AN OVERVIEW OF COMMUNICATION
STRATEGIES IN COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES

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INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1970's there has been a growing evidence suggesting
that the coventional development strategies have not worked as expected.
Earlier theories of development tended to emphasize capital and
technology over labour and industry rather than agriculture. As a
result with the exception of community development programmes, most
development plans adopted before that time allowed little role for the
majority of the people. Policies were to be decided upon by the
university-trained-technocrats and carried out by new rationally
organised bureaucracies manned by Western groomed elites. While many
theories hoped the developing countries would eventually adopt liberal
and democratic political systems, they tended to think popular involve-
ment in politics and administration should be restricted, at least
temporarily, to protect fragile infant governments from excessive
demands.

This has failed to bring good results because even though some
countries did achieve major increases in GNP, in most, output per
capita has remained relatively stagnant, while the number of poor
people have increased, and disparities in income have grown wider. Only
the ideas of a few people are ruling the regions and dissatisfaction of
the masses has soared to heights resulting in riots upon riots and the
associated Coup De Tas. Coups d' Etat

There is now emerging an interest in popular participation which
reflects the dissatisfaction with the paradigms that dominated develop-
ment thinking from the end of the World War II. Governments of develop-
ing countries and their Donor International bodies such as UNICEF in
re-appraising past policies are beginning to emphasize a larger role
for the masses which can be facilitated by the communication strategies
suitably adapted to the needs of the situation. Thus the emerging
paradigm posits a more central and active role for the majority of
citizens than was previously thought desirable, by giving greater
attention to decentralized administration, constent flow of information
and flexible planning to efforts to raise output in the small form sector,
and to providing the poor majority with better food, shelter, health
care and education.

Consequently concern with communication strategies in development programmes is popular and hence the need for overview and reviews to ensure we are in line with the demands of social development. A realistic overview of communication strategies which this paper attempts to take st.alk of would ideally cover both the developed and the developing countries. However in view of a dyre need to cover as much of the local practices as it is possible, this paper dwells more on the Third World practices providing Botswana as a case study to form a basis for discussion on the African front. Nonetheless it is important to get the historical perspective of CD and to see how that perspective has influenced the CD practices thus affecting communication strategies.thereof.

I. BACKGROUND

I. 1. ORIGINS AND APPROACH OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND + AMINATION RURALE:

Several observers maintain that the emergence of both Community Development in the British and American Colonies and amination Rurale in the French colonies is connected with the "winning hearts and minds" concerns of the cold war period, and with the "winds of change" that were ultimately to bring independence to Africa and Asia. Thus in the dominant view CD started purely on political and economic basis.

The fear of the possible implications of self-government for the colonies during the inter-war period forced the colonial governments particularly Britain and America and later on France to find a means of coping with such demands. It was apparently no longer enough to continue with the parternalistic principles of metropolitan self-interest to civilize while exploiting. Thus an attempt to develop 'Basic Education' later called "mass education and social welfare in colonies" was introduced. The development of Political institutions was widely enforced to encourage democracy and local initiative so as to establish sound foundation for the approaching self-government. This explained

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+ Amination Rurale is a similar term as CD used in French colonies.

by Brokensha (1969) meant "Bringing the colonies in line with political economic and social standards as established in the majority of democratic countries."[*] The colonies were to be protected from Communism e.g. the Indian Community Development Programmes by Britain and US before Independence in 1947, was later merged with Ghandi's Propaganda of Non-violent and Anti-Communist Party in 1952. Coupled with the fear of emergence of self-government was also 'the fear of an unemployed ex-soldier. How on earth was he going to be occupied abd kept calm to prevent him from revolting. There were no employment opportunities yet for these people, therefore self help projects were seen as the best method of keeping them employed to provide infrastructure in their own localities, while costing the colonial governments nothing. This is still a controversial area in the CD practices today, where governments shun their duty of providing infrastructure for Basic Services in the rural areas and their duty of creating employment for the rural masses, by hiding behind the concept of self-help.

But perhaps the magnitude of this injustice can be seen where later on the British Government saw this as an opportune factor in paying back her war debts to US government. Self-help projects were no longer designed to benefit the localities but were to provide a means of providing cash to Britain so that she could settle her accounts. The tone of development communication strategies were influenced much by this need and objective. In countries west of Africa cash-crop & farming, building of feeder roads and bridges to Port of Harbour were encouraged. People engaged in CD projects, packed these raw materials, and cash-crops, transported them by the aid of the feeder roads to the Port of Harbour straight to US as British payment to Us. This is one of the reasons why most British colonies used British Currency for a long time.

