participatory approaches to be one of the most valuable tools in empowering people, but this analysis tends to overlook structural constraints impeding people's participation and, hence, empowerment.

Finding a general consensus of a definition of empowerment is not easy. Some definitions by (Cornwal 2000); Melkote 2000 have already been presented. One of the most comprehensive definitions which include elements of all the main theoretical perspectives, seems to be that offered by Deming, (as cited in Hodges et al; 1997:148) which states:

> Empowerment is a process of discovering within ourselves and in others, the capacity to bring about change. Empowerment means accepting personal responsibility to act. As we realize our power, we become free to transform ourselves and to discover untapped strengths. Our individual actions of protests and creativity create a ripple effect that empowers others. At the heart of the empowerment process is the phenomenon of helping someone else to see something he or she has not seen before and subsequently to act upon that insight.

> It is not a bullying power not the power to make people afraid. It is the power to make people see new things as possible.

This definition includes both the personal dimension, through the idea of the process of inner discovery leading to action, and the social level, through a ripple effect that facilitate other people's empowerment to reflect and act. It also incorporates Freire's concept of power as transformation and rejects the negative idea of power being used to dominate or impose. It is a constructive form of power that brings hope to the people. However, as interesting as it sounds, this kind of empowerment is not easy to achieve, as it requires a complex effort from two opposite sides. While people on the bottom have to struggle to increase their power, the ones on the top have to renounce some of their power and control. It is expected that empowering people could be quite easier as earlier stated, than disempowering the traditional sources of power or authority, i.e. Project Managers, International experts etc. That is why Titi and Singh (1995) discuss the idea of "mutual empowerment" as a way to recognize the current interdependent relations on a global and local level among a number of actors, i.e. governments, NGOs, International agencies, Public and Private Donors and people. They are interested in participation and empowerment for a new paradigm of sustainable development and they claim that "alternative development thinking has focused on transformation of political, economic, environmental and societal institutions and societal value through empowerment" (Titi and Singh, 1995:18). Their article stresses the need between "the processes of impoverishment (which are economic, ecological, social and political), and the disempowerment of the people." Empowerment therefore, is a necessary component in the fight to reduce poverty and in achieving equal recognition of human rights and dignity for all peoples of the world.

The notion of empowerment has also been investigated by Scholars and practitioners of feminist studies. Virginia Seitz (1995:8) defines empowerment as: "the capacity in thought and action to address the condition and position of marginalization. Women are empowered when they recognize and act on strategic (relational) interests as well as practical (material interest)". It is easy to see how this definition could be effectively applied to any oppressed or subordinate group of people. Seitz considers marginalization to be a key term of women's struggle for empowerment, since "women are marginalized by the social construction of subordinate female gender roles and their accompanying ideologies" (Seitz, 1995:7). Again, this can be applied to any other subordinate group. The consensus about the value of people's participation and empowerment appear to be so overwhelming, at least in the official discourse, that one might wonder why such approaches are still being debated rather than fully applied. One might also wonder if they are indeed being adopted and in what capacity.

There can be little doubt that participation and empowerment can bring a value-added degree of legitimacy to any project (Rahnema, 1992). It is not only politically correct to have people directly involved in decision-making process of development projects, but it also increases their chances of success (Coldevin and FAO, 2001). Unfortunately, not all development agencies appear to be genuinely promoting the philosophy and practices of people's participation and empowerment. Many of them appear to be merely involved in façade operation, where participation and empowerment serve to legitimize their operations and avoid controversy. Participation is also related in a number of ways to globalization, at least as far as development is concerned. First of all, it has become a universally accepted and "politically correct" concept that while implying a radical change;

it does not radically change the dominant paradigm. Most international agencies are adopting, or claiming to adopt this approach, but very few appear to apply a participatory approach throughout the whole decision-making process. The fact that participation can be conceived, defined and applied in a number of ways, allows its adoption without jeopardizing the main stream dominant approaches (Rahnema,1992' Pretty et al;1995). Nominal participation i.e. without the power of controlling the decision-making process, or partial participation, i.e. being involved only in certain phases of the development effort, is often used to validate projects while negating the very essence of participation i.e. primary stakeholders taking control (power) of the decision-making process from the very beginning to the life circle of a project.

Empowerment goals however, will not be achieved, until there is a genuine and sincere commitment to participatory communication. There must be conscious effort to engage the stakeholders in a dialogue in line with Paolo Freire's ideology for effective sensitization and conscientization. Individuals and communities must be given equal opportunity, devoid of all forms of inhibitions to air their views, which must be assessed and processed within the context of their need.

As earlier mentioned, the genuiness of the intervention would be questionable, if skakeholders are not engaged in a participatory communication from the conception of any development intervention, right through the life cycle of the project. In order words, they should be on equal seats with the policy makers while discussing matters that affects them directly, with their views and opinions being taken into consideration.

Stakeholders cannot be said to be empowered if policy makers stay in the comfort zone of their offices and churn out policies and programmes without recourse to the stakeholders. This approach will amount to forcing bitter pills down the throats of the stakeholders. This is a clear departure from empowerment and from participatory communication.

2.4 The Role of Communication in Development

In recent times, the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) called for not only greater financial commitment in international assistance to programmes, but also assistance to innovative strategies to tackle the serious economic, health, education and other basic human rights problems in the developing world. The renewed interest in global development issues provides an opportunity for development practitioners to integrate established methods and more communication approaches into larger development initiatives in a greater scale. However, Inagaki (2007), is of the opinion that a systematic use of communication for development has been underutilized over the years. He advocates that one of the ways to turn around the marginalized status of communication in development efforts is to demonstrate the positive impacts of communication on development initiatives. This segment of the study, is a step in this direction.

Communication, according to Inagaki (2007) can make;

> Development interventions more vernacular, and more sensible to specific local contexts. Development communication can also make development initiatives sealable by employing different communication techniques and devices that address varying spatial requirements for local, regional and international levels of action.

In line with the above position, it can be said that communication can create a favourable ecology for development programmes, by linking people and facilitating interactions between economically, politically and culturally disconnected groups; and between the indigenous knowledge and science, elite national policy makers and rural communities. The importance of communication in development as argued by some scholars like Melkote (1991), transcends the supportive role in the core development efforts. Melkote (1991), asserts, communication in development should be recognized as the objective in, and on itself, seeing that communication empowers people, enables expression and dialogue, raises awareness of socio-structural problems and fosters self reflection among marginalized and disadvantaged populations.

However, it is important to note that as important as the need is for communication in development, the impact can only be felt if there is a greater and more effective integration of communication's strategic values. Waisbord and Larson (2005), posit: "In reality, development projects tends to relegate communication components to secondary importance and earmark relatively small budgets. All too often, communication strategies are expressed in too generic a form in project designs".

Communication in development, which involves the participatory approach, is often the preferred mode of implementing development projects, aimed at creating and strengthening coalitions and collaborative partnerships. For example, De Jager and Walaga (2004) examined the facilitated learning process of farmers and local policy makers in addressing the problem of soil nutrient depletion in four districts in Kenya and Uganda. According to them, participants in an interactive communication, experimented on various low-external input techniques for soil management in order to reduce farmers' dependency

on external technologies as well as to make soil management more effective. They said, "…communication strategies, in the form of dialogues and information sharing between farmers and the project implementation groups through oral and visual means were framed within a participatory project design and employed at different project stages". At the end of the project, it was reported that the project was not very successful in terms of achieving the stated project goal which was the improvement in soil condition, but that the farmers and extension agents have succeeded in producing quantitative and visual data (maps) on the areas of soil conditions which raised awareness among policy makers, of the problems of soil degradation. Thus, the stakeholders' discussions based on the quantitative and visual soil data became instrumental for several policy proposals initiated by the participants at the district and national levels. Communication therefore has played the role of resource development.

In another example of communication playing the role of resource development, Manandhar and others (2004), report a number of resources generated by the community by a group of women who were involved in a project addressing neonatal death in Nepal. Using horizontal group communication between the women and their facilitators, generated a series of bottom-up solutions for childbirth-related issues, including community generated funds for maternal and infant care, stretcher schemes, distribution of clean child delivery kits, home visits to pregnant women and awareness raising with a locally made film to create a forum for discussion.

It is evident that the resources created, through communication intervention processes are intended to improve the lives of people, but such resources under certain circumstances can also adversely affect the intended beneficiaries (Manandhar and others, 2004)

Another role that is played by communication in development is that of Empowerment and Capability Building. In a study of entertainment-education programmes on family planning in Nepal, Sharan and Valente (2002) demonstrates, among other things, that the interaction between mass media messages and spousal communication has led to the empowerment of women in the context of spousal relations. In their report, they stated that the communication intervention consisted of two entertainment – education radio serials, supplemented with radio sport advertisements, national-level orientation workshops, district-level training workshops and printed materials. The report goes on to state that the radio serial provided information on contraceptives techniques, pregnancy and birth spacing, and dealt with broader issues influencing family planning use, such as gender bias and family planning decision making. The outcome of the research was that in the earlier period, the contraceptive use became most prevalent among couples in which the husband and wife jointly made the decision, and lowest among the couples in which the husband alone made decision.

The above shows a shift in balance of gender power relations. It is also important to note that although the immediate impacts of the entertainment-education broadcast was operated at the individual level, this shift indicates the initiation of social change, refining gender relations and empowering women's voice in decision-taking.

Communication can also play the role of coalition building and partnership among groups and individuals. Appiah (2001) evaluated a study in Ghana in which she documents the positive outcome of coalition-based forest management solutions. She narrates that the Joint Management Project initiated by two timber companies called for a participation of local authorities and farmers in an effort to develop a sustainable forest management

partnership, balancing economic development and environmental quality goals. Participatory communication techniques were employed: Group communication involving villagers, educational workshops on land use issues, and the dialogues and information exchanges between local representatives and the project steering committee. According to Appiah (2001), the study found evidence of positive impacts of co-management processes on environmental conditions as well as on the local economy; and that survey responses reveal that three years after the project was established, about 50percent of all farmers planted trees supporting local reforestation efforts and the timber economy. This communication strategy has helped farmers to learn that planting new trees could avoid the risk of excessive dependency on cocoa crops, potentially opening new markets and increasing income in the long run. The outcome of the communicative intervention also revealed that agricultural practices had changed during the project period (Appiah, 2001), replacing slash-and-burn field activities with more environmentally friendly methods.

Communication also has a place in democratic development and governance. In spite of its relative under prioritization in development assistance; its catalytic role by the media in influencing governance, relationships and processes has become a key feature of sustainable development. The window for the communication field in Fraser's (1994) opinion, comes from the recognition that in a sustainable development, there are multiple stakeholders who generate and exchange information. There is therefore the need for building of bridges, linking different viewpoints and creating a common language among different stakeholders. The contrasting interpretations of reality according to Fraser (1994) between rural folk and policy makers, or between scientists and field staff, are the challenges faced by the field of communication for development. These, he said, are the

entry points for strategically designed communication efforts aimed at linking different stakeholders. The communication intervention is therefore about aiding different types of actors interested in understanding needs and jointly assessing opportunities. It is about providing them with the methods and media to reach common meaning and about enabling them to negotiate with other actors with contrasting perceptions and interest that cannot be disputed. It is widely seen as vital for connecting states with society, facilitating inclusive political systems, giving voice to the poor and marginalized groups as earlier stated in this study and enabling citizens' participation and social accountability. Political advocates according to Lines, K (2009), also agree that the strategic use of political communication tools and methodologies can influence the attitudes, opinions and behavior of key stakeholders and secure the political will necessary for reforms to be successful. Lines (2009) concludes that, "… with the recent rise of the fragile states agenda, there has been increased academic and donor interest in how communication can contribute to state building by improving state citizens' relationships and helping rebuild social contracts in conflict affected states". This shows that communication has the ability to resolve conflict and provide convivial atmosphere for technology and economy to thrive.

In rounding off this discussion of the role that Communication plays in Development, it is instructive to know that communication can be an enabling tool for local organizations and groups to gain the confidence, skill and knowledge to become protagonists in sustainable development. As various experiences have demonstrated, the starting point is the use of a communication medium to help local groups identify problems, document them using traditional or electronic media and communicate them to local and national authorities. Balit (1993); FAO (1994a) posits: "Skill and knowledge exchange at the level of problem

identification are social to the task of agreeing on plans to overcome problems". The researcher agrees with Balit et al (1993; 1994a) when they state that "… there is a growing body of experience in the use of visual media to assist rural, often illiterate groups, to participate in action research and engage in platforms for negotiations" and gave the followings as examples of communication interventions where rural groups are invited to:

- Become involved in the overall process of development
- Share their perspective on their local predicament using rural radio
- Share their knowledge of natural resource management by the use of maps and traditional media to understand local perspectives
- Describe local knowledge using local graphic symbols.

Above is in consonance with the McBride report (1980), which indicated that in spite of its media-centric inclination, the role of communication in development was not restricted to media and dissemination of information, but that it was also concerned with "involving people in the diagnosis of needs and in the design and implementation of selected activities". To lend credence to the above, Mefalopulos (2008), said to be effective in that task, and to be true to the interdisciplinary nature of communication, "…a specialist in this field should be familiar not only with communication's do's and don'ts, but should have a broad analytical skills and should be able to use communication methods to assess the cultural, political and social context".

Mefalopulos (2008) also advocates that communication specialists should always ask why certain issues are occurring and what communication strategy needs to be adopted in order to address the problem more effectively. This in essence shows that appropriate communication strategy has the efficacy of fixing problems of any kind for sustainable

development. The word “appropriate” becomes apt in this sense, because in most cases communication experts prefer to inform the stakeholders of the decision that has already been taken rather than involving them in taking the decision. This is highlighted by Quarry (2008:47) and he states: “Managers and decision makers want communication, but too often it is the first kind of communication, which is monologic and tend to neglect the importance of the other type of communication, which is dialogic”.

From the above exploration of the role of Communication in Development, it is evident that communication plays an indispensable role in any development intervention. What is desirable, however, is to identify the appropriate communication strategy suitable for that intervention.

Having explored the theories of Development Communication in the review of literature, including the basic theories of development and the way various scholars have conceived the theories and how it is practiced in the field, there are critical issues the researcher has observed and needs to be put in perspective.

It is instructive to note that in spite of the recognition of Development Communication as an important component for sustainable development, the practice in the field is a far-cry. This is because, in most cases, policy and decision makers pay lip service to communication approaches that emphasize people, but in most cases, because these approaches are process oriented and will require time to materialize, they are truncated in preference for approaches that will produce quantifiable results without sustainability. Theories of communication that encourages participation, therefore, are well thought of, but are not implemented to the latter.

Perhaps what informs the above posture, is the lack of genuine intention to adopt participatory communication strategies by managers and decision makers. In consequence therefore, the development initiators maintain the status-quo in which they see themselves as experts and have solution to all development problems. This is an aberration of the power equation since there has to be a conscious effort by the policy and decision makers to share knowledge from the ones they consider unlearned, otherwise, theories of communication for development will remain a mirage. In the opinion of the researcher, communication that is participatory is not always applied from the beginning to the end of development interventions. There are always a selective integration of the target beneficiaries in the development continuum. This approach reduces the importance and relevance of Development Communication as practiced in the field.

In furtherance to the above, one cannot say a development project is fully participatory if the intervention is not initiated, implemented and evaluated by the primary stakeholders. In some of the typologies of participation as presented by some scholars e.g. Prety et al(1969), participation in benefits or, provision of information by the primary stakeholders, appear to be maintaining of the status-quo in which, the relevance of the primary stakeholder is limited to benefitting from the intervention as a result of the information he has provided to the expert. Project sustainability in this case, is not guaranteed and the desired radical change in the beliefs and attitudes of the primary stakeholder is not likely to be achieved.

