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Participatory Development Communication: An Audience-Centered Initiative

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Abstract:

There have been criticisms that participatory development communication researches usually lacked rigour and accuracy; are often undisciplined, sloppy and involving only subjective observations that reflect only selected members of the relevant communities. This paper seeks to refute these claims and to portray that critics have focused on pseudo-participation rather than genuine participatory development communication. The paper also presents a three-step methodology for genuine participation which involves approaching and establishing contact with a local community, bringing local people together to identify a development problem; and preparing a communication plan that would bring solution to problem identified by the local people. The work is anchored on the participatory communication theory, which is the framework that emphasizes dialogue or two-way communication as a means of providing consensus for sustainable action in development activities.

Keywords: Modernization, marginality, pseudo and genuine participation, empowerment

1. Introduction

Participatory development communication is the use of the mass media, traditional and interpersonal modes of communication to empower communities in their bid to discover solutions to their development problems and goals. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2018) defines the term 'participatory' as the provision of opportunity for individual participation. It also defines 'communication' as the process of conveying information from a sender to a receiver with the use of a medium in which the communicated information or message is understood the same way by both the sender and the receiver. Development on its part is defined by Oso (2002) as a term that came into widespread application after the Second World War to mean growth, industrialization, change, modernization and democracy.

The summary of these definitions is that participatory development communication is a process in which community members are brought in to contribute and share ideas about how to bring about development to their communities. Kheerajit and Flor (2013) describe it as a key process in the bringing together of stakeholders for cooperation in the task of addressing the problem of the environment and to work towards the enthronement of a sustainable social change away from individuals. While noting that it is a tool that enables stakeholders to work together towards producing a sustainable social change away from individual behaviour change in their communities, they remark that participatory development communication offers local community members the platform to discuss and address natural resource managements in their communities and to build an improved policy environment. Anaeto and Solo-Anaeto (2010) align with this observation in their definition. They assert that it is the process of seeking the active involvement and participation of community members and groups in development initiatives through strategic utilization of various communication strategies.

Guy Bessette (2004, p. 6) holds an identical view, as he argues that participatory development communication is a powerful tool to facilitate the development of putting people first in the promotion of community self-organization. He is of the opinion that the term should be analyzed within the context of 'facilitating the active involvement of different community groups, along with other stakeholders involved and the many development and research agents working with the community and decision makers.' Bessette (2004, p. 9) offers a definition of participatory communication as 'a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative.' The notion of stakeholders here refers to active community members, local and regional authorities and sometimes the non-governmental agencies who work at community levels to seek to persuade the people towards behaviour change.

Jacob Srampickal (2006, p.3) observes that the concept was first used in The Philippines in the 1970s and describes it as the process of transmitting and communicating new knowledge related to rural environments. He defines development communication as 'the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential.' Musara (2011) attributes the development of the notion of participatory development communication to the failure of the modernization paradigm in development. Modernization theory applies the top-down approach in communication with societies at the grassroots and consigns them to a position of dependency in relationships with national and transnational communication powers. The hallmark of the modernization theory is that it adopts foreign and often predetermined strategies in its efforts to solve unique local problems. This approach usually produces the concept of marginality which is explained as a situation of non-participation of the grassroots or host populations in the development process. Huesca (2002), for instance, observes a prevalence of an apparent contradiction in the use of elements of participatory communication to enhance the status of traditional development practices. This is a situation where some practices that are domiciled in participatory development communication are applied in the participation form of development communication. The practice was often associated with large agencies connected to transnational corporations such as the United States Agency for International Development, USAID. Huesca (2002, p.13) remarks, however, that 'when participatory communication variables are applied in participation approaches, the results are often, at best passive collaboration or at worst manipulative consultation done only to advance a predetermined objective.' The takeaway from these definitive approaches is that human communication can enhance speedy transformation of citizens of a given country from poverty to economic growth.