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[*] DDavid Brokensha Emerging Trends in Community Development(New York: Department of economic and social Affairs. ST/SOA/106. 1971) also in Community Development: An Interpretation (San Francisco Chendler 1969.

after their own independence.(see Majorie Mayo Critique of CD in Africa)
The same Critique by Mayo shows how in America CD was used to stifle
efforts of radicals who wanted to use it to conscientize the masses to
their rights. Instead people who would approach CD by purporting the
good intentions of government and encouraging people to accept their
lot, and to be obedient to governments was greatly hailed. Bukatee
Washington is mentioned as one development agent in this case who was
popular with US Government for trying to discourage CD radicals. He
was so popular that when Queen Victoria learnt about him she invited
him to England to have tea with her. Consequently government aid tended
to finance CD programmes of this nature. We still have this problem
with aided projects. They seem to tie us to certain procedures and
strategies and objectives and restrict our capacity to explore and to
offer critical analysis of our situation politically, economically and
otherwise Very little autonomy is given to people to decide on what
they want to do even though in theory we talk of participatory decision
making. For an example as an adult educator I am bound to teach what
is within the accepted goals and philosophies of the state and the
entire education system yet in principle propagating that adult
learners design their own programmes to reflect what they want to learn.

I. 2 CD AS A STRATEGY IN THE THIRD WORLD

The idea of CD was actually exported from Britain to its colonies
as early as the 1940s when Anti-Colonial Nationalist Movements gained
momentum. It was then propounded in 1948 by the Secretary-General of
the State for the colonies. Following this move, a CD department was
introduced in Ghana in 1951. It spread through the 1950s with promotion
by the United Nations after 1956.

A brief definition was enunciated at the Ashridge Conference in
1954 saying:

>"CD is a movement designed to promote better living
> for the whole community with the active participation
> and on the initiative of the community."

An improved definition followed in 1955 also by UN and it said:

> "Community Development is a process designed
> to create conditions of economic and social
> progress for the whole community with its
> active participation."[4]

Thus the original ideas stressed the themes of self-help, felt
needs and participation as components of a localized dvelopment process.
We can see now how Community Development as a strategy was roared
in British and American experiences with local Government, Municipal
planning,Adult Education and Social work. These domestic efforts
and some international experience by the British Colonial Service and
Private American Voluntary Agencies, came to the fore in 1948 when the
Community Development Strategy was explicitly forged at a Conference
on the Development of African Initiative. It was there that Community
Development was selected to help prepare the colonies for a peaceful
transition to independence, by supporting the emergence of stable,
self-reliant rural communities. Likewise a little later, amination
Rurale emerged as a coherent strategy in the mid 1950s as a part of the
French effort to promote rural modernization as a pre-requisite for
branfering power from the metropole to Independent States. In the
early 50s Phillipines also had some CD Programmes, this later spreading
to other countries in Asia, Africa and finally Latin America, largely
through the Alliance for Progress. Between 1953 and 1959, the US
Government was largely responsible for the emergence of programmes in
some 25 countries, most of which had some strategic importance to the
West.[5] It did this by sending experts to help interested governments
in development programmes and by providing longterm technical and
capital assistance. The US expended 50 million dollars through
the Community Development Division of its Aid Agency between 1952 and

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[3] Peter Wass: The History of CD in Botswana in the 1960s
               Gaborone, Botswana

[4] An Overview of Rural Education.
[5] These included Iraq (1952) Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran and Pakistan
(1953) Lebanon (1954) Phillipines (1955) Cylon, Jordan and Nepal (1956)
Indonesia (1957) and Korea (1958) A major US supported Community
Development Programme was initiated in South Vietnam as rural
insurgency began to spread in the early 1960s.

1962 and channeled additional funds to another 30 countries primarily through the United Nations. By the 1960s there was a growing emphasis on CD being linked to national and District Development Planning but, as men, money and machines flowed into developing countries the emphasis of self-help declined and government extension workers increasingly displaced local change agents. This new approach brought highly visible show case projects that at best fulfilled very uncertain felt needs of villagers. The example of this is the accellerated Rural Development Programme in Botswana which was launched in 1973 - 75. By 1960, over 60 LDCs had Community Development Programmes. But before the decade ended, most had been drastically reduced or terminated. A major blow came in 1963 when USAID abolished its Community Development Division in Washington, terminated most of the divisions, field services and subsumed its activities under agriculture or rural development activities. Many country community development ministries were abolished and observed into ministries interior, social welfare, agriculture, local authorities etc. Donor and host governments were disilussioned with the effectiveness of this approach to development.

I. 3. <u>THE DECENTRALIZATION OF CD</u>

The concern in the 1960s with resources and the urban sector, put community development strategy in an unfavourable light. Cost-benefit analysis, with its emphasis on quick returns because future ones were discounted by an explicit rates of interest, attributed little value to the unmeasurable <u>capacity</u> which might be generated over time for mobilizing local resources.

Efforts directed at the grass roots were not seen as important, on the assumption that planners and technicians could create a development momentum, that would pull rural villages into modernization. Planners, adopting market prices as the standard of all value, paid little attention to whether or not the things provided by government were what rural people wanted. It assumed that whatever would show up in GNP was good and assigned zero value to other things. But perhaps the major reason for the decline of community development was that few had realized the complexity of the development process, and how long it would take to show results. This blind spot resulted from the absence of knowledge about the rural sector, and inapplicability of many Anglo-American nations of group mobilization in different

social settings. Community Development succumed to impatience as much
as anything else. Only after the rush to accomplish development
through resource transfers - but without creating an organizational
base - had failed to achieve desired results, were planners and
administrators prepared to consider again the local organizational
aspects of development strategy.