In the researcher's opinion therefore, conscientisation and sensitization of the primary stakeholders for participation in development initiative cannot be compromised. If development communication will retain its substance in the field, just like Paolo Freire

(1997), said there must be genuine dialogue and consciousness raising in such a way that the primary stakeholders appropriates the ownership of the initiative and be empowered in terms of having the ability to define their world-view, otherwise, the theories of communication for Development will remain a widely praised concept, but poorly practiced in the field.

It is also glaring that apart from the fact that the field of Development Communication appears to be for all comers: for example, Sociologists, Mass Communicators, Agricultural Extension Workers, English Language graduates etc. there are possibilities of distorting the concept of communication for Development by individual and this invariably affect the way it should be practiced in the field. In most cases, therefore, the substances of the field of Development Communication are diluted and become ineffective, impotent and do not guarantee sustainable development.

It is also important to note that one of the inhibitions of the participatory communication approaches is the lack of awareness and familiarity of the issues at stake by the policy formulators. This is also not unconnected to the fact that they are also not specialists of Development Communication. If this awareness for a people-based approach is not created to the top of the pyramid of those formulating the policies, they have the tendency to use force to gain compliance of their policies. This approach to my mind, has a boomerang effect as the primary stakeholders may decide to introduce a “conspiracy of silence” by coiling inside their shells. By so doing, it is a sign that they have distanced themselves from the initiative, will have nothing to do with it; and therefore will not be interested in its sustainability.

However, if planners and decision makers become fully aware that before starting any development project, they should apply participatory communication diagnosis, by not only discovering the various perception on issues, but also by building from local expertise and also facilitate the involvement of local stakeholders, in the decision making process. Such process will reveal the inherent desires of the community and their constraints which will suggest the areas and levels of interventions. These inherent desires could be the cultural values and practices of the people, which assists them in defining or creating their reality. In this sense, their indigenous institutions, such as age grades, youth organizations, clubs and towns' union are used in reaching the people and mobilizing the untapped energies for productive development interventions. One should also not forget that all these indigenous institutions are the ingredients for the creation of the reality of the primary stakeholders.

Commenting on the reversal of knowledge, development practitioners do not always see the need to vacate the driver's seat through delegation of powers at all levels to the primary stakeholders; and the need to sensitize them to be accountable for such power they exercise. Community participation, using people's institution and leaders, enhances the people's leadership qualities and sense of organization. If the field of Development Communication must achieve its desired objective, development must be geared towards meeting the needs of the people. This is on the understanding that development is for the people. This means that all rural development efforts must be derived from the felt-needs and aspirations of the rural people and not in response to the needs of the urban political economy, such as unemployment, food shortfalls and rural-urban migration.

The present rural development situation poses great problems to all and sundry, therefore, Government should show the necessary leadership by matching words with action through evolving workable rural development approaches, proper co-ordination, funding and technical assistance.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

There are a number of theoretical positions relevant for studying communication in the context of development. These include different theories ranging from behavior change, to social interaction, through diffusion theories, etc. However, the one that is considered apt and selected for this study is the theory of dialogical pedagogy which is advanced and popularized by Paolo Freire (1997). This however, was complemented with Fierlbeck's theory of social interaction.

3.1 Framing Participation, Communication and Development

In his theory of dialogical pedagogy and consciencetisation, Paolo Freire (1968) is of the belief that the desire to empower people could be achieved through the process of creating awareness (sensitization) and consciencetisation (reflection and action), which can only be possible through the process of dialogue. This also implies reaching a level of consciousness, whereby the communities become aware of their living conditions and become willing to take decisions and act on them.

Pursuant to his theory of dialogics, Freire (1968) stated that: "the teacher and student should work together to solve problems on an equal footing, or at least without the teacher claiming absolute knowledge and an authority superior to that of a peasant".

The concept of dialogue between the teacher and the student in search of solutions brings the two into social interaction (Ferlbeck, 1989), where both operate from a democratic base of equality that has two principal features: freedom and equal opportunities in social and

political life. This entails people being able to think, speak and act freely, and being able to have a choice among a number of options. The second feature, is equality. This implies that people are fundamentally equal in some important respect; and from this, according Beetham (1994) "… all should be treated equally in certain specified socio-political respect".

In dialogics, Freire declares, there must be cooperation amongst subjects which can only be achieved through communication in which the desired revolution or change does not seek to conquer people but to gain their adherence. In this sense, dialogue is not employed as a mere technique to achieve some cognitive results, but a means to transform social relations and to raise awareness about relationships in the society at large. Dialogue, therefore plays an umpire of recreating knowledge through mutual learning process.

In a situation requiring the use of participation, the dialoguers' collaborative process will illuminate and act on reality for the solution to the problem. In other words, dialogue brings people together in a social interaction to reflect on their reality as they make and remake it. Through dialogue, according to Friere (1997) "…People reflect together on what they know and what they do not know to enable them act critically to transform reality".

Consequently, it is imperative to say that when stakeholders are not involved in mutual dialogue from the beginning of any development initiative, they tend to be suspicious of the project activities and may not give their cooperation. Conversely, when dialogic communication is used to involve them in the definition of initiative, their motivation is higher.

In order to take decision over their lives, individuals would have to be socially involved in a participatory process of dialogue and active communication that give the power to decide and act upon those decisions. It is a theory of making meaning, such that individuals create their own new understanding based on an interaction between what they already know and believe and the (new) knowledge in which they come into contact. Freire (1997:60) further states: "a genuine revolution aiming at eliminating the patterns of domination in the society can be achieved and legitimized only through dialogue with the people"

The intended use of dialogic theory of sensitization and consciencetisation as a participatory communication technique is to probe project success or otherwise in some selected communities of the Federal Capital Territory. This was re-enforced by the practical use of Participatory Learning and Action tools such as: interviews, consultations public meetings, pair-wise ranking methods to measure the efficacy of the theory.

Arising from the above, the dialogical pedagogic theory has the following characteristics:

i. It gives attention to the individual and the community and respect for the communities background, beliefs, and traditions.
ii. Facilitates group's dialogue, leading to the creation of shared understanding of the topic under discussion.
iii. Provides opportunities for individuals and community to determine, change or add to existing beliefs and understanding through participatory communication that are structured for the desired purpose; and.
iv. Development of the community's awareness of their own issues in the dialogue.

Embedded in the characteristics above is the desire of empowering people through that same process of awareness (sensitization) and consciencetisation (reflection and action), which can only be possible through the process of dialogical interaction.

Closely related to Freire's theory of dialogics is Fierlback's theory of social interaction. In practical terms, there cannot be genuine dialoguers in the absence of social interaction. In the course of dialogue, interaction takes place between two or more individuals, and include all uses of language to exchange ideas and equally confront each other with the utmost goal of using communication for the purpose of making meaning. Through this form of social interaction, people become active participants in creating their social world. Individuals in a social interaction interpret social actions symbolically to give meaning to their interaction as a matter of social construction which have meaning in so far as people agree they do.

What then is social interaction? Bropty (2002), presents three different ways of understanding the concept of social interaction. He said, for some, "it is an inclusionary goal, implying equal opportunities and rights for all human beings". In this case, the one that becomes socially integrated, means he has more chances of having an improved standard of living. He continues that to others, "increasing integration has a negative connotation, which is conjuring of an unwanted imposition of uniformity" and finally, the third dimension, the term does not necessarily imply either positive or negative state. It is simply a way of describing the established patterns of human relations in any given society.

When social interaction is used in the first sense listed above as a goal in itself, certain problems often arise. These problems are summarized as follows:

(a) It is intellectually easy and often politically expedient to assume that grave problems of poverty and injustice could be alleviated by merely including people that were formerly excluded from certain activities or benefits. Yet in many cases, the existing pattern of development may be economically and ecologically unsustainable, or politically repressive. Therefore, it is always necessary to ask for clarification in a dialogue mode, inclusion in what and on what terms?

(b) Social interactions can be sought without given sufficient attention to the need for cultural diversity. When this occurs, it is certain that there can be an imposition of uniformity, whereas intrinsically there is exclusion.

(c) In all too many cases, international discussion of social development is also phrased in terms of integrating those with 'nothing' into the modern main stream, as though the group defined as excluded are surviving with nothing. Yet even the most impoverished and apparently disorganized, have their own forms of social organization that thrive. Therefore, ignoring the real world of the disadvantages, is a danger associated with the rhetoric of inclusion, and it makes for bad policy.

The area of synergy, therefore, between the theory of dialogics and the social interaction theory is based on the fact that both thrive through the process of co-operation which can only be achieved through communication. Both speak of a relationship that emanates through empathy.

In conclusion therefore, the use of dialogic theory as a participatory communication technique was re-inforced by the theory of social integration/ interaction with the practical use of Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) tools such as Focus Group Discussions,

Key Informant Interviews, Transect Walk, Community Mapping, Pair Wise Ranking among others to measure the efficacy of the theories.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This research critically analysed the communication strategies that were applied in the development of some selected projects of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria-Abuja. This chapter provided a blue print on the methodology that was used for the realization of the set objective. It explained the kind of study being carried out, the type of data required, and how the data was analysed.

It is therefore imperative, as every research demands, that one must choose a methodological approach that best answers the research questions at hand. Creswell (1994) posits that "in reality, however, epistemological and axiological assumptions of the researcher often spill over to his or her selection of research methods". In this case, research methods are often chosen according to subjective criteria, such as researcher's worldview, his or her training or experiences, psychological attributes and the intended achievement for the study. However, this subjective interest needs to be balanced with an objective approach to adopt the methodology most suitable for a research of this nature.

For the realization of the objective of this research, the researcher will adopt a Participatory Learning and Action approach as the underpinning conceptual methodology which is a Communication-Based Assessment tool that enables the researcher to select and use appropriate communication research methods and techniques, as well as how to engage stakeholders in the investigation of the socio-political content. This is found to facilitate sustainable results through the preliminary assessment of the situation. The field component in this regard, is participation where communication is central among both the

stakeholders and the experts. The PLA tools such as Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interview (KII), Transect Walks, Community Mapping, Pair-Wise ranking were used where necessary. These tools tested the efficacy of the methodology as they assisted in revealing the socio-cultural values of the stakeholders in a manner that encourages participation. The hallmark is geared toward an empowering process where the voices of the beneficiaries are heard and their views respected through the bottom-up communication approach. It is important to note that Paulo Freire's (1997) theory of dialogics, complemented by Fierlbeck's theory of social interaction were deployed as the theoretical framework and were implied in the methodology.

The locations of the research were the following:

(i) Kekeshi Community in Abaji Area Council of the FCT

(ii) Garki Village Community in the Abuja Municipal Area Council of the FCT

(iii) Gaba community in the Bwari Area council of the FCT

The Key Informant Interview was double path as it included both the service providers and the project beneficiaries, paying particular interest to informants that had better insight of the subject matter, for example, government officials, traditional leaders, youth leaders etc.

The target group for the transect walk were the traditional leaders or their representatives and the youths, thereafter, had a mental community map of facilities in the community. Information generated from this activity was triangulated from information from the desk review of available documentation. A set of Guide Questions were prepared and administered to both the Government Officials and the Target Beneficiaries, labeled as "Appendix A".

This was preceded by a desk review of available documentation which highlighted key issues and provided useful background to investigate the perceptions and knowledge held by the various stake-holders and groups.

4.1 Research Approach

Basically, this research is descriptive and exploratory. The research design adopted for this study was both qualitative and quantitative analyses to investigate the communication strategies used in carrying out the development of selected projects in the FCT. This was in view of the theoretical connotations of the concepts as well as the practical implications of the process of gathering the data.

Mefalopulos (2008:141) states that "the two perspectives are not mutually exclusive, nor should they be considered antagonistic to each other". He explains that usually quantitative methods are more appropriate in diffusion modes, provides valid and reliable measurements through objective and scientific methods including: surveys, polls and other statistical comparative measurements. On the other hand, qualitative methods rely mostly on observation techniques and interviews that appear to be most effective in capturing the complexity of human nature as viewed in participation.

Although researchers differ in the use of both approaches in the field of participatory communication, the apriori contra positions are being replaced by a case-by-case approach which adopts, and in many cases, combines the methods more appropriately according to the objectives of the intervention. They are valuable in providing insights that can later be triangulated and assessed more precisely. According to Babbie (2010:353) "the most

effective evaluation research is one that combines qualitative and quantitative components."

In spite of these advantages, the approach outlined for this research, relied on the constructivist (qualitative) approach rather than the positivist (quantitative) one in the course of this study. This is because the qualitative approach carries a number of implications at the ontological, epistemological and methodological levels as explained by Guba (1990) and is more suitable to this study. In his view, ontologically, it does not matter if reality is one or multiple, since reality is constructed through exchanging and sharing of knowledge and experiences among individuals. The implications that follow are that, there is no single, objective and verifiable true reality, but a multiplicity of realities, all equally valid in the eyes of their "builders".

At the epistemological level, the separation between the researcher and the object of the study is no longer desirable or possible, as the two are part of a single reality (Wilkins, 1994:2). Methodologically, the main task of the researcher is to identify and interpret the various constructions of reality through a number of methods usually based on a dialectic mode (Guba, 1990). Qualitative measures therefore appear to be most useful in understanding and interpreting a situation in a descriptive manner, while quantitative methods appear to be better in measuring the extent of that situation.

4.1.2 Approach to Data Collection

This study used two principal methods in the Data Collection. The first is the Desk review of the available documents as the secondary source; while the second is the Field work in

which attention was given to many tools that encouraged participatory communication in development.

The above was necessary because one needs to know from the onset if there are documentation of the project from its conception and what communication model was used to relate with the target beneficiaries. This knowledge formed the baseline for comparison with what was discovered from the field. This secondary source of information was extractive in nature as the information was solely on what was obtained from the documentation of the project.

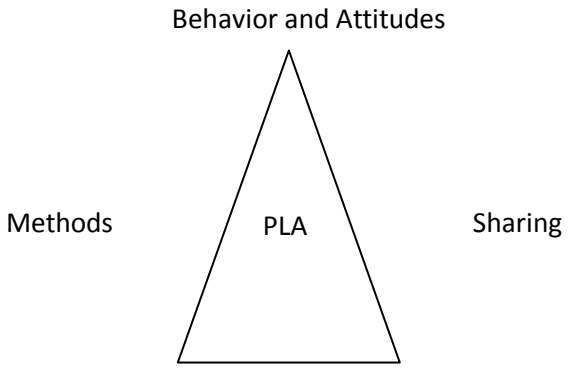
On the other hand, the Field Research was necessary as it was interactive in nature and the information gathered was as a result of interviews and Focus Group Discussions aimed at knowledge and information sharing. These were triangulated and analysed, using purely a qualitative, descriptive and exploratory approach.

4.2.0 Participatory Learning and Action

Some scholars e.g Berengere (1998), Pretty (1995) and Archer (1996), have argued that the best methodology to be adopted for data collection for participatory development is the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA). This is owing to its practical tools of initiating a Participatory Programme Development. For example, it uses the process of working in partnership with the communities to develop feasible, desirable and sustainable development programmes. The approach enables the local stakeholders to analyse their needs, identify possible solutions to meet those needs; and to develop, implement and evaluate a plan of action.

Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) is based on the assumption that community members are the best experts about their own health, social and political situations. The role of PLA facilitators is to help community members tap their own knowledge and resources and use them effectively. The approach has its roots from a variety of participatory methodological approaches, specifically from the Rural Rapid Appraisal (RRA); and later, Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA).