Inherent in the definition is the fact that without communication it would be almost impossible to transform any community, and that the process is even faster if citizens of the given community are carried along in the decision-making process. This is the concept that is advanced by Anaeto and Solo-Anaeto (2010) who stress that one of the benefits of participatory development communication is the promotion of the concepts of self-reliance and self-development. Van de Fliert (2007, p. 95) explicates further on this concept by distinguishing between participation in communication and participatory communication. He defines the term 'participation' to mean 'empowerment of communities, groups or individuals to determine their own direction, objectives and options for change, make well informed decisions, take action in a collective way to achieve their goals, then monitor and evaluate if they are getting to where they want to be.' Participation became an essential part of the development communication vocabulary in the 1980s and 1990s because it was then recognized that 'people, rather than technology-oriented approaches, were required to find the right balance in the search for achievement of economic, social and environmental sustainability.'

However, while participation in development communication may be anchored on the goal of empowering communities, groups or individuals to determine the direction of their growth, it often evinces non-participatory interventions. It is also different from participatory communication because of the conscious planning effort involved in the latter approach. Van de Fliert (2007) insists that genuine participatory processes are difficult to come by in contemporary development initiatives, and attributes reasons for this scenario to its high requirement on human and financial resource outlays. He explains, however, that many projects that applied the participation approach but which used some of the variables of the participatory model commended the positive project outcomes of the participatory approach rather than the participation approach they adopted. In such instances, the participatory approach is often regarded as the 'means' rather than the 'end', with the means defined as a way to increase the effectiveness of a programme introduced externally with the involvement of the local people. Cleaver (1999, pp. 597-598) also argues for the adoption of participatory rather than participation approach to development communication on the grounds that there was little evidence in support of the long-term effectiveness of participation in the material improvement of the most vulnerable people in communities where the approach has been adopted. He notes that 'participation has become an act of faith in development; something we believe in and rarely question.' This act of faith is based on three main tenets: that 'participation is intrinsically a 'good thing' (especially for the participants), that a focus on 'getting the techniques right' is the principal way of ensuring the success of such approaches, and that considerations of power and politics on the whole should be avoided as divisive and obstructive.'

2. Approaches and Assumptions

Two basic participatory approaches that have focused on several forms of participation in development communication have been discussed by scholars. These approaches are the genuine and pseudo-participation. White, Sadanandan and Ascroft (1997, p.17) observe a distinction between genuine and pseudo participation and describe pseudo-participation as 'people's participation in development in which the control of project and decision-making power rests with planners, administrators and the community's elite.' On the other hand, Servaes (1999, p.198) examines genuine participation and defines it as a 'process that affects the very core of the inherent power relationships in a given society.' Moreover, Van de Fliert (2007, p.97) argues that while participation does not imply making others to participate, it involves engaging stakeholders or groups in a dialogue which requires 'open sharing of information and opinion in all directions, identifying areas of conflicting interests and collective assessment and testing of options that can fulfill needs while capitalizing on opportunities and compromising on conflicts.' On its part, participatory communication is seen to be far above the domain of 'mere participation' because it implies 'giving voice and power' to all parties that are involved in the development process. As Van de Fliert (2007, p.97) explains, 'understanding people's positions, interests and relations is required to design and employ the most suitable communication and engagement methods to raise interest in and

initiate the dialogue...The process design should be based on considerations such as existing inter- and intra-group dynamics.'

Today, development is grass-root driven and no longer top-down, but bottom-up approaches which enable the people to determine the kind of development they want. Development planners have come to realize that inclusivity is key in designing and implementing developmental projects and programmes. There has been a huge paradigm shift in this regard. Proponents of developmental theories have refuted the claims that development is more of focusing on implementers or partners who will explore all means to impose certain developmental ideals on the people without considering the readiness of the people to accept such changes. Recent findings have shown that most developmental programmes failed due to lack of proper community or grassroots buy-in to the programme trajectory and conviction.