On the Francophone colonies initial efforts to implement the strategy
occured in Morocco between 1955 and 1956 and spread widely . But
despite large provision of human and financial resources here again
amination rurale does not appear to have been very successful. Based
on the evidence of 15 years one French rural development expert, Albert
Meister, dismissed the strategy as ineffective.[8]

I. 4.   BOTSWANA CASE STUDY

History of CD in Botswana

In 1946 a Welfare Officer was appointed within the Department of
Education, with duties which included adult education. However,
throughout the 1950's when CD was being introduced by the Colonial
Office in African colonies, Bechuanaland, which was administered by the
Commonwealth Relations Office, was outside the mainstream of Britain's
ideas on 'development.'

The concept of CD was first proposed in 1963 by the Welfare Officer
and in 1964 six Botswana were sent to Tanzania for training.   In 1965
a small C.D. Department was established. Its first project was a pilot
project in Bokaa village aimed at demonstrating the potential of CD.
The CD worker immediately got involved with an adult literacy group,
a woman's craft club and a youth club, and helped to start a Village
Development Committee.

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[8]Albert Meister, Development Communauteire et . Animation Rural en
   Afrique - L Homme et   Societe 18 - 20 (1970) pp 129 - 145 see also
   his book criticizing the strategy, Participation Animation et
   Development.

The C.D. Department had been established within the Ministry of
Local Government and Lands and given a central focus of rural development
work. Social Welfare was located in the Ministry of Labour and Social
Services. In the late 60's the department continued to work with
VDC's (there were 100 by 1968); it was involved in youth work and
started youth training centres in Francistown, Lobatse and Kanye which
were like Brigades; and in 1966/7 it played a major role in the Food For
Work programme which involved 46,000 workers on 2,114 projects (such
as dams, roads and classrooms) in an attempt to alleviate the effects
of the drought.

By 1970 there were 46 CD assistants, 11 Senior CDA's, 5 Assistant CD
Officers and 1 Community Development Officer. National Development Plan
II (1970-75) articulated a role for CD:

> 'CD is a method of improving the standard of living in a
> country through the active participation of the people.
> Through CD, the people learn to analyse the needs in their
> communities and to put their plans into action. The
> Government recognises that economic and social development
> of Botswana greatly depends on the extent to which the
> majority of the population are prepared to change their
> traditional attitudes and practices . . . . CD is
> concerned with teaching the people in the villages and
> townships to prepare themselves for change, to welcome
> it and to benefit from it.'

It placed a special responsibility on CD to encourage VDC's which were
a link in the formulation of District Development Plans. The CD
worker was expected to help in the co-ordination of rural development
programmes as well as act as ' an instigator of social change.'

In 1971 a two year diploma course at BAC was started and the services
continued to expand. (The Government Paper No. 1 of 1972.)

'Rural Development in Botswana' supported CD work in promoting 'grass
roots initiative' and in assisting VDC's, stating that, 'In 1969 the
B.D.P. manifesto identified the VDC as the foundation of our democratic
development structure.'

However, there were growing doubts about whether CD had a clear area of operation and whether it was effective. The Chambers and Feldman report in 1973 noted demoralisation in CD and communication problems with councils, but it defended CD work - 'We do not agree with those sceptics who regard CD largely as a waste of time.' The report recommended CD should focus more closely on VDC's and village projects and drop other activities (such as its 3 Brigade centres). It also recommended that CD general staff be seconded to District Councils.

These recommendations were followed up and in 1975 the CD Department of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands was disbanded. CD field staff were made responsible to local councils and a new Division of Social and Community Development was established in the Ministry as 'an advisory body providing training and general policy guidelines for the field staff' (NDP III). The prime objective of field work was re-stated as the establishment and consolidation of VDC's, although problems with VDC's were acknowledged. Another stated priority for CD staff was the provision of welfare services.

The disruption caused by the re-organisation was analysed by the Community Development Review Committee in 1977. It again countered arguments that CD was unnecessary and said that CD was needed to provide a link between Government and the people and because the shortage of resources made self-help vital. The committee endorsed the re-organisation though it said it had been badly handled and this had led to a lowering of staff morale. It made recommendations on staff conditions of service and outlined priority functions for CD within the framework of national development goals. (see attachments).

It recommended a new structure for CD at the local authority level. (see attached diagram). It also identified the problem of distrust between councillors, Headmen, VDC's and CD staff relating to issues of politics and traditional authority.

However, the difficulties of CD's role and functions continue, with questions as to the usefulness of operations consting over half a million pula a year. The 1978 Report on Local Government and District Administration Training stresses that 'Inaction in re-defining and re-organising CD functions and activities could result in the abolition

of the service. (Many other developing countries have taken this step.)'
and sees a wider focus on the district development process and progra-
mmes as the only justifiable role.