PLA has three foundations which can be visualized with the aid of a triangle:



Berengere, (1998)

Behavior and Attitudes are at the top of a triangle, because many PLA practitioners believe that these elements are the key to successfully facilitate community participation. The kinds of behaviour and attitudes which are necessary for the successful facilitation of PLA include the following: Respect for local knowledge and capabilities (Reversal of Knowledge), Rapid and Progressive Learning, handing over the stick, flexibility and informality, offsetting biases, seeking diversity; and self critical awareness.

Methods entail various methods of gathering and analysis of information during the PLA process. This includes Mapping and diagramming, semi-structured interviews, sorting and ranking, transect walks and observation etc.

The aspect of sharing connotes sharing of information and experiences among experts and stakeholders alike. This is a key element of PLA and takes place on several levels which include; local people sharing information among themselves, local people and outsiders sharing information with each other; PLA facilitators sharing information among themselves; and organizations sharing experiences with each other.

In line with the above, therefore, below is a Development Communication methodological framework:

Communication Based Assessment	Strategy design	Implementation	Monitoring and evaluation (indications)
Identify/analyse/refine: Audiences/Stakeholders Risks, opportunities, Needs, solutions, Media, Channels/ME/ indicator, objectives	Select any design com., approaches, messages, learning systems	Carry out; pretesting media productions, training activities, message dissemination	

Source: Mefalopulos (2009)

The conceptual underpinning that guided the data collection for this study for both the Primary and Secondary sources is the Participatory Learning and Action as a practical tool.

Closely related to this is the Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA) which has a strong participatory connotation and therefore, particularly appropriate for community driven development projects and other programmes that have high emphasis on people's participation.

Mefalopulos (2008:107) discloses that PRCA was first developed in Africa to fill the gap that emerged during the initial phase of the project meant to promote the use of participatory communication in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

region. The project was an attempt by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations to introduce participatory communication in the Southern African Development community in order to boost food production. Instead of a genuine participatory communication model, however, that research, according to him, revealed, that communication assessment methods were rather extractive, that is, collecting data from the beneficiaries to be analysed and used by the external experts and relied on the traditional vertical model of communication, thereby allowing little opportunity for people's participation. Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal was therefore introduced to fill this gap and to strengthen the efforts for the promotion of Participatory Communication in the SADC. PRCA enables outside experts and people in the community to share their knowledge and make joint decisions concerning development issues. It is therefore interactive rather than extractive. It redefines communication as an interactive process that facilitates dialogue and refines problems; and assists in the joint design, planning and implementation of development activities. It is especially useful in rural settings with grassroots communities.

However, its principles can be adapted to a wide range of circumstances, including urban settings and interventions directed at higher-level decision makers. PRCA operates a two-way communication model and the data is generated from both the experts and the stakeholders, hence the need for dialogue. This fact was first presented earlier in this study through the metaphorical image of the Johari's window. In PRCA, the starting point is always the knowledge shared by both parties-(community and projects staff), which forms the basis of addressing the unknown by combining and applying knowledge exclusive to each group. This technique of collection of data provides a source of empowerment

through dialogue, especially in the process of engaging rural people in the decision-making process to design effective strategies to address their problems. In the process, while communication issues are being addressed, capacity building and individual empowerment were attained.

Consequent upon the above, therefore, and in addition to the secondary sources of this research, the following Data collection tools were used to probe the communication strategies used in the development of the selected projects in the FCT:

I. Desk Review

Projects documentation was used to analyse projects from the selected sites in which two main issues were addressed: how the projects were conceived and if Participatory Communication was involved in all or specific phases of the project cycle. This provided the basis for comparison with what was obtained in the course of Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) exercise.

II. Transect Walks

The study carried out Transect Walks with some community leaders which included traditional chiefs, youth leaders, representatives of the women, religious leaders and observed the people's surroundings and resources.

Accordingly, transect lines were drawn through a mental map of the community which 'transect' all zones of the community in order to provide a representative view. Among the things that the researcher and the stakeholders observed in the Transect Walks included: Housing conditions, availability of public transport, types of non-governmental organizations or religious groups in the community, types of stores in the

community, interactions between men and women, types of markets whether open or closed, presence of infrastructure and their distribution, sanitary condition, presence of health facilities.

The researcher talked to the local people he met along the way in order to obtain additional information. All these were necessary for the purposes of triangulation, that is, using diverse sources for example, semi-structured interviews, desk review, Focus Group Discussions, Community Mapping and the transect walks itself to achieve a high level of accuracy. The Transect walk enabled the researcher to have on-the –spot assessment of the facilities present in the community which was investigated alongside information gathered using the tools mentioned above.

III. Community Mapping

The researcher used mental Community Maps agreed with the respective community leaders which provided a visual representation of a geographical area of a community with a specific theme in mind. This was conducted at the strategic planning phase of the research and it had the following advantages:

(i.) It brought together many development workers and the community members in conducting situational analyses, thereby developed a community profile and created a realistic community register.

(ii.) It generated a lot of information which was used to plan an efficient community based development initiative.

The limitation of this tool was that it only took into account the present observable situations and features, serving as entry points for more indepth analyses.

IV. Key Informant Interview (KII)

It is an established fact that interviews are qualitative tools to acquire knowledge or to probe specific issues, usually with one person at a time. This study adopted the semi-structured and ethnographic pattern of interview because it provided enough space for the respondents to answer freely and provided useful insights, while keeping track and consistency to the issues addressed (Agar, 1996:140). The main challenge the researcher faced in this technique was the difficulty to identify the persons that had the most significant insight or knowledge about the issues under review, as is expected for a Key Informant Interviews (KII). Where feasible and agreeable by the respondents, the researcher made audio recordings which were subsequently transcribed for the purposes of triangulation. Officers, especially from the Works and Projects departments of the selected Area Councils in which the projects were sited were also interviewed and some information was extracted from them and matched with the interactive data obtained from the communities.

V. Focus Group Discussions

As a qualitative research tool, originally derived from marketing, the study used this tool to probe knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of specific groups of people around topics of interest. To implement the Focus Group Discussions, the researcher invited individuals to sit in a circle for a face to face contact. The services of a note taker who sat outside the circle was engaged. The researcher as the facilitator asked a set of questions with the aid of the Guide Questions aimed to start and guide the discussion, and to encourage inputs from everybody,

while making sure that the discussion was not distracted by issues that were not relevant to the scope of the Focus Group. This has proved to be very successful tool in marketing and according to Mefalopulos, has been used successfully in a number of situations in development.

Therefore in using this particular communication tool, the researcher restricted the Focus Groups to the community leaders comprising of traditional rulers, youths representatives, women representatives, market associations representatives from where the projects were located. The sample sizes for FGD in the three selected projects was 18 with six from each project.

VI. Pair-Wise Ranking

In the course of the FGD the researcher probed whether the projects executed were in line with the needs of the beneficiary communities. In this wise, the stakeholders were requested to list the different issues/needs that they wanted the government to address. These were ranked and their priorities were determined. This also gave insight as to whether the existing projects sited in their community were actually according to their priority.

4.2.1 Justification for Choice of Location for the Study

Development is a normative concept referring to a multidimensional process which include, but not limited to increased economic capacity and technological advancement. However, additional ingredients attached by writers from the social sciences include changes in social structures, increase in general social welfare, personal dignity and group esteem. In some quarters, development is viewed as the necessary conditions for the

realization of the potential of human personality. Thus, Iain Mclean and Alistair McMilian (2001:148-9) posit: "Development is the increasing satisfaction of basic needs such as food, education, improved life expectancy, distribution of benefits and equity, self determination, environmental sustainability and respect for human rights and dignity".

In view of the fact that the Federal Capital City of Nigeria, Abuja has assumed a cosmopolitan status with sky-scrappers and other technological advancements, it is almost impossible to assess project sustainability within the Federal Capital City. Moreso, development as stated above is not limited to infrastructure alone, but include other indices bothering on the satisfaction of basic needs; amongst others. It is therefore the researcher's opinion that there is no equity in the distribution of benefits in the Federal Capital Territory as the development of the Federal Capital was concentrated in the Federal Capital City, while the rural communities were neglected. It is therefore easier to isolate development projects that are taken to the rural communities and attempt to x-ray the communication strategies that were employed in carrying out such projects, hence, three projects from three Area Councils out of the six Area Councils were selected.

The choice of the location of the three area councils out of the existing six Area Councils of the FCT is informed by the fact that Bwari Area Council is situated at the periphery of the Federal Capital City (FCC), thereby, being semi-urban, the Municipal Area Council situated right in the heart of the FCC, thereby urban, and Abaji Area Council situated at the extreme south of the FCC, thereby, rural in nature.

It will also be noted that they fall within the extreme North, Central and extreme South of the geographical axis with different population mix. This allowed for comparison for the

differing demands of communication as well as revealed the challenges that existed with far-reaching implications for development planning by the FCT Administration.

In terms of the sample size of the communities; Abuja Municipal Area Council which is within the FCC is estimated to have about 500 people, Bwari Area Council has about 300, while Abaji has about 200 from the communities the projects are sited.

However, the researcher identified the key informants in these communities both for the purpose of interviews and the Focus Group Discussions.

4.2.2 Method of Data Analysis

In qualitative data analysis of a study of this nature, numerical assessment of observations made through participant observation, content analysis, in-depth interviews and other qualitative research techniques were not absolutely required. This is in line with Strauss Anslem and Juliet Corbin's (1994:278) opinion who state that: "qualitative analysis is as much an art as a science, because it has its own logic and techniques, some of which are enhanced by special computer programmes". This study is descriptive and exploratory, therefore, the analytical strategy followed a double path. In the descriptive part, the analysis involved a case description following the sequence of a project cycle. The descriptive strategy also provided the organizing framework for the analysis by presenting the logical and chronological framework for the case study. The exploratory one followed the basic theoretical proposition; i.e the adoption of participatory communication. The analytical description of the project cycle was made to shed light on the various stages of the whole process in the interventions, thus highlighting crucial steps and bottlenecks behind the realization of a truly participatory communication model.

In conclusion, at the end of the research, the findings provided insight on how the absence of an appropriate communication strategy in the development efforts of the rural communities of the FCT has affected the sustainable development of the rural communities in the Apo Resettlement Scheme project and the MDGs' Gaba Water Scheme; while there was a considerable degree of success at the Fadama III Integrated Agricultural Project at Kekeshi due to the communication strategy that was participatory in nature. The researcher believes that the conclusions of the study provided useful insights that could serve as starting point or an alternative model for future development initiatives.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF CASES AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter of the research focused basically on the Analyses and Findings of the information generated from the secondary and primary sources and discussed the communication strategies in the selected Development projects in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria-Abuja. This followed the methodological approaches that have been outlined in Chapter One of the Study that responded to the following research questions:

(i) What are the communication factors in the planning process of Ministries, Department and Agencies (MDAs) that militate against participatory development?

(ii) Does the adoption of participatory communication guarantee project success?

(iii) What are the critical pathways that need to be adopted to communicate with project beneficiaries that would guarantee success and sustainability of projects?

5.1.0 Presentation of Cases and Analysis

5.1.1 Fadama III Integrated Agricultural Project at Kekeshi Community in Abaji Area Council

The FADAMA III Project is an Agricultural Project of the Federal Capital Territory which has a counterpart funding from the World Bank.

The community is predominantly a farming community with arable lands and has quest for agro-economic activities. The integrated project is therefore aimed at economic empowerment of the community as a mark of human development through poverty reduction. The project was carried out in 2007, which means it is six years old in 2013.

In order to explore the communication strategy that was used in the project cycle of this project, the researcher has met the government officials and extracted some data as it affects the project; as well as undertake a Participatory Learning and Action, using tools that encourage Participatory Communication such as Focus Group Discussion, Key Informant Interviews etc.

In a Key Informant Interview, a respondent, Alhaji Ado Hussaini a staff from the Department of Agriculture and Extension services of the Abaji Area Council said in order to take development to the frontiers of the community, the representatives of the community carried out a Rural Assessment of the Kekeshi community along with some representatives of the World Bank. After that, the representatives of the community were invited to a round-table meeting in which they were requested to discuss how their standard of living will improve. Alhaji Ado Hussaini went further to say, community leaders of Kekeshi community comprising of the aged, widows and the youths were requested to come up with suggestions of economic ventures that they would embark upon which will improve their economic well-being and put them above poverty line. The respondent continued that the round-table meeting was held four times at intervals of two to three weeks, before the groups came up with areas of choice for their economic ventures; hence the birth of six Farmers' User Groups (FUGs) as follows:

1. Kekeshi Animal rearers
2. Kekeshi old women association whose members are widows and who come together to produce Daudawa (local maggi)
3. The Araba Youths (Grains processing)
4. Fish farmers
5. Kekeshi women Co-operative society (Groundnut Shelling); and
6. Yegborolo Co-operative Society (Poultry)

Source: Co-ordinator of Fadama III project, Abaji Area Council

After the formation of the User Groups, the community was requested to suggest suitable location(s) for the intervention and the Chief of the village donated a piece of land in which all the projects were situated. In view of the importance of water for the projects as well as for the entire community, it was gathered that a borehole was sunk which served both the projects and the community.

One thing worthy of note is that all the projects selected by the community were different from each other and the researcher was curious to know whether it was the decision of the community to embark on different ventures or it was the influence of the Government officials and the World Bank representatives. In response to the inquiry, a respondent, in a Key Informant Interview (KII), Alhaji Muhammad Awwal said:

> Members of the community had learnt from experience that as yam farmers, they hardly found outlets for their yams within the Area Council during its season as there was always a glut since most of them grow yams as both cash and food crops. In their wisdom, therefore, they opted to undertake different economic ventures in order to have ready markets.

Source: Personal interview with Alhaji Muhammad Awwal a member of Kekeshi community

The researcher further asked the co-ordinator of the project, how the project was funded. The Co-ordinator, Alhaji Ado Hussaini said, in terms of funding, members of the community were only requested to contribute 15% of the initial capital required as a mark of their interest and commitment to the initiative and that the Government / World Bank contributed 85% of the funds as soft loan. The structures in which these initiatives were housed were also constructed by the Government with the Assistance of the World Bank, since the FADAMA III project is a World Bank project. The community members were given various types of machines and farm inputs depending on the intervention.

In an interview with another respondent who is a Government Official of Abaji Area Council, Dr. Shuaibu Adamu on the issue of sustainability of the project as it is common feature of projects failure almost as soon as they are initiated, he revealed that community members were advised to organize within themselves a modality for sustaining the project. In this wise, members on their volition operated a maintenance purse for the sustenance of their projects. He said the YEGBROLO FUG which engaged in poultry farming even derived its name from the determination to sustain the project as "Yegbrolo", when interpreted, means "forward ever" – implying that the co-operative will be sustained as members will never allow it to fail.

Dr. Shuaibu Adamu stated emphatically that the Kekeshi community were carried along in the initiative and most of the inputs came from them. He emphasized that in the four round-table meetings held before the commencement of the initiative, minutes were taken and read at the next meeting, making reference to what input each member made at the meeting.

Focus Group Discussion with the target beneficiaries of the Kekeshi integrated Agricultural project, attempts were made to match the information extracted from the Government Officials and representatives of the World Bank. The researcher sought to know when Kekeshi community came into being. The Hakimi (local chief) of Kekeshi Malam Bigami Shekwo disclosed that Kekeshi community migrated and lived in their present abode for the past seventy-seven years. He said, since then, the only government presence is the primary and Junior Secondary Schools. When asked, however, if they were aware of the FADAMA III project sited in their community by the Federal Capital Territory with the assistance of the World Bank, they responded in the affirmative, but said it was FADAMA project and not for the government. The researcher enlightened them that no organization has the right to site any project in the Federal Capital Territory without the knowledge and express permission of the Government.