A number of approaches to participatory communication have been identified by Van de Fliert(2007, p.96) and these include:

- Passive participation: that is where participants are being told and are following. At this level, information belongs only to external professionals or scientists.
- Participation in information giving: at this point, individuals participate by answering questions, while no opportunity is given to influence conclusions and decisions beyond the professionals.
- Participation by consultation: Here individuals participate by being consulted, and conclusions may be modified in the light of people's responses but professionals or the scientists are under no obligation to do so.
- Participation for material incentive: Individuals participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives.
- Functional participation: Individuals participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives; instructions can be dependent on external initiators/facilitators or become self-dependent.
- Interactive participation: Individuals participate in joint analysis, leading to action plans and formation of local institutions. Groups are allowed to take control over local decisions.
- Self-mobilization: Individuals participate by taking initiative independent of external institutions to change systems.
- Lilja and Ashby (1999, pp.3-7), however, offer an alternative approach in which they distinguish five types of power relationships. These types, which are dependent on who makes the decision, are:
 - Conventional: Outsiders take decisions based on limited communication with local people. They may or may not consider information related to local conditions and relatives.
 - Consultative: Here, outsiders who may be scientists or professionals take decisions on their own based on limited communication with local people. They may or may not inform themselves about the opinions, preferences or priorities of the local people, and can make their decisions even without the local people's participation or delegation to the processes.
 - Collaborative: Here decision-making process is shared between farmers or local people and scientists. The parties engage in organized communication with each other. Scientists or professionals and farmers know about each other's opinions, preferences and priorities through organized two-way communication. Because decisions are made jointly, no party has a right to revoke such decisions
 - Collegial: At this point, decisions are made collectively in organized format with outsiders. Local people know about outsider's opinion, preferences, proposals and priorities through organized two-way communication. Local people may or may not let this information affect their final decision and they have a right to revoke such decisions.
 - Local decision making: Local people make the decisions individually or in a group without influence from outsiders. They may consider the opinions or suggestions from outsiders, but the decision-making process is not influenced or facilitated from the outside.

While type five in Lilja and Ashby's (1999) classification can be considered as participatory because the decision-making process is found to be predominantly skewed to one party, the host communities, type two presents a case of pseudo-participation and can be used as a stepping ground to access greater opportunities. The third and fourth approaches represent genuine participation because they allow for an increased level of empowerment. This argument is supported by the assertion of Christensen and Jonsson (2011) which is that participation is the direct involvement of individuals in creative or problem-solving organizations. They also stress that a major argument in favour of participation in work groups is that it could lead to enhanced creativity and innovation. Several theories of organizational work environment are equally in support of this mediating factor. Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby and Herron (1996) for instance, assert that encouragement is by far the broadest and most frequently mentioned approach to participatory communication. In their categorization, encouragement can be observed in three dimensions of organizational, supervisory and work group. While explaining that people are more likely to produce unusual and useful ideas if encouraged to do so by the situation, they find themselves or by implicit instructions, they observe that encouragement also has the potential of increasing ideas generation among the people.

A vital criticism that usually trails the participatory approach to development communication is the issue of trustworthiness of findings. Since participatory communication dwells exclusively on planned processes, the question is often on how the findings compare with the real data. Gill (1991, p.12) however, is of the view that reliance on available data might be deceptive. Citing the example of information on rainfall supplied by Maramche farmers in Nepal and scientifically collected rainfall statistics, he asserts that a major finding from his study was that the information supplied

by the farmers was a mere approximation. He explains that to obtain appropriate data, qualified and experienced participants equipped with requisite techniques should be co-opted into the programme.

In his review of criticisms of participatory methods, Pretty (1995) notes that these are often said to be undisciplined, sloppy and involving only subjective observations that reflect only selected members of the relevant communities. While refuting claims that participatory development communication researches usually lacked rigour and accuracy, he remarks that investigators that relied on this approach were often called upon to prove the veracity of their claims. Furthermore, he remarks that conventional researches always adopted a number of criteria or assumptions in their bid to persuade their audiences asked. These are: 'Can we apply these findings to other contexts or with other groups of people? Would the findings be repeated if the inquiry were replicated with similar or same subjects in the same or similar contexts? How can we be certain that the findings have been determined by the subjects and context of the inquiry, rather than the biases, motivations and perspectives of the investigators?' Pretty (1995, p.1255).