Chronological List of Sources

1970   National Development Plan II (1970-75) Gaborone.

1972   Rural Development in Botswana. Government Paper
        No. 1 Gaborone.

1972   The History of Community Development in Botswana
        in the 1960's P. Wass. Gaborone.

1973   Report on Rural Development. R. Chambers and
        D. Feldman. Gaborone.

1973   National Development Plan III (1973-78) Gaborone

1973   'Changing Functions of the Community in Under-
        developed countries' by R. Stavenhagen in
        Underdevelopment and Development ed H. Bernstein
        London.

1975   An Analysis of Development Agencies in Agricultural
        Communities in Botswana. D. Curtis. London.

1975   Policy Issues for Community Development in Africa -
        Lessons from Botswana. P. Wass. Coleraine.

1976   Class, Elite and Community Development in Africa.
        A. Manghezi. Uppsala.

1977   National Development Plan IV (1976-81. Gaborone

1977   Report of the Community Development Review
        Committee. Gaborone.

1978   Report on a Study of Local Government and Distirct
        Administration Training D. Watson. Gaborone

Frank Youngman,
Assistant Director.

March 1980   82/80

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D. 4.   <u>Some Basic Principles underlying the Role of CD Staff</u>

D. 4. 1.   The Committee gave below some areas of Community Development
work which appear to be of high priority in Botswana at
present, and which can be related to National Principles and
National Objectives:

    (i)   In the field of <u>Home Economics</u>;
- sanitation and hygiene;
- nutrition; production, use and
  cooking of local foods;
-- the making and repair of simple clothingp
- the maintenance and upgrading of traditional
  housing.

    (ii)   <u>In the field of Social   Welfare and Youth</u>

- the identification and assistance of destitutes;
- the identification and assistance and referral
  of the mentally ill;
- the counselling of members of families that
  are separated;
- the counselling and assistance of unemployed
  young people especially in urban areas; and the
  rehabilitation of deliquent youths;

    (iii)   In the field of 'General' <u>Community Development</u>:

- the coordination of all non-formal education and
  extension messages or campaigns at village, ward,
  District or Town levels whether they emanate from
  Districts/Towns or Ministries of Central
  Government;
- the explanation,of, and the processing of feedback
  into the preparation and implementation of District
  Plans 1977 - 81;
- assistance with the identification, organisation
  and planning of self-help projects;

- the carrying out of surveys into the effects of
development schemes on various sections of the
population, and thereby identifying groups who are
not benefitting from such schemes and the
recommendation of plans of action, in consultation
with such groups, to ameliorate their position.

E. 2. 1.   The Committee recommended th t the following principles be
accepted, concerning the role and size of the Division of
Social and Community Development;

(i)   the role of the Division of Social and Community
           Development should be flexible; it should be
           tailored to the priority functions of CD field
           staff; as dtermined by Local Authorities;

(ii)   discussion of its role, and revisions thereto,
           should be a feature of District Development
           Committee conferences;

(iii)   it_s staff should be well qualified and experienced
           in a variety of CD fields, directly relevant to
           the role of the Division;

(iv)   if people of the requisite calibre are not available
           for certain of its posts, these should not be
           filled;

An additional point, but one for which the Heads of Departments
are not solely to blame, is that they visited CD staff in the
field infrequently. The Committee is of the opinion that
training in supervision could go a long way towards
improving their performance.