In the process of the Focus Group Discussion, it was confirmed as earlier claimed by the Government official and the representative of the World Bank that the views of the members of Kekeshi community were sought before the initiative. The respondents were asked the mode in which their views were sought for example, whether it was through radio, television or traditional town announcer. They all responded that it was through round-table meetings with Government Officials. They said there was dialogue and information sharing from both parties. According to the Focus group, the FUGs were encouraged to elect the Executive committee members within themselves that will manage the affairs of their respective co-operatives.

A female respondent, Hajiya Kulu Indo, who belonged to the Old Women Co-operative society that engaged in Daudawa (locus bean magi) making, said their co-operative

activities were going on smoothly and dividends were shared amongst members. She however, stated that the venture is quite tasking in view of their age.

In the course of the FGD, stakeholders were asked to state the modalities they adopted for the sustainability of the initiative. One of the respondent, Mr Jafaru Ali stated that:

> There is a central committee which co-ordinates all the FUGs; and the Secretaries and Chairmen of these FUGs meet with the central committee where the sum of ₦100.00 was collected from every member of the respective FUG and remitted to the central committee. This is kept in trust for periodic maintenance and acquisition of some inputs. From this contributions also, stipends are paid to volunteers who guard the facilities of the FUGs".
>
> Source: The researcher in a Focus Group Discussion with select members of Kekeshi community 22/04/2013

Although the Focus Group in Kekeshi community said they did not benefit during the construction of the structures where these initiatives are housed by being labourers and fetchers of water, they agreed that the project upon completion had gone a long way to provide succour as soft loans were given to them without collateral. They said the whole project was beneficial to them. Members of the Focus Group, specifically, the aged male farmers said government officials provided them with rain-coats, boots, fertilizers, gramazones, machetes and sprayers. This, they said, helps them tremendously and increased their yield that year. They said the choice of the piece of land in which they grew their crops was also made by them.

In spite of the seemingly success story of the integrated Agricultural projects at Kekeshi, they expressed some difficulties encountered in the area of technicians to undertake routine repairs of some machines e.g. shelling machines for ground nuts. They also stressed lack of prompt attention from FADAMA III Officials after the execution of the projects and

inadequate funding. They then appealed that the government should continue to respond to their needs and come to their aid whenever they are cash trapped to undertake major repairs of the equipment.

5.2.0 Resettlement Project of the Garki Village Indigenes to Apo the Resettlement Site

At the inception of Abuja in 1976, the policy and thinking of government was to totally relocate all inhabitants out of the FCT to their States of origin. This policy gave rise to settlements like New Karu, New Nyanya towns in Nasarawa State; New Wuse town in Niger State. The Federal Government realized that a huge amount was required to relocate all inhabitants outside the FCT and so, amended this policy in 1978 and made it optional for the inhabitants to move to their States of origin. This brought about the Resettlement Scheme of:

+ Usuma Resettlement Town comprising villages of Pagi, Jigo and Kwabara communities

+ Kubwa Resettlement Town comprising Kukwaba, Maitama Tsoho and Maitama Sabo communities

In order to further reduce the huge outlay in implementing relocation of original inhabitants, the Government adopted the policy of integration in 1992 which gave rise to the Garki Integration Scheme. However, this policy did not succeed due to poor implementation strategy, fragmentation of plots allocated to the original inhabitants which was not in conformity with urban setting; and the fact that the original inhabitants were farmers and had no access to farmlands.

The Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA), adopted the policy of relocating the original inhabitants within the Federal Capital City (FCC) in phases. Among the communities to be relocated in the first phase in four resettlement sites were:

1. The Apo indigenes of Garki, Akpanjanya communities to Garki resettlement site.
2. Galwuyi / Shere (900 hectares) meant for indigenes of Utako, Maje, Mabushi, Jabi Samuel, Jabi Yakubu, Kpadna and Zhilu. The percentage completion is put at 70% in terms of provision of housing
3. Wasa (700 hectares) meant for the indigenes of Chika and Aleita communities. This is at 50% completion in the provision of housing
4. Anagada (2,519 hectares) meant for the resettlement of Jiwa Chiefdom. The scheme is yet to commence. Below is the situation analysis of the provision of infrastructure to these resettlement

The foregoing is the metamorphosis the resettlement schemes have undergone in the Federal Capital Territory.

The Minister for the FCT under the delegated powers of the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as provided in Section 302 and 147 of the 1999 constitution shall exercise the powers of all lands in the Federal Capital Territory. The idea of resettlement scheme arose in the event of development catching up with the original inhabitants and in order for them to go on with their normal life as farmers as well as reduce the high cost of living in the township, they needed to be resettled at sites commensurate to their status and vocations. However, appropriate approach by government needs to be adopted, hence the quest for an appropriate communication model.

This is necessary, as lack of it, will likely lead to project failure and the intended human development will not be achieved. This is the crux of the matter in the Resettlement Scheme of the Garki village indigenes to the Apo Resettlement Site.

Resettlement imbroglio in the Federal Capital Territory dates back to 1976, after the Federal Government resolved to resettle indigenes of the three original communities of the Garki village at the inception of the Federal Capital Territory (http://premiumtimesng.com). According to the http://premiumtimes report, published on 14th September, 2013, after enumerating 316,000 households in the affected communities for resettlement, the process stalled after occupants of Garki community, which constituted more than 80% of the prospective beneficiaries, file multiple lawsuits over payment concerns and insisted on remaining in their ancestral homes. As the integration policy became unrealistic, the Federal Capital Territory Administration, in 2005 began a Resettlement Policy requiring moving the indigenous people of the Garki village to Apo resettlement site where those that attain the age of 18 years and above would be given houses. The implementation of the project commenced in 2007 (http://premiumtimesng.com), but remained convoluted, immersed in processes that were considered shroudy.

In other to get to the crux of the matter regarding the Apo resettlement project, the researcher undertook a Transect Walk of the Apo resettlement site with a view to finding out the general layout of the facilities and infrastructure of the project. The researcher discovered that there is an imposing High Court building at the centre of the Apo Resettlement District and is distant away from a police station and a school. The only government's presence in the district are the police post, high court building and a school.

There is the road infrastructure but without asphalt. The researcher probed whether the project was the initiative of the indigenes or the government.

In a Key Informant Interview, a respondent from the community, Mr. Dantani Joel stated that the project was the initiative of government. He explained that it is the policy of government as it affects public interest, that communities that are caught up by the development of the Federal Capital City should either be relocated, integrated or resettled out of the Federal Capital City as described in the opening paragraphs of the study. He said the modalities for the resettlement scheme were discussed with the inhabitants of Garki village at different fora. According to him, decisions as to who gets what and how, were arrived in conjunction with the stakeholders.

The decision to arrive at locations for the resettlement scheme according to the respondent, was that of the government who identified four resettlement sites of various sizes and went ahead to group the communities to be moved to those sites.

After identifying the site for the resettlement of the indigenes of Garki village, the construction of the resettlement houses commenced in 2005 after the enumeration of the houses of the original inhabitants of Garki village (http://wikipedia.org). The houses were then constructed by the Department of Public Buildings of the Federal Capital Development Authority, but the resettlement scheme was championed by the Department of Resettlement and Compensation of the same Federal Capital Development Authority. The Government Official who is the Director, Resettlement and Compensation of the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA), Mr. Festus Eseikhile stated that 876 houses were to be built in line with the enumeration of households of the original

inhabitants that had been enumerated. Out of this, 848 houses were completed and according to him the completed houses have been handed over to the residents of Garki village, while 28 were yet to be completed.

Upon completion of these houses, the Government asked the indigenes to move to the resettlement site in a letter written to the Chief of the Community dated 10th August, 2009, Ref. No. FCDA/DRC/PE/08/66/99 which reads:

> You are kindly requested to remind your community that they must commence movement immediately. This is to avoid any embarrassment to members of your community since the Department of development Control is ready to commence marking of all houses due for demolition **(Leadership Newspaper** 5th Sept. 2009**)**

Before the above directive which was titled: "Final Movement to Apo Resettlement Site", an earlier letter dated 8th June, 2009 Ref. No. FCDA/DRC/PL/08/66/87 was written which reads:

> You are therefore requested by this notice to inform and advice all your subjects about the timeline of movement. Arrangements are also being made for the payment of the transport and disturbance allowances to all beneficiaries. **(Leadership Newspaper, 5th Sept. 2009)**

The letters quoted above triggered a lot of tension that is capable of stirring crisis in the community, as the community and the government engaged in counter accusations and distrust. The date for the final movement of Garki indigenes to the resettlement site, Apo, which was dated 10th August, 2009 was also not complied with by indigenes of Garki village who are still firmly rooted in their community in spite of the huge resources being expended by the Government to build houses for them at the Apo Resettlement site. This is what the researcher considers as project failure as the community that is supposed to be the beneficiaries of this project have not benefitted in anyway. On the contrary, they feel the

government is trying to disenfranchise, estrange and detach them from their ancestral origin as well as destabilize their existence by depriving them of their means of livelihood.

In a Focus Group Discussion with members of the community the researcher tried to probe deeper for reasons behind the controversies and agitations that trail the resettlement scheme of Garki village indigenes.

The researcher inquired who conceived the idea of resettling the indigenes to the Apo resettlement site. A respondent, Ambassador Ayuba Ngbako, who represented the Sa-Peyi of Garki, the paramount ruler, said it was absolutely the decision of the Government. He was further asked whether they were involved in anyway in fine-tuning the modalities to implement the decision of the Government to resettle them at the Apo resettlement site. His response is as follows:

> A committee was set up; and at the beginning of the committee meeting, which included selected members of the host community, deliberations and conclusions went smooth until the FCDA (Government) Committee members deliberately schemed out the village representatives and started meeting on its own, thereby distorting earlier agreements and embarking on decisions that are detrimental to the Garki village indigenes and settlers alike.
>
> (An interview between the researcher and Amb. Ayuba Ngbako**)**

Members of the Focus Group were asked if they were satisfied with the enumeration of their former houses and the new ones given to them as resettlement houses. The response was that the whole exercise of Government was shrouded in secrecy and added that: "We need to know the comprehensive list of those given these houses and lands, as names of our indigenes are missing…Our people are being given lands in deep bushes and these are poor people. How do you expect them to develop these plots*? (Researcher's interaction with Focus Group-2/5/13)*

Responding on the sizes of the houses, a member of the Focus Group Mr. Joel Dantani said the sizes of the land were just enough to accommodate each house. He said, whereas in their old houses they had enough spaces for expansion, in the new site the land on which these houses have been built is just enough for the house; no courtyards and no space for future expansion in the event of family increase. The respondent added that 90% of the houses are one bedroom bungalows which did not take cognizance of extended family ties.

The community also pointed out that they are predominantly farmers and farmlands have not been provided for them at the resettlement site. The Focus Group was also asked if they had presented to the Government their requirement, before they could be moved to the resettlement site. A member of the community Mr. Joel Dantani, responded that there was an agreement reached during the initial meetings and negotiations between the FCDA and the communities that the proposed resettlement site should make provision for expansion and that the non-indigenes who were given allocation from the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) at the resettlement site should be given alternative plots out of the resettlement site, if the resettlement was to be for the original inhabitants only. The Group then said, what took place was a total deviation from the agreement.

The Group discussed other sundry issues like payment of relocation allowance which was pegged at N35,000.00 per household and described it as 'paltry'. Some members of the Group also enthused that some of their former houses of abode were far better than the ones Government had built for them and wondered if their former houses would be valued and the difference paid to them. Ambassador Ayuba Ngbako, who is a member of the community and who represented the Chief of Garki Village, SA-PEYI of Garki asked a rhetorical question after stating that the name of their Chief is SA-PEYI of GARKI, and

sought to know what the title of their Chief will be when they are resettled out of Garki village. This is on the understanding that there is an existing Chief at Apo where the Communities will be resettled; therefore the Chief of Garki village cannot displace that existing Chief or assume a different title from the SA-PEYI of Garki. He also argued that the symbol of Authority of a Chief are his subjects and pointed out that the Government have not completed the Chief's palace and his subjects cannot move and leave him behind. This is in addition to their opinion that the Chief's palace built by the Government is of lesser standard to the one he is presently occupying.

In the course of the discussion, the Group was asked if it was wrong for the administration of the Federal Capital Territory to resettle them. The response was that they were not resisting the resettlement, but that it should be done in a transparent manner and should be comprehensive. A member of the Group Ayuba Garo, who is a youth leader of the community went down memory lane and stated that:

> Indeed the Presidential ad-hoc committee on the resettlement of the inhabitants of the Federal Capital Territory in its report to President Shehu Shagari in 1981, emphasized that the standard of living of the people to be resettled should be enhanced and that a detailed plan for housing, farmlands, employment areas and community facilities must be made.
>
> (Researchers' interview with youth leader Ayuba Garo 5/2/2013)

The Group was then asked if employment opportunity was created for members of the community when their resettlement houses were being built. They said none of the community members benefitted from any form of employment. Members of the Focus Group were therefore of the opinion that there was poor planning in the resettlement scheme and that the resettlement of the Garki indigenes should have been done "in a most

gradual and holistic manner" as they are of the opinion that the resettlement project was haphazard.

The researcher then asked the Group to give possible alternatives to "Resettlement" if they were given an option. There was a general consensus among members that they would have preferred the policy of integrated development, through Urban Renewal. They explained that they should have been given the option to remain in their present abode, however, if the present structures do not conform with the urban standard, they could be asked to restructure their buildings to meet the specified standard. By so doing, in their opinion, they would have been carried along in the developmental strides of the government as development partners. They made reference to an area in Lagos State of Nigeria called 'Obalende' where they claimed, the original inhabitants of Obalende were allowed to co-habit alongside government presence in the form of integrated development.

5.3.0 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Water Project At '*Gaba'* In Bwari Area Council

As a prelude to the MDG Water project at Gaba, in Bwari Area Council, a panorama of portable drinking water situation of the Federal Capital Territory is important. According to the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) report 2012, no fewer that 768 million people lack access to safe drinking water with most of these people being poor and living in remote rural areas or urban areas or urban slums. The Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja has a huge number of people suffering from inaccessibility of safe drinking water.

The Daily Trust Newspaper of 26th March, 2014, the VII feature, presented by the ASO CHRONICLE wrote an article titled: "Accessing Portable Water in FCT Rural Communities" to observe World Water Day declared by the United Nations on March 22, 2014. The essence of the declaration of the World Water Day is to draw attention to the precious nature of the world's water supply, especially as it affects the bottom billion that live in slums and impoverished rural areas, surviving without access to safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, insufficient food and energy services.

The article x-rayed the challenges being faced by the Federal Capital territory Water Board, which is the sole agency charged with the responsibility of producing and supplying potable water in the FCT for the teeming residents of the Federal Capital City, Satellite Towns and over 800 communities of the FCT.

While this task is achievable in the city centre and some Satellite towns, accessing potable water in the rural communities poses a serious challenge as residents resort to streams and other unhygienic sources of water.

According to the article, the FCT Water Board's distribution network has eight storage tanks, located in different parts of the city and several trunk lines crisis crossing the city. The rural areas, however, are served through a network of boreholes that are hardly functioning. A research undertaken by the ASO CHRONICLE reveals that in Shishipe, a community in Bwari Area Council, has many outlets spread within the community that are connected to an overhead tank and that residents still share streams with animals. Upon inquiry from the residents, the reasons behind non-functioning of the borehole, was the vandalisation of the facility by unknown people.

The article further stated that in Gwako village of the Gwagwalada Area Council, there are about three motorized boreholes, but according to the community head, Alidu Pada Gwako, even if the community is provided with five additional boreholes, these will not be enough for the community as the community has over 5,000 residents.