3. Models and Phases of Participatory Development Communication

A number of models have been proposed for participatory development communication. One of the popular models is that developed by Bessette (2004, p.10) which is fashioned around three sets of events. The methodology involved in the first of these events is described as approaching a local community and establishing contact and understanding the local setting. The second set of events involves bringing people to identify a given development problem or a common goal, discovering its many dimensions and potential solutions, deciding on a set of actions they intend to experiment with or implement and identifying the necessary conditions in terms of knowledge, partnership and material conditions. The aspects associated with the third part of the methodology involve 'preparing and implementing a communication plan that would support the actions identified by the stakeholders, facilitating the acquisition of knowledge necessary for the implementation of the activities and planning the sharing and utilization of the results.' Bessette (2004) explains that the early models of development consisted essentially of economic variables which were thought could automatically enhance the wellbeing of individuals in the society.

The MacBride Report (1980) in particular had noted that the early models applied communication solely for the purpose of disseminating information, to get the people to understand the promised 'benefits' and the necessary 'sacrifices' this communication demanded. It gave the impression that once the wealth was acquired, it would automatically filter down to all segments or levels of the society. When, however, this was found to have little impact, it was dropped for a model of development and communication. In all this, it is important to stress that communication has continued to play a dominant role because of the understanding that it is the vision that enables members of the society to participate in the development process. The second model that has been identified in the last 50 years is described by Bessette (2004) as a participatory model with an endogenous character that is capable of assuming a global perspective for which the various societies or group are responsible. The model is usually taken as generated from within, not from outside. Melkote (2006) indicates that though the practice of participatory communication has emphasized the concept of collaboration and co-equal sharing of knowledge between the experts and the local people, the outcome in most of the cases has not always been true empowerment of the people. Rather, he asserts that it has always manifested in the recorded attainment of some predetermined indicators of development as articulated under the modernization paradigm.

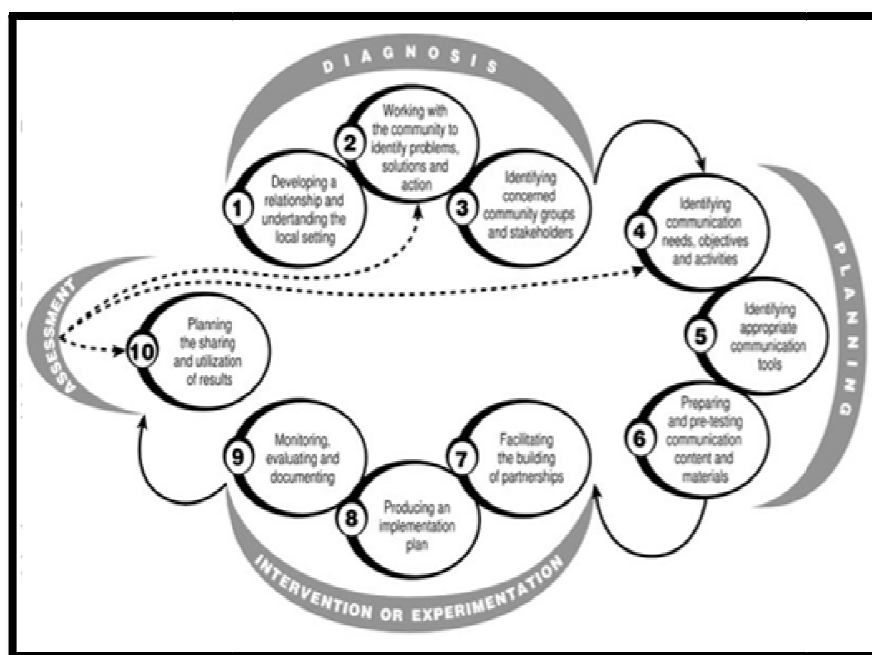


Figure 1: Participatory Development Communication (PDC) Model Integrated with the Research for Development Process, Courtesy: Guy Besette, 2004