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT STAFF AT DISTRICT LEVEL
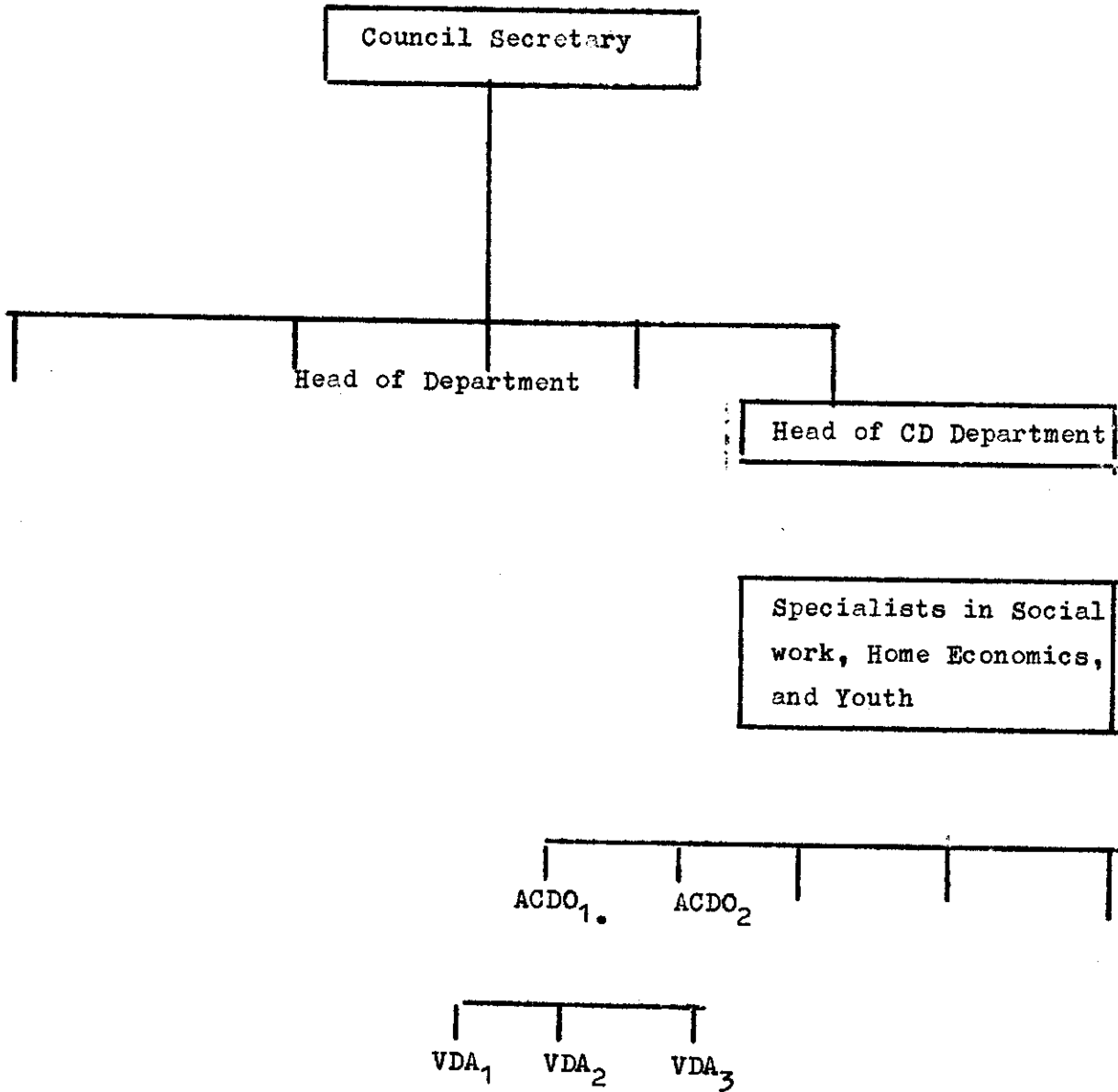
Scope of this Section

This short section has been written to attempt to clarify what the Committee thinks should be the main principles underlying the organisation of CD staff within Councils. It does not purport to be a blueprint for automatic adoption by all Councils. It is recommended that relevant aspects are, however, put in the Draft Schemes of Services of CD cadres.

Recommendations

The committee recommended that:

(i)   the Head of CD Department of a Local Authority reports direct to the Council Secretary;

(ii)   specialists within Council's CD Departments (in social welfare, youth, home economics) must clear all policy matters through the Head of Department before directly approaching ACDO fieldstaff. The Head of Department should be clearly understood to be the person fieldstaff are responsible to within the CD Department;

(iii)   periodic reports from fieldstaff should be scrutinized by the specialists before being passed to the Head of CD Department;

(iv)   An ACDO should supervise up to 4 VDAs;

(v)   in order to improve promotion prospects for 'specialist' CD officers to Head of Department, their in-service training should have a more general orientation.

G.3. The foregoing is summarised on the Diagram.

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                    ┌──────────────────────┐
                    │  Council Secretary   │
                    └──────────┬───────────┘
                               │
  ┌────────────────────────────┼──────────────┬───────────┐
  │               Head of Department           │           │
  │                                 ┌──────────┴───────────┐
  │                                 │ Head of CD Department │
  │                                 └──────────────────────┘

                                   ┌──────────────────────┐
                                   │ Specialists in Social│
                                   │ work, Home Economics, │
                                   │ and Youth             │
                                   └──────────────────────┘

              ┌──────┬──────┬──────┬──────┬──────┐
            ACDO₁.  ACDO₂

         ┌──────┬──────┐
        VDA₁   VDA₂   VDA₃
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$ACDO_1.$ $ACDO_2$

VDA_1 VDA_2 VDA_3

CD Practices and Communication Strategies

One thing is evident from the above discussions in the historical background and the Botswana Case Study, that CD had proceeded from the correct assumption that no government could afford or find the trained manpower, to place teams of specialists in every village. Hence its aim was to supplement the regular line ministries and agencies with a special ministry or programme, having a cadre of multi-purpose village workers (VLWs). These persons from outside of the village and having at least secondary education, were government personnel charged with organising the community, getting it to identify common felt needs and mobilising social action - see modules for more information. On the whole the definitions revealed that there was a strong belief to involve people - to raise resources, and involve people in providing for these needs, with whatever technical and financial assistance from outside was appropriate. While trained in Community Organisation. skills, the VLWs was not given a rigid set of guidelines, since the proponents of the strategy believed in flexible, dynamic efforts and the avoidance of standardized programmes. The VLW was to live with villagers, gain their confidence, organise village groups and stimulate identification of village projects that could be acted upon. He was aided in this process by matching or other grants from the national government, funds . which often came from inaternational doncrs.