Furthermore, in Tunga Kano of the Abuja Municipal Area Council, the research reveals that the quest for water sometimes strains the relationship between the residents and Fulani herdsmen, who take turns to use the stream in the community. This was the community head's testimony, Usman Kano. Another community head of Iddo Sabo, Alkali Magaji, said residents of the community spends a minimum of ₦300.00 daily to buy safe drinking water; and sometimes resort to boiling the water or buying sachet water. When all these avenues fail, residents, especially women, search for water from ponds.



A woman scooping water under a rock at Gadoro community in Kuje Area Council on Saturday.

Considering the importance of realizing the Millennium Development Goals, there is need for the government to intensify its effort in providing safe drinking water to all and sundry. The Director of the FCT Water Board, Engr. Jiniya Bidda Anto, recently, while addressing newsmen in Abuja, said the issue of inaccessibility of water supply would soon be a thing of the past with the commitment of the FCT Minister, Senator Bala Mohammed and the Memorandum of Understanding signed with Singaporean investors in ensuring the use of modern technology. He said: "Initially we thought of getting water from Usuma Dam straight to Abaji, now we see that is not cost effective, so we now discovered River Robo, by the time we dam the river, it will not only supply water to part of Abuja but also provide electricity to Abaji and the rest. With respect to Kuje, the preliminary design has already been done with the assistance of the World Bank." He recognized the importance of portable water, saying "water is life, if you give person adequate water you have taken, at least, 75% of diseases." He added that the Minister has awarded contract for the extension of water supply. He said: "Phases three and four as at now, are only operating at 40%, unlike phase one and two which have the capacity to produce 5,000 cubic litres per hour, the phase three and four have the capacity to produce 10,000cubic litre each. It is operating at 40percent which if the pipes are laid, it would help in water generation, and the laying of the pipes is on-going."

There is need for the government and various council bosses to intensify efforts in the provision of safe drinking water to several rural communities as unsafe drinking water has led to the outbreaks of diseases with strong likelihood for unconfirmed deaths. The ability of the government to see that most of the communities are with potable water would go a

long way in ensuring that there is a high proportion of the population of the FCT dwellers with access to improved water source by 2015 as stated in the MDGs.



Gaba community is situated at the north-eastern fringes of Bwari Area Council of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja. It is dominated by the Gbagys, also known as Gbaris or Gwaris. There are also pockets of other tribes like the Koros, Basa and Gades. The occupation of Gaba community is predominantly farming, but also engage in petty trading.

A transect walk of the community reveal limited government presence in the community. As at the time of this research, there was a Local Education Authority (LEA) Primary School located at the centre of the community; one community bore-hole sited at the

primary school, one non-functional water scheme which was executed by the Millennium Development project (MDG), and a Clinic.

During the Transect Walk also, the researcher discovered that the community does not have a functional market and the children of the community had to trek distances to the next village to attend a Government Day Secondary School.

At the end of the Transect Walk, the researcher took particular interest at the MDG water project at Gaba which was not functional in spite of the fact that the project has been completed.

The researcher visited the MDG office of the Federal Capital Territory-Abuja for a Key Informant Interview with the Government officials. The researcher inquired from the Coordinator of the MDG projects in the FCT, Alhaji Ari Muhammad what informed the choice of the water project as well as the location the water scheme is sited. The Coordinator responded that the MDG water project located at Gaba village in Bwari Area Council of the FCT was initiated as an intervention for the production of water in year 2007. This was intended to provide pipe borne water for the primary school sited at the area. The community still drinks water from the streams in spite of the risks of water borne diseases. It is against this backdrop that the researcher undertook an investigation to ascertain the communication strategy that was adopted in arriving at this project as well as its execution.

In order to verify the information obtained from the FCT MDG, the researcher sought audience with the Councilor representing Gaba Ward Honourable Samuel Gimba, in whose community the water project was sited. Upon inquiry on what informed the choice

of the project and whose idea it was to choose water project and where it should be sited, he said he consulted with the Chief of the community Mallam Danlami Agabo and that the Chief said water should be provided for the community. The choice of its present position was also that of the Chief of Gaba and added that as the chief of the community, he knows what is good for the community.

In a Focus Group Discussion with some selected members of the community in respect of the project, one of the respondents, Mr Dikko Bakoshi said they know the time the programme was taking place, but they did not know the organization that was executing the project. He added that the project was meant for the primary school pupils; and that the borehole around the hospital area was for the community and was also not functioning because the water level was low. The researcher probed further if they did not suggest to the experts a more viable place to drill the borehole in view of their knowledge of the terrain of their community. Another respondent Dantani Chukundi said, the community recommended a particular site which they considered to be viable for water, but the specialists insisted on drilling the borehole in its present location.

When members of the Focus Group said the borehole was meant for the primary school, the researcher's understanding of what that meant, was that members of the community did not see the project as that which should be of benefit to the entire community and therefore needed not to bother where it was sited. The researcher then explained to them that although the project was meant for the primary school, since they were stakeholders in the education and welfare of their children, it behoves that their views are sought.

In the course of the Group's discussion, the researcher asked if they have an idea on why the water scheme is not functional. They pointed out that the mechanism that assists water to be pumped got spoilt and the officials took away the sub-mersible pump for repairs and did not return it. Gradually, the tap heads got broken, while some were stolen as seen on figure 9 and 10:



Figure 8: MDG Water Scheme at Gaba community in Bwari Area Council



Figure 9: Vandalised Tap Heads of the MDG Water Scheme at Gaba in Bwari Area Council



Figure 10: Vandalized man-hole in which sub-mersible pump is stolen at Gaba Community in Bwari Area Council

The Group was asked to state the projects they would want to be sited in the committee in terms of priority. They said water was their priority because only a borehole that was for the community was functional and as soon as it breaks down, the community will not have any source of portable water. They said before the community borehole, they drink from the stream. When asked what modalities were put in place after the completion of the scheme, for maintenance, Mr Danlami Agabo responded that nobody informed them of any maintenance arrangement. They said the project was completed and handed over to the Head Teacher of the School. This invariably mean that the project in their opinion, belong to the school and not for the community.

The group said when water experts came, the community only saw them inspecting some places which the researcher considers carrying out a geo-physical survey, however, without recourse to the stakeholders.



Figure 11: Focus Group Discussions at Gaba community in Bwari Area Council

The women folk of the Gaba community also said in order of priority also, they would need a market for their commercial activities. They said presently, the community does not have a market and the community will have to walk for some distance to access a market. This, according to them, does not encourage entrepreneurship and economic empowerment. In the same vein they desired government's intervention in accessing soft loan to engage in Small and Medium Enterprises. Along this line, they suggested that vocational training for both the women and youth was desirable to enable them acquire skills for productive ventures.

The community also decried lack of a secondary school. They pointed out that their children have to trek distances to go to secondary school and this discourages school enrolment generally.

5.4.0 Research Findings

Following the analyses carried out at the Integrated Agricultural Project at Kekeshi community in Abaji Area Council of the FCT, it was revealed that there was a rural assessment carried out by the experts with a view to finding out areas for possible intervention. To facilitate this, members of the community for the proposed intervention were invited for the purpose of information sharing and knowledge through round-table meetings between the beneficiaries and the experts. At the various meetings, the experts gave clue-bearing regarding the objective of their views on sundry issues. At the end, community members were grouped according to their areas of interest after being asked to suggest a programme of economic importance that will at the end, empower them economically. That was how each group came up with the projects.

The researcher also observed that even the location in which the projects were sited was not the sole decision of the experts, but that of the community who saw the importance of the intervention and donated that piece of land for the project. The land donated was large enough to house all the projects. This turned out to be of great benefit as it was possible to provide one source of water for the integrated projects.

This source of water also serves the domestic needs of the entire Kekeshi Community. With the guidance of the external experts, Farmers' User Groups (FUGs) were formed and the leadership of the Groups also constituted. Members were not coerced in anyway into any User Group, but allowed freedom of choice of the Group to join. This provided a sense of direction for the User Groups, which also proved beneficial in the long run in guaranteeing sustainability of the projects as members saw the projects as their own and did all they could to sustain it. It is important to note that even in the area of funding, there was a synergy, between the members of the community and the Government. This is to create sense of commitment and ownership of the project. The community contributed a small percentage, while the Government gave them soft loans and constructed the structures that housed the projects and handed over its management to the community.



Figure 1: Borehole serving the Integrated Agricultural Scheme at Kekeshi

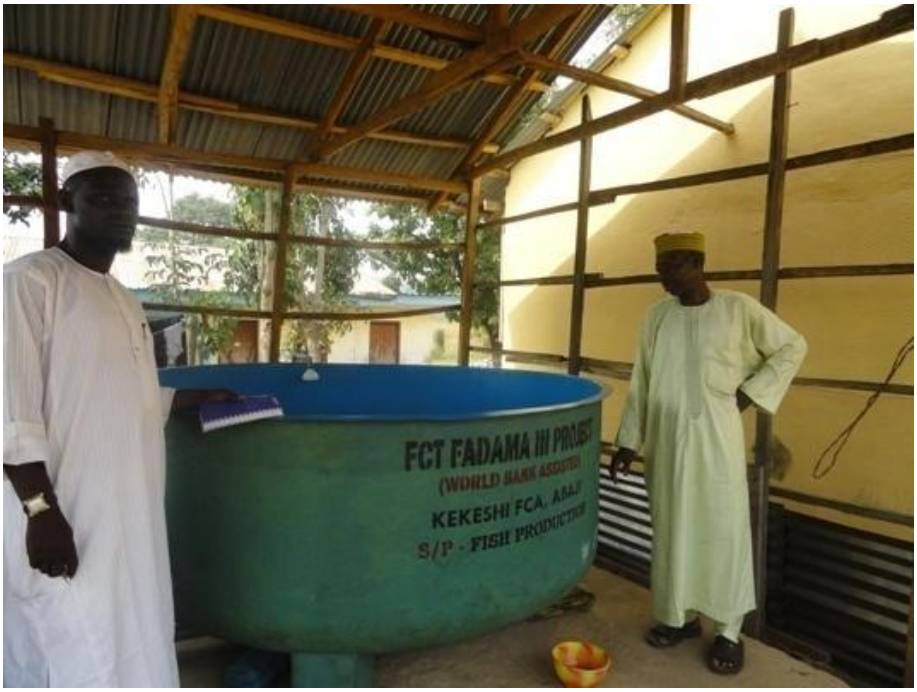


Figure 2: Fish pond at the Integrated Agricultural Scheme at Kekeshi



Figure 3: The researcher arranging for a Focus Group Discussion with the village head of Kekeshi



Figure 4: Focus Group Discussions at Kekeshi

As at the time of this research, five out of the six projects were functional with the exception of the Groundnut Shellers User Group. Upon inquiry, the researcher was informed that the reason the Ground nut Shellers User Group is not functioning is because the machine for the shelling developed some fault and all attempt to get the external experts to come and repair the machine or provide another one proved abortive.

Pursuant to the foregoing, the researcher is of the opinion that the communication strategy adopted in the intervention of the Integrated Agricultural project at Kekeshi in Abaji Area Council was participatory owing to the fact that both the target beneficiaries and the Government were co-founders of the project. Their opinions were sought on the type of intervention needed. Their views were sought on where to site the intervention; they were asked to make some financial contribution as a mark of their commitment to the intervention. They evolved a way of sustaining the project by employing security personnel to guard the facility and also contributed money for routine maintenance of the facilities.

In view of the year the project was initiated which is 2007 and the fact that the project as at 2013 is active and alive, the project can be said to have achieved a level of success and this opinion is corroborated by the target beneficiaries who said *"...we have been benefitting from the initiative; and we share dividends among ourselves at the end of each harvest"*.

The researcher is of the opinion that the level of sustainability of the Integrated Agricultural Project at the Kekeshi community was as a result of the adoption of Participatory Communication strategy which the Government adopted from project conception phase to completion of the project under reference. From onset, the target beneficiaries were involved through out the project cycle. This made the community feel the project was their own and did everything to sustain it after seven years of completion.

In a project of such nature, incidence of vandalisation is normally a recurring decimal. This was absent in this project as the User Groups contributed money among themselves and engaged the services of watchmen.

Be that as it may, the researcher however observed that there has not been any follow-up of the project in terms of project evaluation by the Government after the completion. This possibly accounted for the non-functionality of Groundnut Shellers User Group as they lacked the technical know-how to fix the shelling machine that got spoilt. The researcher has also observed that the experts did not train the community in the handling of the machines in terms of knowledge transfer, otherwise, the locals would not have waited for the experts to repair the Groundnut shelling machines that broke down

Also the old men who were engaged in farming as a User Group complained of low yield in the last 2years due to the fact that they requested the Government to provide them with fertilizers and other farm inputs and the Government did not respond. To my mind, the community was interested in the sustainability of the project, but the Government reneged from its earlier promise to provide technical support. In spite of this follow-up gap by the government, the project is fairly successful due to the Participatory Communication strategy used initially by the Government.

The Resettlement of indigenes of Garki village to the Apo Resettlement site project presents a completely different scenario. To the researcher, it appears to be an autocratic approach in which the provision of the law is enforced without recourse to the views of the people in which the project revolves.

From the beginning of the project cycle, members of Garki community had no input regarding the location they would be resettled. Even at that, the anomaly would have been

corrected if the Government had continued to involve members of the community in the committee that was set by Government which co-opted some elders and youths of the Garki community as discovered in the interviews and Focus Group Discussions. This was not done, and so, the community members began to complain and agitate for alternative models of implementing the resettlement scheme.

It is evident, that the indigenes of Garki village are disenchanted by the approach of the Government even as one of the members of the community described the whole process as "shortchanging the community" and that "they have lost trust and faith in the actions of the FCDA Committee as their action fall below acceptable standards, moreso that their acts are shrouded in secrecy"

A visit by the researcher also reveals the fact that the houses constructed by the Authority are of low standard and lack provision for future expansion as shown on figure **11A&B**. This corroborated some of the claims of the indigenes, who said traditionally, they cherish extended family ties and therefore leave in compounds made up of extended families. In the resettlement houses, the structures appear to be built in such a hurry to facilitate the removal of the Garki community to the resettlement site.



Figure 3: front view of the new chief palace gate at Apo, Abuja Municipal Area Council



Figure 5: new chief palace's compound at Apo, Abuja Municipal Area Council



Figure 6(A): Apo Resettlement houses at Apo Resettlement site, Abuja Municipal Area Council



Figure 6(B): Apo Resettlement houses at Apo, Abuja Municipal Area Council

Other grey areas that scuttled the implementation and apparent project failure, was the faulty enumeration of the houses of the inhabitants of Garki village. According to a report by *PREMIUM TIMES*, no one exactly knows how many locals have been defrauded, but estimates put them in thousands. The report states:

> The scams are well known in the community and often involve government staff transferring land and house titles to non-natives for money, shortchanging thousands of qualified indigenes. When allegations spring up, officials boldly shave

> them off, and ask for evidence of wrongdoing, confident that full details of the ownership of titles, may never become public
>
> *Source: http://premiumtimesng.com*

The above claim is true as one of the Government officials Mr. Francis Okechukwu, the current Director of the Department of Resettlement and Compensation of the Federal Capital Development Authority in one of the *PREMIUM TIMES* report, said: "…let them show evidence, not just allegation".

The only government's presence at the Apo resettlement site are a federal high court, police station and a school, which the leader of Greater Gbagyi Development Initiative, Mr. Garba Gbaila berated and said "…. You built a court and police station to check people but you don't give them houses to live in".

As a result of the claimed shortchanging of plots of land to the indigenes, provision was not made for all the beneficiaries. Also, there are other people at the resettlement site that are not part of the Garki village community which the residents of Garki said, these people's presence at the resettlement site, meant that the resettlement scheme was not for the indigenes of Garki Community.