Four main phases or processes in participatory development communication have been identified. These phases are represented as diagnosis, planning, intervention or experimentation and assessment. Both Bessette (2004) and Mefalopulos (2008) align with four phases. Bessette (2004) for instance, explains that when the phases of diagnosis, planning, intervention or experimentation and assessment are completed, there is always the need to decide whether to return to the beginning to start another cycle, get back to the planning stage or scale up with another planning, implementation or evaluation cycle. In Mefalopulos's (2008) classification, these phases are communication-based assessment, communication strategy design; implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. The first stage which is the research phase involves selection and use of appropriate communication research methods and techniques, is followed by transformation of the communication-based assessment into valuable inputs for the design of strategy. The third phase involves the implementation of the activities while the fourth phase involves monitoring of the process and evaluation of the impact of the communication activities.

4. Obstacles to Participatory Approach

Although considerable efforts have been exerted to attain sustainable change in underdeveloped countries, the outcome has not often been significant. A large number of development efforts have become ineffective to bring about change (Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Mefalopulos, 2008; Servaes, 2008). Certain factors which affect the practice of participatory development communication in the society can be divided into three sub themes which include the individual, the institutional and the environmental factors (Adem Chanie Ali and Stefan Sonderling, n.d). Research reports, practical experiences reveal that lack of people's participation could contribute to the failure of development projects (Thomas, 1994; White, 1994; Freire 2005, Servaes, 2008; White 2008). A study by Fraser and Estrada, cited in Servaes (2000, p.84) concludes that communication and people's involvement in development process could be two central factors that determine the successes and failures of most development projects across the developing world. Therefore, understanding the factors that hinder the genuine participation of the local community in development efforts could be extremely an important issue.

Adem Chanie Ali and Stefan Sonderling (2017) list some of the factors that could hinder the implementation of genuine participation as the economic perceptions of development, the top down development approach, short time span of the development projects and the dollar driven nature of projects, the perceptions of participation as labour and material contributions, the dependency syndrome, the perceptions of development communication as information transmission lack of professionalism of communication, lack of adequate man power, among others. Furthermore, Silvio (2008) remarks that the prevalence of a technical mindset over a political perspective in development programmes can be antithetical. As anthropologist James Ferguson (1990) has aptly put it, development works as an 'anti-politics machine' that negates fundamental political issues related to social stratification and collective action. Although programmes largely reflect the politics of donor countries and members, they are purposefully divorced from local politics.

5. Theoretical Framework

The paper is anchored on the theoretical underpinning of the Participatory Communication Theory. The theory seeks to involve audiences in horizontal dialogue and active participation in public life which invariably result in improvement in the quality of life. The Participatory Communication Theory was developed by Paulo Freire in 1970 and emphasizes dialogue or two-way communication as a means of providing consensus for sustainable action in development activities. Anaeto, Onabajo and Osifeso (2008, p.181) remark that the theory seeks to replace modernization theory especially in the area of its emphasis on knowledge diffusion and technology transfer. They assert that instead of encouraging 'residents of developing societies to participate in development initiatives planned by outsiders, it encourages residents to make their own plans.' Musara (2011) and Mishra (2017) align with Anaeto et al (2008) in their view that participatory communication theory was propounded following the perceived failure of modernization theory to meet the needs of developing societies.