Conversely, the French approach followed a more rigid and predetermined strategy. The animation service would select areas where potential for local self-help, was promising. Through an elaborate procedure, staff led the villagers to identify problems it would like solved, and to pick a local person who would receive training to meet the specific needs identified. These trainees, often young respected farmers, would then receive practical training at one of the regional training centres set up for this purpose, and become an animateur(animator). The training emphasized learning by doing, technical skills, understanding national institutions and goals and how to carry out local projects. Once trained, animateurs returned to their communities to put their knowledge into action. Consequently animation rurale avoided some of the other, problems of Community Development whose VLWs were urban, educated staff with no local ties and an interest in moving up the agency hierarchy

to a posting back in the City-Corollery difficulties existed, however, for animateurs, as local people, could be identified with local factions or beholden to local powerholders.

It would seem that though diffe ent countries are bound by their individual conditions to use certain methods, hence the many definitions CD is viewed as centrally a programme which brings people together with their governments.   A simple analysis of existing definitions includes the following common factors:-

- the idea that mambers of a community themselves meet together and reach common agreement about their needs;
- that they plan what they are going to do about these needs;
- ,that their own efforts carry a major portion of work involved in fulfilling their plans;
- that the community is assisted in Community Development process by some external agency with expert advice and technical resources.

Embodied in the above factors are two major implications:

a) That there is power in the community once it can be organised and channeled towards a common objective.

b) That communities have the right to decide for themselves to which particular goal they wish to direct their efforts.

The greatest problem, but greatly overlooked in CD practices is how to implement these concepts of "power from below" and self-determination. This problem has led to CD's subjection to constant structural as well as organisational changes.   The Indian programme which started as a pilot was nationalised between 1952 - 56 and National Extension Service (NES) was introduced (H. Coombs, 1974).   The Malaysian Programme was summarily terminated by Cabinet decision in 1961 after it had undergone several changes (NESS) 1967).   In Cameroon CD was decentralized in 1973/4, so was CD in Botswana in 1975.

These constant restructurings emanate from the fact that CD workers urge to fulfil moral obligations to the people, is also coupled with a drive to achieve an economic function for government and people both

alike.   Programmes are launched with the hope or assumption that once
the seeds of self-reliance, responsibility and self-help are sown in the
minds of the communities, they could flourish and blossom into
successful national development projects (Ron 1977 - Dissertation).
In a sense,CD aims at converting communities as national liability into
a national asset. These programmes are expected to inculcate habits
oe cooperation, progressiveness, productivity and labour orientation.
Quite often this results in plans stressing quite contrary to the
CD philosophy of development of man, capital formation with investment
mostly in industrial and urbanized infrastructures neglecting engaging
in projects such as Community Centres and neglecting agriculture and the
rural sector. In Botswana for instance none of the projects undertaken
during food for work never did anything to improve agriculture. One
would have thought if there was a time to undertake irrigation scheme
projects that would be the time. As one observer puts it "Community
development could be seen as a sop to the rural people, urging self-
reliance for them while concentrating domestic and foreign resources
in urban areas."

This view of CD has greatly affected the methods followed by CD workers
vis avis communication strategies. CD concepts on one hand and
policies on the other mutually affect each other.   In some cases concé-
pts take precedence and programmes are formulated and shaped in a manner
which concepts determine.   There are so far two main approaches in the
method of CD, the Directive Approach where direction is established
externally rather than internally. Here the communication strategy
adopted is of an authoratative kind. Another kind which is more
popular but slow in results is that of Non-Directive Approach which
ties up with the concept of self-help or as sometimes called the
"Inner Resource Approach". Here people are given the latitude to
identify, prioritise their needs and systematize their way of
implementing their decisions.

2.2 The Misleading felt need concept in communications strategy

The whole issue behind these approaches is to fulfil or meet people's needs. The CD worker as a change agent spearheads the talks quite often influencing the direction of the discussions. as she might probably be perciving the need or watching against any venture which might go against the government policy. As a result needs that are often communicated to people or communication strategies employed will be such that would reveal normative needs and not people's felt needs. This idea of responding to need is inherent in the social services and it is even more significant in CD. But it is deceiving and a problematic area. In order to explore the deceitfulness of this concept of meeting needs it is useful to take as a framework a taxonomy outlined by Jonathan Bradshaw in 'The Concept of Social Need.' One thing is clear at the outset, that the kind of need that most social services including CD respond to is not one which economists would characterize as 'effective demand', in that there is rarely a link between the service offered to meet a need, and the payment made in return. Social services do subsidise clients in the meeting of their needs but ironically they are always the first threatened services in the recession periods, hence so many restructurers, disbandments etc of CD movements. Bradshaw differentiates four definitions of a social need. The first is a <u>Normative</u> need. It is normative in the sense that a 'desirable' standard is suggested by professionals, experts, administrators or even sociologists, and this standard is compared with what actually exists or is being provided.

> "If an individual or group falls short of the desirable
> standard then they are identified as being in need."