In a recent report of the government investigation ordered by the Minister of State for the Federal Capital Territory Olajumoke Akinjide dated 13th August, 2013, it is revealed that thousands of dozens of lands meant for public infrastructures like schools, health centres, police posts and recreational facilities for the resettlement districts, were illegally sold by the FCDA officials to non-natives who convert them for private properties and businesses. The report established cases of indigenes being shortchanged during allocations, with their houses and land titles ending up in other hands. According to Mr. Gbaiza, the scam is

instigated by officials of government, often times, in connivance with the locals of Abuja. Gbaiza then concludes, "as big as the Apo resettlement site is, it cannot contain the three communities. The reason is that they (government officials) still share it among themselves". *Daily Trust of Monday (28/10/2013)*

Owing to complexities described above, nine years after the Government claimed it has completed the resettlement houses and that the beneficiaries should move into the houses, the community remained adamant and refused to move to the resettlement site. Instead, some of the beneficiaries sold their houses to other members of the society and moved out of the Federal Capital Territory to the neighbouring villages boardering the FCT.

Despite these glaring discrepancies and signposts for conflict that will degenerate to breakdown of peace and order, the Director, Resettlement & Compensation, Mr Festus Esekhile said:

> They must move, as almost all houses are finished. We have almost finished the houses for the resettlement. If you have been there, you will also see that roads have been opened and two weeks ago, contracts were awarded for the laying of asphalt by the Federal Executive Council.
>
> *(Leadership newspaper, Wednesday, 24 Feb; 2010)*

In furtherance of the mindset of the Government to enforce resettlement of the indigenes of Garki community to Apo, on 24th February, 2010, an Agency of the Government of the FCT that is in charge of Development under the FCT, mobilized its officials to the Garki community with a view to marking the houses of the indigenes for demolition. The community refused to allow the officials to mark any house. The Director of that Agency, Engr. Yahaya Abubakar reiterated the statement earlier made by the Director of the Department of Resettlement and Compensation that: "They have to move; they have only

three weeks to move…my officers will go back to the village fully protected to mark the houses. *(Leadership newspaper, Wednesday, 24 Feb; 2010).*

This has remained a tall dream as since the initiative and the purported completion of the resettlement houses, the indigenes of Garki community are still in Garki village and have refused to be resettled.

The Government realized that it will not achieve its objective of resettling the indigenes of Garki community with the use of administrative fiat. It therefore went back to the drawing board and set up a Ministerial Committee on Apo Resettlement Scheme in August, 2012 which had its Chairman in the person of Mrs. Helen Onoja, the Solicitor General of the Federal Capital Territory. This time around, the committee met with the stakeholders which include elders, traditional rulers, youths and others. From the available documentation, the committee, along with the stakeholder community visited the resettlement site and took into cognizance the views of the community which members of the community acknowledged and said "…we are hopping that they will keep the trust they showed during the Stakeholders' meeting" and warned that they will not accept partial implementation of the report of the committee.

The community also demanded to be allowed to be part of the implementation process; and that the FCT administration should not allow the Department of Resettlement and Compensation which earlier handled the scheme, to drive the implementation process. They claimed that the Department is responsible for the current resettlement crisis. On the part of the government, it "reiterated the commitment of the FCT Administration in proffering a lasting solution to the problems that have hindered the success of the scheme.

This solution is hinged on the need to adopt an appropriate Communication strategy that is participatory which was hitherto neglected.

The Apo Resettlement project cannot be said to have been successful. This is because if development is supposed to be an improvement of the living standard of people in terms of education, health, food, shelter etc, the indigenes of Garki village cannot be said to have experienced enhanced well being which was the primary intension of government. This would have been achievable if there was sincerity in the execution of the project.

The Akinola Aguda committee that came out with recommendations for the establishment of new capital of Nigeria-Abuja categorically stated that, "…no ethnic group should be taken to a strange land or rendered stateless" and that "…resettlement shall be at the inhabitants places of choice and at the expenses of the federal government of Nigeria".

From the study, it is obvious that the present resettlement site of the Garki indigenes is not a place of their choice; it is the decision of the FCT Administration. Even at that, the indigenes were ready to co-operate with the government, but were suspect of the sincerity of government. Initially, the communication strategy that was used appeared to be participatory since there was a committee that was set-up which comprises some community members as stakeholders and the government officials who started meeting to come out with modalities to resettle the indigenes. Later, these meetings truncated and the government officials started doing things unilaterally and excluded the supposed beneficiaries, the indigenes. The breakdown of the communication model disenchanted the stakeholders; and therefore frustrated every effort of the government to actualize its dream.

The community dissociated itself from the project and saw it as a gimmick for the government officials to enrich themselves with plots, houses etc.

All these are pointers that the communication strategy was not participatory; and therefore the development was also not participatory.

The researcher found out that there was no Participatory Communication right from the project conception. Even the initial meetings in which stakeholders were invited, it does appear that the purpose was not to engage in dialogue and obtain their views, but to extract information from them only. That was why despite the fact that the stakeholders cried foul pertaining to their being schemed out, the Authority did not deem it necessary to listen to their view points.

If the communication was participatory, the stakeholders and the government officials would have been engaged in information sharing and knowledge which would have brought them to a common ground and would have averted the project failure which the scheme encountered. This was not done and the community was highly suspicious of the intentions of the government and therefore refused to give their co-operation. The resultant effect of their action led to the government expending large amount of funds to execute a project which the community dissociated themselves from. They saw the project as that of the government and the friends of the government, claiming that if it were their project, the government would have given them the privilege of making inputs – after all, the project was supposed to be in their best interest.

The government however realized that it has goofed and in the final analysis decided to have an abridged version of Participatory Communication in which it set-up a committee

to review the scheme. This committee involved the stakeholders and gave them the opportunity to air their views on the various areas of contention. At the end, these were documented and a comprehensive report was made taking cognizance of the issues raised by the Stakeholders. The report was given to them for assessment and after reading through the report they said:

> We have gone through the report. We are convinced that the Honourable Minister of State for FCT, Oloye Olajumoke Akinjide, because of her outstanding qualities in handling the resettlement and compensation matters, is one Minister among many who have taken bold steps to correct all wrongs by the Desk Officers of the Department of Resettlement and Compensation; and further said:We want to be resettled and integrated by the A0dministration within the Apo resettlement and Garki Village.
>
> *(Tweet, January, 21st 2013, 12:00 noon)*

Arising from the above, it is evident that if this Communication approach, which is participatory, had been adopted initially, the resources and time wasted would have been saved.



Figure 7: Focus Group Discussions at Garki village

The Gaba MDG water scheme project in Bwari Area Council has semblances of the Apo Resettlement Scheme. In the Gaba Water Scheme, however, the decision for the initiative was taken between the government officials, the councilor representing Gaba Ward and the Chief of Gaba community. By inference, the trio arrogated to themselves knowledge of what the entire community desires.

It is expected that a Communication Based Assessment of the community should have taken place before the decision to site the project was taken. This would have revealed the inherent problems of project acceptability, ownership and possible sustainability. As evident from the Focus Group Discussion, the community as far as it is concerned is ignorant of the project and its ownership as according to them, suggested by the following statement; "…we only saw some people undertaking a survey of our land". The researcher discovered that when the community later knew that it was a water project initiated by the government, they suggested a particular location which they felt was more viable, but was rejected by the experts. This was also done without any explanation given to the community regarding the unsuitability of the preferred location by the community.

It is therefore not surprising that the community concluded that the reason why the project parked off barely after six months of its completion was because it was sited at a wrong location. It is important to note also that the community did not see the project as its own and therefore did not do anything to safeguard the facility. As a result, the tap-heads and the submersible pump were removed as seen in figures 2 and 3 and these vandalisations may account for the non-functioning of the water scheme. This was in contrast to a functional borehole which they showed the researcher in which they said their views were

sought and that whenever the borehole went bad, the community usually contributes money to repair it, but that the project under study belonged to the school.

The researcher also discovered that although water was one of the priority needs of the community, it also had other pressing needs that will improve the living condition of the community. These include a market and a school. Presently, the community does not have a market for its members to engage in commercial activities. Where the community was using as a market is a small area of less than 200square meters that was cleared through communal effort. The community therefore use to travel to some communities closer to the Area Council headquarters to buy essential commodities and to engage in commerce.

Other areas of priority as discovered by the researcher from the Focus Group Discussion is in the area of skills acquisition. Although the community is predominantly agrarian, they sought for an opportunity in which members of the community could acquire skills for example tailoring, soap making etc that can open windows of opportunities to the community.

It is owing to those visible gaps that the researcher concludes that a communication strategy that was participatory was absent in the planning and execution of the MDG Water Scheme at Gaba in Bwari Area Council of the FCT. The information given to the community was gated by the Chief of the community and the councilor representing the Gaba Ward without the input of the other beneficiaries of the community that constitute the vast majority. Development information came to the target beneficiaries in trickles; and as it were, the community only participated in the "benefit" of the project which was also shortlived..

Despite the fact that the project was meant to serve their children as portable drinking water would have been available for the toilets it would have also served the community's domestic needs, the stakeholders did not see it as their project, but that of the government. If they were involved from the conception to execution of the project, they would have accepted the ownership of the project and do everything possible to sustain it, just as the other borehole they claimed is for the community.

The researcher also found out that in view of the fact that there was no Participatory Communication with the Stakeholders of Gaba community, their priorities are not known by the government. This ignorance of the community's priorities will adversely affect the development of the community. On the whole, through all the project cycle the primary stakeholders were only involved in the benefit phase which made the project a failure.

5.5 Discussions

There are a number of interesting points that have emerged through the study and in order to cover them in a comprehensive manner, I intend to discuss them as they appeared when discussing the models of communication in the selected projects in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria-Abuja.

Among most informants interviewed, the Focus Group Discussions and from the documentations that were reviewed, there was a wide consensus that participation is most relevant at the beginning of the project cycle, i.e identification of sector of intervention. To have full participation, development activities should be initiated ideally by the primary stakeholders, but even when that is not possible, it should at least involve them from the

beginning. Involving them, means not only facilitating them in taking part in the process, but also making sure they have the power to affect decisions.

While participatory communication cannot be considered as a revolutionary approach, it appears to contain elements that can help to empower stakeholders who have been often marginalized or passively involved in the development process. The reasons for neglecting target beneficiaries in development efforts in the initial phases, are several; among the main ones, is the prevailing institutional framing of development, which gives the power of guiding the process to experts and government officials, which in some cases are dependent on donor countries for funding. It then calls for accountability and it is certainly easier for donors to hold accountable a few individuals holding government positions in the headquarters in cities, rather than individuals in far-away communities with unclear hierarchies.

While this fact may be applicable to two of the selected projects in Bwari and Abaji Area Councils, it may not strictly apply in the Resettlement project of the Garki indigenes to Apo. The first two are United Nations' projects with counterpart funding by the Federal Capital Territory Administration, while the Resettlement project is solely funded by the Federal Capital Territory Administration. Other reasons could be the fact that it is easier for government officials and experts to take decisions reflecting the donors' needs and institutions, rather than having the needs and priorities of local communities guiding the process.

By way of comparison, therefore, in the projects under reference, the *FADAMA III* Project, which is an Integrated Agricultural project funded by the World Bank in collaboration with

the Federal Capital Territory Administration, took cognizance of people's right to participation in line with Paolo Mefalopolus' categorization, i.e passive participation, participation by consultation, functional participation and the empowered participation and the researcher can say the participation was both functional and empowered. This is because, even though they may not be fully involved in the project conception, they were fully involved in the rest phases which were planning, implementation and benefits.

In the case of the Gaba MDG Water Scheme in Bwari Area Council, the participation of the local community is only in the area of benefit as both the available documentation, informants interview and the Focus Group Discussions specifically said they only saw water scheme project going on and did not even know the people or organization that was prosecuting the project. No wonder, they dissociated themselves from the project and within a limited period, the project was vandalized.

In the resettlement project of the Garki indigenes to the Apo resettlement, the informants said there was an initial attempt to adopt participatory communication by selecting some members of the community as part of the committee to plan the resettlement scheme. However, this was shortlived as members of the community said they were later schemed out and the officials continued to have their meetings without inviting the stakeholders and took unilateral decisions. This was a major cause of the apparent failure of the project as the people felt shortchanged and developed suspicions in the activities of the government. According to Freire (1997) "true participation can be considered an emancipation experience, leading to the individuals transformation towards a human being freed from the structures of oppression and capable of taking control of his/her own life.

This conception is close to the principle of Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA) which deals with capacity building. This basically means that, while being part of the process, individuals do not only address their issues at stake, but they are also exposed to different perspectives and have the opportunity to share experiences and knowledge with other individuals. If done through a balanced and equitable mode, this can lead to social transformation, based on a joint decision making process, which does not entail a sender and a receiver as in the traditional model of communication. Instead, this model envisions two or more decision makers who have the power to influence the process.

By way of summary of the discussion of this study, it is necessary to highlight a set of common features as identified in the study as follows:

(i) There is a wide consensus among the informants and the documentation reviewed that participatory communication aimed at sustainable development should be based on dialogue, it should be process oriented and should be endogenously driven, that is, it should reflect local values and context.

(ii) Endogenously driven as illustrated by Servaes (*1991*), refers to the fact that the kind of development supported by participatory communication should be derived by the adoption of local socio-cultural settings.

(iii) Dialogue implies a balanced relationship, which goes beyond the analysis of communication flow directions. Participatory communication presupposes a people based communication, one that is characterized by a horizontal flow, but also of the power balance. This must be done if the various forms of suspicion and passive behavior towards outsiders in many local communities and cultures of developing countries will be eradicated. Ascroft (as cited in Anyaegbunam,

Mefalopulus and Moetsabi, *1999*) described this phenomenon as a form of resistance and named it "the conspiracy of silence"

Invariably, this is what took place in the Resettlement project and the water scheme in which there was vivid conspiracy of silence by the stakeholders who vandalized the accessories of the water project in the case of the water scheme at Gaba and refused to move to the resettlement site at Apo in the case of the resettlement project in spite of colossal funds expended by the government of the Federal Capital Territory Administration.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Summary

The study started with the background of the study in Chapter 1 in which the researcher started with the assertion that the importance of people's participation in development is increasingly being recognized as a necessary component for sustainable development. The researcher laid emphasis that people must graduate from being perceive recipients of development initiative to active members using a communication strategy that promotes dialogue. The introduction asserts that the rural communities of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria suffered a long period of absence of sustainable development, possibly due to the neglect of people's active participation in the development initiatives.

In view of the fact that the study revolves around 'development', 'communication' and 'participation', the research provided an insight into the interplay between these three concepts. In this wise, various definitions of the concepts by scholars were provided. The definition of development as provided by various scholars, reveal the expanded meaning of development beyond economic values to include issues of physical, psychological, social emotional well being of a people. It also include shelter, education etc. In this sense, development is considered to be "the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for the realization of the potential of human personality". In this connection, the study attempt to enumerate several efforts made by succeeding governments of Nigeria in the past towards rural development with little or no successes.

There is also a cursory look at communication as a necessary ingredient for development. In this introductory part therefore, an attempt is made to define communication and the role it plays in the society and as it affects development initiatives. While the former lay emphasis on the old one-way communication model, the latter lay emphasis on a horizontal form of communication in which the sender-receiver model is de-emphasized in favour of dialogue among communicators in a participatory manner. The research gave insight into the metamorphosis of development communication and the various attempts by scholars to ensure that the definition of Development Communication has been streamlined to make it genuinely participatory.