Furthermore, Mishra (2017, p.11) observes that 'the participatory communication theory emphasizes upon two-way communication principles and practices,' and has 'increasingly moved towards a horizontal 'two-way' model which favours peoples' active and direct interaction through consultation and dialogue with the help of traditional (one-way information dissemination) of mass media.' Mefalopulos (2008, p.51) lists common features of the theory as 'emphasis on people, the endogenous vision of development, and the attention to power and rights issues,' emphasizing that the theory has enabled the refocusing of development efforts to ensure that stakeholders are increasingly engaged, while attention is also paid to previously neglected aspects of social life such as education and culture, among others. These priorities are reflected in the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals of the 1990s, as well as its successor, the Sustainable Development Goals, and other development organizations. The theory operates on two major development-based assumptions and two broad approaches. These are assumptions of the concepts of participation and communication, as well as approaches of Paulo Freire's notions of dialogical pedagogy and UNESCO's discourse on self-management. Although participation is not treated as an absolute concept in this theory, its classification has been conceived and applied in several ways. Pretty, Gujit, Thompson and Scoones (1995, p. 60) enumerate seven types of participation in development communication. These range from 'passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilisation.' In between are the two extremes: passive participation and self-mobilisation. In passive participation, residents are merely told what has been decided or what is happening in their communities, in which case, their participation is not important or taken for granted. In the instance of self-mobilisation, residents have the power to make decisions and can also initiate the

process. Moreover, Mefalopulos (2008, p.52) identifies four types of participation adopted by the World Bank. These are information sharing, consultation, collaboration and empowerment. In this categorization, 'information sharing and consultation are considered low-level forms of participation, while other two are considered high-level forms.'

The second major assumption of participatory communication theory is that of communication. The basic use of communication in this theory is for information of stakeholders to enable them to appreciate the long-term results of the development projects. The theory applies communication in three major ways in its bid to establish two-way flows to share knowledge and opinions among development stakeholders. These are behaviour change communication, communication for social change, and advocacy communication. While behaviour change communication appears to be the best-known strand because of its use in many development projects and programmes, communication for social change is equally salient because of its emphasis on two-way communication. This emphasis is appropriate for participatory communication because, as Mefalopulos (2008, p.57) explains, 'it emphasizes the importance of two-way communication and the need to facilitate stakeholders' participation and empowerment.' Advocacy communication panders towards need to influence specific audiences, and is, therefore, not often dialogical or horizontal in nature. The Freirian approach involves dialogical communication or group dialogue, while the UNESCO's concept of access to the media or self-management translates to opportunities and implies access to media; with participation translating to higher level of public involvement in communication systems and the production process (Servaes and Malikhaio, 2005).

In spite of its laudable goals in the development process, a number of criticisms have trailed the theory. Waisbord (2008, p. 513), for instance, feels that participatory communication theory has not sufficiently articulated or defined the goals and roles of communication in community development. He asserts that 'as long as development goals are defined in terms of specific indicators in technical areas, communication is expected to support, rather than to lead, programmes.' This means that communication has, so far, availed to support other programmes, whether in health, agriculture or the educational sectors, but is treated as only a supportive field and lacks autonomy to determine own goals and approaches.

6. Conclusion

We have examined the concept of participatory development communication from the perspective of its audience centeredness, a bottom-up approach, which is opposed to participation in communication that adopts a top-down approach. Its definition as a communication process that brings in community members to contribute and share ideas on how to bring about development to their communities aptly captures the concept of audience-centeredness. The paper focused on the distinction between genuine and pseudo participations in communication. Pseudo-participation was defined as 'people's participation in development in which the control of project and decision-making power rests with planners, administrators and the community's elite' while genuine participation was defined as a 'process that affects the very core of the inherent power relationships in a given society'. The four main phases or processes in participatory development communication developed by Bessette and Mefalopulos were used as pegs in the paper. These phases are represented as diagnosis, planning, intervention or experimentation and assessment; as well as communication-based assessment, communication strategy design; implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. The theoretical underpinning adopted for the paper was participatory communication theory. It was adopted because of its emphasis on horizontal dialogue or two-way communication as a means of providing consensus for sustainable action in development activities.

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