This conception of need is often tainted with a patronising, perternalistic attitude. Obviously the communication process here is far from offering a two way process of reasoning together. Already the agent feels people have this need and straight away tells them how to satisfy the need without necessarily waiting to find out if people feel the same. Take the example of literacy - who determines what people should be taught? The elites of course. Often people are not asked what they would like to learn but since they are found to be short of certain standards of illiteracy and numeracy they must be given those skills. Hence we find literacy schemes which are not functional. Paul on this issue writes: "Responding to normative needs

though partenalistic is reasonable where members of the working class
aspire to middle class standards. But what must be recognised is that
a statement such as 'the working class need literacy skills' is not an
empirical one, but a value judgement derived from some normative standrad
reflecting the dominént values of a society."

A second definition is that of a <u>comparative</u> need. It is assumed by some
that if people with similar characteristics are in receipt of a service
whilst others are not, then they are in need. This definition has been
used to assess needs of both individuals and areas. The need is the
gap between the services provided in one area, and those in another.
This would be an attempt to standardise provision, but as Bradshaw points
out - provision, might not correspond with need.

A third version is that of <u>felt</u> need . This is commonly used in CD
quarters. Unlike in the first two definitions, the response is to what
is believed it is that people <u>want</u>, not necessarily what they need.
This motion might have special relevance to those adult Educationists
or Extension Work Trainers who see themselves setting up classes and
courses in terms of what the people want. It is important to recognise
that felt needs do not always coincide with real needs, because one
variable is what people feel is possible.

The final definition made by Bradshaw is closely related to this one,
and that is <u>expressed</u> need. This is a felt need turned into action
or a demand. 'As Bradshaw says, one does not demand a service unless
one feels a need but on the other hand, it is common for a felt need
to be expressed by demand."

It has become clear that even though we talk about needs many times
needs that are satisfied are Government rather than peoples'. Batten
sums the situation in this way:
"In late 1940's when this Community Development way of working was
first introduced by some government officers in the rural areas of
Asia and Africa, its immediate results were impressive. And many
politicians and high-ranking government officers regarded it as a
breakthrough. Indeed, one I know was so impressed that he talked of
the mystique' of community development almost as if he regarded it as
a magic. But as we all know it has not lived up to its early promise,

and for two main reasons". Then he gives the reasons one of the reasons
he says is that people cannot want possibilities that they do not know
exist, and the more backward they are the less able are they to
formulate ideas for their own betterment. Yet it is the things they do
not know about, and therefore do not want, they are usually the key
objectives in the extension agencies programmes.

The second reason is that many of the things that people do want,
often do not fit in at all well with the requirements of national and
regional development programmes. I share Batten's view that these two
limitations are both so fundamental that even the keenest protagonists
of CD have acknowledged them. Thus Albert Mayer when writing on
"felt needs" comments "After the early introductory stage, the question
of felt need becomes more complex. The people on the plane of
formulation tend to run out of them temporarily .... the second
stage is the induced felt need. i.e. the felt need resulting from
the interaction of the people and the agency. The dogma is of course
that we democratically keep following the people's wishes but, I think
this is naive.[4]

This is perhaps supported by Julia Henderson, who says:"If there is
to be a real connection with the national plans - then there does have
to be an educated and persuaded need."[5]

These comments draw attention very pertinently to the very limitations
of the existing felt wants concept and hence our communications
strategies. The dilemma in which CD workers are is that to some extent
they find it necessary to follow people's wishes but in practice it is
often naive to do that particularly when basing our programmes on
Government policies and ideologies. We then come to agreement with
Hender on that there is a need for a persuaded and educated need.

But if CD approach is going to be educated and persuaded, it is going
to incline itself to maintaining status quo and would not accept radical
measures. The communicator instead of providing an eye opening dialogue
would rather interprete Governments' Policy and persuade people to
abide by it. Thus discouraging or stifling efforts of radicals who
want to use CD as a consciousness raising process where people can see
through the educational process the injustice around them such as

dispropotinate distribution of wealth and power and exploitation of the
rich. In Botswana clinics and schools etc did not benefit these
working on then but who dared explain." Quite, often people would
like to adopt communication strategies in CD which portray the
movement as the fairest approach to development. Generally people abide
by UNESCO definition which says Community Development is:

> "the process by which the efforts of the people themselves
> are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the
> economic, social and cultural conditions of the community, to inte-
> grate those communications into the life of the nation and to
> enable them to contribute fully to national progress."

One writer to align explicitly with this definition is Peter Du Santey
who clearly links Community Development to 'Nation-building' in the
field of health, agriculture and education. Writing his experience
in Ghana, he understands Community Development to be (1) Adult Literacy
and basic social education; (ii) Work among men and young people to
deal with their special needs; (iii) self-help construction projects;
(iv) Low level extension education principally in the fields of health
and agriculture, and (v) the stimulation of cooperative and small-
scale rural industry.

Then in agreement to this Biddle emphasizes that CD is an educational
process:

> "Community Development is educational process. It is this first,
> last and all the time ...."