In the Statement of the Problem, the research observed that despite increasing knowledge of the need for participation in development, there seems to be two essential gaps. These are lack of clear understanding of what participatory communication means; as a result of this lack of clear understanding, there is always the absence of a horizontal two-way flow of communication, which is participatory. This accounts for the need to identify the factors that hinders the Ministries, Departments and Agencies from incorporating participatory communication in the planning processes of development initiatives. Other variables of the problem also include the evidence to show that project success is guaranteed when participatory method of communication in development is adopted; as well as the critical pathways that need to be adopted to communicate with project beneficiaries that will guarantee success and sustainability of projects.

The study provides the purpose of the study as the desire to ensure that policy planners for development of the communities of the Federal Capital Territory understands the importance of adopting appropriate communication strategies as this will arguably promote

sustainable development. Along this line, the objective of the study amongst others include:

(i) To examine the extent at which the administration of the Federal Capital Territory involves the target beneficiaries in the planning process of the development initiatives.

(ii) To assess the process which the FCT administration adopted in arriving at its development priorities

(iii) Ascertain if failure or otherwise of the selected projects are as a result of the absence of participatory communication strategy.

(iv) To probe the communication strategies that were used between the target beneficiaries and the government officials; and to provide suggestions and methods to be adopted in future development initiatives of government.

In terms of the significance of the study, the research points out that inspite of the recognition of participation in development and the role communication plays in development, there seem to be no significant changes at the end of development projects. It is owing to this gap that the research is significant as it helps to show that participatory communication in development has the potential of empowering the stakeholders by having equal rights in decision-making with policy makers; as well as investigate the reasons and causes of unequal relations of knowledge and power and call for a change. It is also significant as there will be significant achievement in sustainable development if there is sincerity in participatory communication in all the phases of development, from project conception to its completion. This is strengthened by the fact that participatory communication in development will reveal that for sustainable development of projects,

sharing of information, mutual understanding between the experts and the stakeholders resulting into a reversal of knowledge is important and compulsory.

In the scope and delimitation of the study, the research has explored the communication strategy that was used in the execution of three projects in the communities of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja. The projects were selected from three geographical axis of the Federal Capital Territory. The axis are categorized as 'urban' 'semi urban' and 'rural' with different population mix that allows comparison for differing demands of communication that revealed the challenges for development planning by the FCT administration.

Chapter two, which is the literature review looked at the concept of development in all its ramifications and tried to relate it with how the concept is practiced in the field. There is an attempt at exploring the theories of development, which include its evolutionary trends from the Modernisation Paradigm to Dependency and World Systems theories and to the Alternative Participatory Theory. The modernization theory is about the adoption and diffusion of values and approaches that ensures the success of the western way of life and the readiness to abandon traditional beliefs and embrace change (Lerner, 1958). The Dependency and World systems theory lays emphasis on the aftermath of the colonial past and other forms of exploitations which causes imbalances in the world economies due to the international patterns of domination. This is orchestrated by the dominance of the western countries who take advantage of their technological know-how, superior infrastructure and economic power to strengthen their lead; while the principal role of the developing countries is to supply raw materials and cheap labour. The developing

countries therefore end up in depending on the end products of the western countries and patronizing them without option.

The World System theory adopts a more holistic approach in which world dynamics are encompassed within a single system in which the mechanisms that are operating at the national and the international levels are those typical of capitalism. In this case, underdevelopment can all be considered internal to the system, with emphasis on international division of labour and the control of resources.

The Alternative Theory of development as presented in the study is linked with people's participation and empowerment. Its significance consists in the attempt to transform people from passive recipients to active agents of development efforts. This is on the understanding that if the people who are the target beneficiaries of a development initiative do not control or share control of the process of their own development, there can be no guarantee that it is their best interest that is being served. The participatory paradigm is also understood to be the dialogue paradigm, which according to Freire (1997), is at the heart of Participation, Communication and Empowerment.

To popularize this Alternative Theory of development, many scholars' view were presented in which arguments were advanced to prove the efficacy of this theory, given examples, where necessary, of projects that adopted this participatory paradigm.

Side by side with the concept of development, the study looked at the evolutionary trend of Development Communication, relating each stage to specific development paradigms. In the modernization stage, communication was expected to modernize people's attitudes and ways of thinking which would be conducive to support economic model. This mode of

communication is associated with the linear, mass media model aimed at transmitting information from one point to another or many others usually in a top-down fashion. This form of communication is discussed at length in the general overview of communication in the study. Development communication as it relates to the 'Dependency' theories lay emphasis on strong ties with richer countries. This is done through controls of information, controls of the perceptions and thought processes through which economic activities are apprehended. In order to curb the excesses of this form of prejudicial communication of the developed countries, the anti-dependency theorists advocated a coalition of the Third World countries in other to counter-balance the authorities of the first and second Worlds. This culminated into the non-aligned movement. The height of it all was the debate on New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).

The study reveals that the World Systems theory refines the theoretical model of the Dependency theory by adopting a more holistic approach that encompasses world dynamics within a single system, operating within a global scenario.

By and large, the report of the 8th UN Inter-Agency Round Table Development Communication discussed this field along three main strands (UNFPA 2002): Behaviour Change Communication, Communication for Social Change, and; Advocacy Communication. Although the conception and application of these strands are controversial, all of them tend towards development efforts.

In view of the different models of communication that has been outlined in the study, the study deemed it necessary to provide a segment for communication that is specifically

designed for the purpose of development. It explored how different development communicators view and practice the concept of communication for Development. The study took cognizance of the efforts made by various scholars and international organizations like UNESCO, Food and Agricultural Organisation, UNDP etc to consciously incorporate participatory communication in development initiatives.

In doing this, the study pointed out that in most cases, theory for communication for Development is always at variance with the actual practice in the field of development. This is due to the fact that communication for development sometime, refer to a variety of traditional top-down communication approaches that are not participatory in nature. In most cases, development practitioners conceive the concept to mean the inclusion of media to support the main objectives of projects. This is in contrast with FAO which sees Communication for Development as a social process aimed to establish a sincere permanent dialogue among different development actors in order to support and strengthen the selected activities and to put a basis for joint management needed for achieving the success of the development effort. In this sense, the study asserted that for a development effort to be considered participatory, the intended beneficiaries must be involved in a communication that is dialogic from project conception to execution and there should also be a joint machinery set up for sustenance of the projects executed.

The study also considered the Role of Communication in Development. Some of the roles identified by the study includes: making development interventions more vernacular, that is, indigenous, thereby making more sense to its beneficiaries; it can also bring people of diverse knowledge base and cultural backgrounds into a roundtable in a dialogic manner that will produce lasting solutions; it is also a source of empowerment through

sensitization and conscientisation as it enables both experts and the members of the community to assume the roles of both senders and receivers of communication, having equal rights to act on information generated from such communication; communication for development creates and strengthen coalitions and collaborative partnerships; resource development that will serve as reference materials for future endeavour etc

In all the roles of communication for development enumerated in the study, however, empowerment appeared to be the most critical in the sense that it is always difficult to change positions between the experts and the local folks in which the expert is expected to sit down and learn from the locals. Empowerment transforms and brings hope to people, but to achieve this, a complex effort from two opposite sides is required. This is difficult to achieve without a genuine and sincere commitment to communication that is dialogic.

Since the study is specifically about development of communities of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, the study deemed it necessary to provide literature on Rural Development in Nigeria. It looked at the trends, problems and prospects of Rural Development in Nigeria. It saw Rural development as an integrated approach to food production, as well as physical, social and institutional infrastructural provisions with an ultimate goal of bringing about both quantitative and qualitative changes that will improve the living standard of the rural population. Rural or community development is considered important in view of the fact that, according to Chukwuemeka and Charity (2007): "…..two third of Nigeria's population are living in rural areas, and they experience a lot of misery, poverty, mobidity and underdevelopment". The segment revealed that reflection on the Nigeria Government experiences in rural development showed little success even before and after independence. The sharp contrast between policy formulation and its

implementation accounted for the dismal success, with the resultant effect of project failure leading to more hardship and poor standard of living among the rural dwellers.

The segment on rural development highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of each of the efforts aimed at rural development and concluded that the government's failures in the various rural development strategies emanated from lack of national philosophical base, lack of cohesive identity, inadequate community participation, lack of grassroots planning and the inability of the government to optimize local resources, among other problems. The segment concluded by postulating the need for adequate supply of infrastructural facilities, small and medium scale industries as well as political, social and economic empowerment of the rural people by government.

Chapter three of the study provides the Theoretical Framework that was used for the study. Among the theoretical positions relevant for the study of communication in the context of development, the study chose the theory of Dialogical Pedagogy by Paulo Freire (1997). This was complemented by Fierlbeck's theory of Social Interaction. Using these, Participation, Communication and Development were framed and showed how development problems could be solved using these twin theories. The key ingredients of the theories were: dialogue, collaboration and interaction through communication. The key words suggested a democratic base of equality with the principle of freedom and equal opportunities in social and political life. This is on the understanding that if people reflect on what they know and what they do not know, in a dialogic manner, it will enable them to act critically to transform reality.

Against this background, and using a participatory communication technique, project success or otherwise in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria was probed with the practical use of Participatory Learning and Action tools such as: Interviews, Consultations, Focus Group Discussions, Pair-Wise ranking etc in order to measure the efficacy of the theory.

The theoretical framework was found to be effective as it performed the role it was intended for, which is:

(i) Giving attention to individuals and the community and respect for communities background, beliefs and traditions. This was discovered in the course of the study where the indigenes of Garki village that are supposed to be resettled at the Apo Resettlement site complained that the government is ignorant of their clanship system in which members of the same clan were supposed to live together in one compound. In the resettlement scheme, however, these otherwise close knit clans were allocated plots far away from each other.

(ii) It provided opportunities for individuals and community to determine, change or add to existing beliefs and understanding, through participatory communication that is structured for the desired purpose. This was also discovered in the case of Gaba community in Bwari Area Council who desociated themselves from the project being studied and considered it for the primary school and not for the community. It was after a dialogic communication with members of the community that they know that the overall objective is to improve the living standard of the whole community.

(iii) Facilitated group's dialogue, leading to the creation of shared understanding of the topic under discussion; and finally,

(iv) It developed the communities awareness of their own issues in the dialogue.

Chapter four of the study presented the methodology of the research. It submitted that the research is basically descriptive and exploratory and used both qualitative and quantitative analysis as the research design. This is on the basis of the fact that there are theoretical connotations of the concepts as well as the practical implications of gathering the data for the research. However, in the course of the study, emphasis was laid on the constructivist (qualitative) approach because of its linings on ontological, epistemological and methodological levels as explained by Guba (1990).

Two principal methods were used in the Approach to Data collection. These are Desk review of available documents as secondary sources, while the field work was used as the primary sources, using tools that encourage participatory communication in Development. The merits and otherwise of these sources were outlined in the study. These sources were elaborated in discussion of Data collection tools for both primary and secondary sources which include: Desk Review, Community Mapping, Transect Walks, Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussion and Pair-Wise Ranking.

Data analysis also took a qualitative approach since the study is both descriptive and exploratory, the analysis took a double path-a case description, following a sequence of a project cycle; and the basic theoretical proposition which adopts participatory communication strategy which relies on interpretations given by informants and Desk reviews.

The Chapter also provided justification for the choice of location of the study – three projects from selected Area Councils of the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. The justifications advanced are:

(i) They are from three geographical locations of the FCT, that is: Extreme North, Middle; and extreme South;

(ii) One community is rural (Abaji), the other one (Bwari) is semi urban; while the third one (Municipal) is urban;

(iii) Differences in population mix with differing demands of communication that will reveal communication challenges for development planning in the FCT.

Chapter five of the study is the climax of the study and it presented the Cases, Analysis and Findings and discussed the study. This however, was preceded by a brief information on Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria which bothered on the reasons for relocation of the Federal Capital City of Nigeria from Lagos to Abuja.

As a new capital city, therefore, and the need for development of the communities of the Federal Capital Territory, the study looked at some selected development efforts of government from three out of six Area councils of the Federal Capital Territory. In view of the fact that development covers a spectrum of fields and issues, projects selected in the study are carefully done to include Services, Economic Empowerment and Housing-shelter.

The chapter undertook a critical analysis of communication strategies that were used in the selected projects in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja.

In Abaji Area Council, FADAMA III INTEGRATED AGRICULTURAL PROJECT sited at Kekeshi was selected. The communication strategy used in the formulation and execution of this project was analysed and found to have attained some level of participation which the researcher concluded to account for the level of success recorded in the project. This achievement was based on the testimony of the target beneficiaries who stated that the project was beneficial to them. What remained in that project was government's conscious effort to install a feedback mechanism for a follow-up action to guarantee sustainability.

The same analysis was carried out for the Resettlement project of the Garki indigenes to Apo Resettlement site and the Gaba Millennium Development Goals Water project. The resettlement project was discovered to have adopted a communication strategy considered to be participatory at the initial stage, but was later on jettisoned in favour of the old traditional communication mode that is top-down. In the final analysis, the project was a monumental failure, or so to speak, as nine (9) years after the purported completion of the project, the indigenes of Garki village are still in Garki village and refused to move to their resettlement site. This made the government to go back to the drawing board and is now trying to adopt the participatory communication model which they abandoned in the course of the project cycle.

The communication strategy that was used in the Gaba MDG water project in Bwari Area Council was found to be devoid of participatory communication approach. It was found to be a gated information, following the top-down model of communication. From the project conception to its execution, it was discovered that Government officials representing the MDG officials, the Chairman of Bwari Area Council, the Councilor representing Gaba

Ward and the traditional ruler of Gaba, arrogated to themselves knowledge of what the Gaba community needed and did not find it necessary to involve them in project formulation and execution. At the end of the day, there was a conspiracy of silence by the locals who dissociated themselves from the project and its maintenance leading to its failure. Information about the Gaba MDG Water Scheme trickled down with no room for the people to air their views. The study also showed that in the final analysis all the benefits inherent in participatory communication that is dialogic were absent in the Gaba and the resettlement projects.

In chapter six, the researcher presents the summary of the entire work, provides recommendations and concludes the study.

6.2 Recommendations

In the course of this study the researcher has discovered that the policy and decision makers in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja do not quite understand and appreciate the necessity to adopt participatory communication strategy in the execution of projects in two of the communities being studied. There was a conscious, or so it appears, attempt to integrate a participatory communication strategy in the resettlement of Garki indigenes at Apo, but it was truncated along the line for either lack of commitment to the strategy, or absolute ignorance of the need for consistency in the participatory communication approach in the execution of the projects.

The respondents of Garki village acknowledged the fact that they were initially invited to participate on the best way to carryout the resettlement programme, but as time went on, they were left out in the discussions which made them become suspicious of the intentions

of government. The Garki village community however allowed the government to go ahead with its agenda, knowing fully well that they will not agree to be moved out of their present abode to the resettlement site.

It also appears that the government is not abreast with the traditional institution of the community as well as the custom that encourages clanship settlements. This would have been revealed if the appropriate communication strategy was employed. In its absence, the Garki community complained that the otherwise closed-family compound existence, was fragmented because members of the same family were given plots far-away from each other which the indigenes abhorred. They also complained that the Paramount Ruler's palace was yet to be completed and there was no way his subjects will be resettled ahead of their ruler; as the subjects are the symbol of his authority.

The integrated Agricultural Project at Kekeshi in Abaji Area Council attained a level of success owing mostly to the involvement of the target beneficiaries from the project formulation to its completion. Even this project, however, suffered casualty of sustainability because adequate modality for its sustenance was not put in place. The officials of the World Bank as well as government officials of the Abaji Area Council also seemed to be uninterested in the project continuity and therefore did not follow-up to ensure that the facilities put in place were sustained. It does appear that the government was more interested in the number of projects to be executed only due to either political reasons, or attract more counterpart funding from the international organizations. Quantity of project was therefore preferred to quality and sustainability. This bothers also on the genuiness of purpose for community projects by policy and decision makers, as one asks

whether it is just "project, for project sake" or it is sincerely aimed at improving the living standard of the people the project is meant for.

The Gaba water scheme project experience also shows a paternalistic concentration of Power and Authority in the hands of the traditional ruler and the politicians, orchestrated by the government. This is evident in the way the decision was taken and executed in the water scheme project to the exclusion of the majority. At the long run, the community resorted to the conspiracy of silence and dissociated themselves from the project. This is evident in the way they preferred the borehole which they said belonged to the community and which was functional; while the one sunk by the Millennium Development project which was not functioning was said to have belonged to the primary school.

Their crave for local skills that would empower them in various dimensions also shows that if the development project was participatory, community oriented and woven around the local principles, skills and technologies, appropriate resources and facilities needed for post management of the project would have been evolved.

Rather than doing this, the government decided to employ the "protectionist approach" according to Lele and Adu-Nyako (1991:1-29), by carrying out development process on behalf of the people with the belief that it knows everything and that the people are not yet ripe to participate in the management of their own lives. As a result, the communication strategy that was applied was the top-down approach, otherwise known as Top-bottom in which information is passed down to the poor and down trodden concerning certain policies and directives from the bureaucracy of governance. This type of rural development requires force to enforce and sustain.

In view of the observed pitfalls against sustainable community development; above, and in other to ensure that these pitfalls are avoided in future development initiatives, the following recommendations are made:

1. Policy and decision makers need to be more interested in communication approaches that are people-based, which are process oriented approaches that usually require a longer period of time but with lasting results, rather than emphasis on quantifiable result that are ephemeral.
2. Managers and decision makers should genuinely adopt participatory communication strategies and move away from the current status where participatory communication strategies are only acknowledged in development efforts, but are yet to understand its relevance. To achieve this, efforts need to be directed to the current power holders of development initiatives.
3. Policy and decision makers should ensure that the principles of participatory communication are applied from the very beginning of any development initiative, making sure that all relevant stakeholders are not only taken on board, but involved in the conception and decision of all objectives and activities of the intervention. In previous discussions, it has been highlighted how the use of participatory communication approaches in selected phases of the project cycle significantly diminishes its relevance. This was the case of the resettlement project of the Garki indigenes to Apo in which participatory communication approaches was applied initially, but not through the project cycle, and this accounted for the failure of the project.

4. In addition to the first recommendation above, in order for a development project to be fully participatory, policy and decision makers should ensure that development interventions are initiated, designed, implemented and evaluated by the primary stakeholders, or at least they would need to be involved in those activities in a significant way. This approach is not likely to result in radical changes, but it can assist in pushing for gradual improvements towards greater people-based involvement and control.
5. Conscientisation and sensitisation programmes are important to raise the awareness of the primary stakeholders for participation in community development initiatives. This will also translate to empowerment of the grassroots communities that will guarantee project ownership. This is applicable in the MDG water project at Gaba in which the target beneficiaries dissociated themselves from the project, insisting that it belonged to the government.
6. Similarly, there is the need to raise the awareness and familiarity of the issues of participatory communication approaches to those on top of the pyramid. A situation whereby a government official will say "...they must move" to enforce compliance as in the case of movement of the Garki indigenes to the Apo resettlement site, spells doom.
7. Planners and decision makers also need to become fully aware that before starting any development project, they should consider participatory communication diagnosis by not only discovering the various perceptions on issues, but also by building from local expertise and to facilitate the involvement of local stakeholders in the decision making process. The integrated Agricultural project at Abaji Area

Council was an attempt towards this approach. There was a communication diagnosis which revealed the inherent desires of the community and their constraints which informed the area and levels of interventions.

8. Policy and decision makers, especially in development initiatives, should ensure that the cultural values and practices of the people are factored into the development interventions. This makes the schemes understandable and meaningful to the target beneficiaries.
9. Indigenous institutions such as age grades, youth organisations, clubs and towns unions should be used in reaching the people and mobilising latent energies.
10. Policy and community development organisers should learn to delegate powers to local leaders at all levels of the population of the community who should account for the exercise of that power. As a more suitable community participation approach using the people's institution and leaders is imperative. This was the experience in the Integrated Agricultural project at Kekeshi in Abaji Area Council in which the Farmers User Groups nominated leaders amongst themselves and saddled them with the responsibility of maintaining the facilities, including hiring of guards for the facilities.
11. Proper human capital development should be developed and maintained so as to eliminate the paternalistic view which assumes that the rural people are passive and fatalistic, uninterested in improvement of their lives, and incapable of making initiatives for improvement.
12. Government should encourage nation's experts to make useful contributions with their talents, as Government has a chief role of building and financing an enduring

political, social, cultural and environmental structure on which rural development can thrive, through the encouragement and recognition of the roles of cooperatives, NGOs, and private initiatives as their grassroots' appeals promote sustainable rural development.

6.3 Conclusion

The critical analysis of communication strategies in the three selected projects of this study reveals apathy of government officials to fully adopt a communication model that is participatory in development initiatives. However, it will be erroneous to conclude that such goal is not attainable. Tracking the source of project failures is possible because practitioners and researchers can empirically identify sources of project failures as in the case of Resettlement of Garki indigenes to Apo in which after the project failure, officials went to the drawing board to find out at which point mistakes were made. This retracing of steps however was absent in the MDG Water project at Gaba and to a certain extent, the Integrated Agricultural project at Kekeshi. If this was done in the case of the MDG Water project at Gaba, this knowledge will be useful in effective planning and implementation of projects in future. According to Hornik (1988:40): "…project failures occur in one of three ways: theoretical failures, not linking problems with solutions, programme failures deriving from poor project designs; and political failures resulting from incompatibility with existing political conditions".

The researcher tends to agree with Hornik's view above especially as it affects program failure due to poor project designs and the political failures. The study revealed faults in the project designs in which government uses executive fiat to enforce compliance in a project that communities are involved to the chagrin of the intended beneficiary

communities. As a result, the desired political success that was preferred to the genuine development of the communities became a mirage.

It should be noted that the issue of the use of power is a common cause of unsuccessful outcomes in development interventions. Power in political, economic, occupational and gender domains created blockages to the adoption of communication strategies that are participatory and that would have guaranteed project success. Appropriate communication strategy that would have cut across social boundaries was left out. It is important to acknowledge that horizontal communication is continually being challenged by power imbalances imposed by existing social hierarchies and cultural differences, that is why despite the effectiveness of horizontal modes of communication, it has the inherent challenge of power structures in the community or within implementation and it takes qualitative investigation to uncover power issues that often put projects on the path of failure. These issues featured prominently in the three projects under study although at different degrees of occurrence.

As demonstrated in the present study, recent research efforts in development communication have revealed compelling evidence of positive contributions of communication. At the same time, the researchers in the field need to be aware that theoretical and methodological biases continue to create significant pockets of understudied areas. Therefore efforts must be made to improve the operational function of communication in the field of development.

The researcher would like to state a common fact that achieving change is never easy, especially when it entails reshapping or changing status of Authority.

However, if this field of study must move forward, scholars should start paying more attention to the practical implications of applying participatory communication models. Similarly, decision makers and development managers need to become more aware of the necessity of incorporating this approach in development practices as earlier mentioned in my recommendations.

The absence of strategic communication in the modeling of citizens and in their motivation to become or realize their full potential, leads to powerlessness and provides fertile ground for sectarianism, ethnicity and exploitation. In other words, because people do not have access to the tools that they can employ to make a good living, they resort to ethnicity and religious intolerance. In Nigeria, the nature of communication that is predominant is such that covers the activities of the high and mighty rather than raising critical awareness and building consciousness, a problem which Paolo Freire adequately captured in his definition of the banking system.

From the study, it could be seen that it is only through communication that is vertical and horizontal, can human life be meaningful. For example, the teachers' thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the student's thinking. The teacher cannot think for his students, nor can he impose his thoughts on them. In this sense, authentic thinking that is concerned about reality or well being of people can not take place from the offices of the experts only, but using strategic communication that does not warrant the subordination of the target beneficiaries to the experts or government officials. This means, the stakeholders no longer need to be docile listeners as students, but should be critical co-investigators in dialogue with the officials. Only through this process will guarantee constant unveiling of reality necessary for sustainable development initiative.

What seems to be the reason for failure of development efforts in Nigeria is the various development paradigms that were adopted which lay emphasis on the top-down communication model that is undemocratic and not learner-centered. If communication that is participatory is adopted in development efforts, there would be gradual increase in the number of active citizens who would break the "culture of silence" and get more Nigerians committed to the task of national development. There is potential for sustainable development in Nigeria based on its natural resources and the resilence of the people that can be tapped and empowered through the right model of communication. With this right model, individuals can be turned from the state of powerlessness and sediment potential to a state of empowered and fulfilled persons. Communication, therefore, is more than disseminating information and knowledge, but is also about fostering social awareness and facilitating dialogue. It is about contributing to building a shared understanding that can lead to change.

Finally, the study provided room for reflection and further investigation of issues arising from this study that could be addressed in depth.

Among the issues raised and discussed in this research, the followings are of particular value for comparison with the literature, especially for those intending to adopt participatory communication in field operation. The first is the issue of assessing and investigating Participatory Communication concept and practices in specific points in time. Even though most scholars tend to consider participatory communication as a process, not many of them have reflected the implications of adopting it in a "non-process" mode. I believe further studies in this area are necessary in order to investigate the implications of using participatory communication for specific purpose at specific time.

The findings of my study indicate that assessing it within each phase of the project cycle helps to identify and compare the degree of participation within each phase. However, they do not provide a definite answer about how relevant such an approach would be, when broken up in separate parts. This is in view of its underlying philosophy and the definition given for the highest form of participation in which the primary stakeholders should be involved in the whole decision making process.

The contribution of my study to the body of knowledge stems from the identification of the absence of an appropriate communication strategy in relation to the concept of Participatory Communication Research. This issue featured prominently in the Gaba MDG Water Scheme in which the government officials, the Councilor representing Gaba Ward and the Chief of Gaba took decision on behalf of the rest community. Similarly, in the resettlement scheme, in which a respondent said the decision was taken between the government and the Chairman of Abuja Municipal Area Council – an equivalent of a County Commissioner. In these two cases, communication activities were planned and implemented in isolated actions and tactics as against an integrated strategy. The study, therefore, shed some light on critical aspects regarding participatory communication as a way of not only improving sustainable development practices, but of gradually facilitating the process of liberation (conscientisation Freire 1997) by those individuals who have been at the margins of development. This in essence, facilitates the process of change for those who have been regarded as 'passive' beneficiaries, but who now have the knowledge and the right to take decisions for themselves.

In conclusion, I would like to state a common fact, that achieving change is never easy especially when it entails reshaping or changing status of Authority. However, if this field

of study must move forward, scholars should start paying more attention to the practical implications of applying participatory communication. Similarly, decision makers and development managers need to become more aware of the necessity of incorporating this approach in development practices as earlier mentioned in my recommendations. This argument is also sustained both at the political level, i.e. the right of individuals to participate in the decision-making process regarding their own lives; and to a professional level where the field of participatory communication needs to refine and combine with the vast array of implications occurring when it is operationalised for the every day practices of development initiatives.

It is the researcher's belief that the study had been worthwhile as it provides room for reflection and further investigation of issues arising from this study that could not be addressed in depth.

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APPENDIX "A"

GUIDE QUESTIONS
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

NAME:

GENDER:

POSITION:

NATIONALITY:

1. When was this project executed?
2. Were the local residents' inputs requested?
3. If yes, what were some of their inputs?
4. If No, what were your considerations for siting this project?
5. What changes/impacts do you envisage at the completion of this project?
6. Were the local communities expected to make any financial or manpower contributions?
7. In the course of the project execution, did the local community benefit in terms of employment of their women and youths?
8. Do you think there is any advantage in discussing the projects with members of the communities where they are sited?
9. If yes, can you mention some?
10. What, in your opinion, are some possible problems of seeking the participation of local people in development projects?
11. From your experiences as a Professional Rural Developer, would you prefer participatory Development as against government's unilateral interventions in rural development?

APPENDIX "B"

TARGET BENEFICIARIES

NAME:

GENDER:

STATE:

NATIONALITY:

1. For how long have you been a resident of this community?
2. Do you enjoy any sort of government presence in this community?
3. If yes, what are the things government has done for you?
4. Are you aware of any project sited in this community by the government? If yes,
5. Do you know their locations and can we see some of them?
6. As a resident of this community, was your view or the views of other residents of this community sought for the choice of the project? [Yes] [No]
7. If yes, were your views sought in the location of the projects? Yes
   No
8. If yes, how were your views sought? meetings, television, radio etc.
9. During the project execution, were you involved in anyway?
10. If yes, at what stages of the execution of the project?
11. In the execution process, were there areas you had contrary opinion to that of the government?

12. If yes, what were the areas?
13. How were the areas of disagreement resolved?
14. To what extent were you satisfied with the reasons the government gave for siting the project in its present location?
15. Would you have preferred the project to be sited in a different location?
16. If yes, where?
17. Can you elaborate on the reasons for your choice of location?
18. In your opinion, are there advantages the community can derive from this project?
19. If you were given the opportunity for a choice of project, would you have preferred a different project rather than the present one? (e.g school, road, water etc.)
20. If yes, which one would you have preferred and why?
21. What do you think are the problems (if any) of this particular project?
22. Did you inform the government about these problems?
23. If yes, were your opinions taken into consideration?
24. What was its effort to solve the problems?
25. To what extent did you go about solving the problems?
26. If you were given the opportunity to list the projects in your community in terms of priority, list down the projects in order of their priorities.

APPENDIX 'C'

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Interview with Alhaji Ado Hussaini, a staff of the Department of Agriculture and Extension Services on 3rd April, 2013
2. Interview with the Co-ordinator of the Fadama III Project, Dr Adamu Shuaibu on 23rd April, 2013
3. Interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Awwal, a member of Kekeshi community in Abaji Area Council on 22nd April, 2013
4. Interview with a Kekeshi community female respondent Hajiya Kulu Indo in Abaji Area Council, on 22nd April, 2013
5. Interview with a respondent of Kekeshi community Mr Jafaru Ali on 22nd April, 2013
6. Interview with the representative of the World Bank, for the Fadama III Project. Mr Enock Chidawa on 23rd April, 2013
7. Interview with the Director, Department of Resettlement and Compensation of the Federal Capital Development Authority, Mr Festus Eseikhile on 1st February, 2013
8. Interview with Ambassador Ayuba Ngbako, a resident of Garki village in the Abuja Municipal Area Council on 5th February, 2013
9. Interview with Mr Joel Dantani, a member of the Focus Group Discussion held on 5th February, 2013
10. Interview with Youth leader at Garki village, Mr Ayuba Garo on 5th February, 2013
11. Interview with FCT Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) project co-ordinator, Alhaji Ari Muhammad on 16th March, 2013

12. Interview with the Chief of Gaba Community in Bwari Area Council of the FCT, Mallam Danlami Agabo on 17th March, 2013
13. Interview with the Counsellor representing Gaba Ward in Bwari Area Council, Honourable Samuel Gimba on 17th March, 2013
14. Interview with a respondent of Gaba Community in Bwari Area Council, Mr Dikko Bakoshi on 18th March, 2013
15. Interview with a respondent of Gaba community in Bwari Area Council, Mr Dantani Chukundi on 18th March, 2013
16. Interview with Mrs Saratu Elijah of Gaba Community on 18th March, 2013
17. Interview with women representative of Gaba community in Bwari Area Council Mrs Dorothy Yakubu on 18th March, 2013