The Community Development process is clearly educational. It is so
recognised by men who have long worked in the field. But the process
is educational in a fundamental sense that goes beyond formal
teaching and disciplined drill. It re-emphaises the outcomes of
learning in terms of peoples lives, values, systems and competence."

This view of CD is now challenged in many quarters today. How much
education for instance can an individual get from CD programmes -
How much conciousness raising is being done by CD - How much of the
truth is being conveyed by the communications strategies we use? How
relevant are they to the needy situation of our areas politically,
socially, economically and even intellectually? On the contrary I
personally find CD approaches and its associate communication strategies
underdeveloping rather than developing people, more exploitative than
benefiting receipients. This situation has been observed and

criticized by Mayo who suggests that in some countries:

-----------often community development is used to disguise counter-insurgency activities ....

Community development was a more subtle, less troublesome way of achieving .... the extraction of 'country' and, of course, still unpaid labour, to build up the infrastructure for further economics development exploitation ....

Community Development was also significant idealogically in encouraging those infavourable ones that might lead to the development of a radical challenge..

.... By this time the non-radical (i.e. reactionary and reppressive) aspects of community development should be sufficintly obvious. As a relatively cheap and typically ideological attempt to resolve various economic, social and political problems it has clearly been attractive to governments and voluntary agencies both national and international ----
Community Development on the whole has not given great impetus to Adult education whereas communication strategies in CD were clearly based on the premise that institutional and attitudinal changes could be brought about within and by education, the usual community development projects saw education not as the vehicles of social change, but as incidental to the community development process. Hence communication strategies never raise a conflict but always brought a consensus.
It remains a question for us trainers of communicators in the field of CD to decide whether we want to continue with the systems or to start challenging our own concepts, strategies and approaches for the better-ment of our regions. It is useful then to pause and ask ourselves a few questions:

a) What is communications ?

b) Why do we communicate ?

c) Are our communication strategies developmental if not what should be done.?

3 Communications strategies reviewed

3 a) What is communication and why do we communicate in social development

Communications has its origins since the beginning of creation. It is wide and varied and has got numerous definitions which are nonetheless not exhaustive.

The Oxford dictionary defines it is a <u>science</u> and <u>practice</u> of transmitting information (Oxford Dictionary New Edition : 1972) Keith Davis (1972) describes it as an ever present activity because it is the means by which people relate to one another in an organisation. He views it as necessary to an organisation as the blood stream is to a person. Just as persons develop arteriosclerosis a hardening of the arteries that impairs their efficiency, so may and organisation develop "inforsclerosis", a hardening of the information arteries that produce similar impaired effeciency. He goes on to define communication as a process of passing information and understanding from one person to another. He commends it as essentially a 'bridge' of meaning between the people. 'By using this 'bridge' of meaning a person can safely cross the river of misunderstanding that separates all people." Thus Keith sees the purpose of communication being to achieve organisational objectives. All management acts must pass through the bottleneck of communication. Otherwise all great ideas of management are 'strictly armchair thoughts until manager puts them into effect through communication. A person's plans may be the best in the world but until they are communicated they are worthless (Keith 1972 pp 371-372) Morris Massey (Hicks and Gullet 1976 pp 482) joins Keith in this line of thought when he says ' To be a manager is to be a communicator - the person and the function are ineItricably inter-woven." This much we can say for a change agent - to be a development agent is to be a communicator. It is also here that one sees the relevance of Cyril Posters conclusion (1976-8) when he said communication has now become an integral part of the process of management. We can here today rightly say communication has now become an integral part of the process of social development - because communication for social development's theme is to change people's attitudes towards their material and spiritual well being - seeking by so doing to conscientise people to the point where they want to do something about their social conditions. Thus getting ready to participate meaningfully and effeciently in national development plans.

The summary of the foregoing definitions and descriptions of communication is in H.T. Grahams (1978) definition though not implying that exhausts the view on communication, Grahams says communications consist of all the processes by which information is transmitted and received. The subject matter may include facts, intentions, attitudes etc, and the chief purpose of communication is to make the receiver of communication understand what is in the mind of the sender. Therefore communication is incomplete unless it is received and understood. The usual result of the understanding is a change in behaviour hence effective communication can be regarded as part of a learning process." (T.H. Graham 1978 pp 97) and the notion that social change comes about as a result of a partnership between change agents and the community.

Development communication therefore is thought of as embracing the whole spectrum of motivation transfere of information and stimulation of innovation through non-formal out of school channels. As said in the manual social development is a process of education but a process quite different from that used in schools. In social development, the students are the members of the local community. They have their own goals; they set their own schedules; their attendance to lessons is voluntary, and it is the teachers who pass or fail.'

3.3
How to Communicate: It seems to me that the question that faces us is of how to communicate. We know what it is and why it has to be done but things still go wrong because we do not know the How of it.

If our aim is to motivate and stimulate action, it is essential to lay a good ground for that and to me that ground can be laid down by meaningful participatory procedures in our dealings with the communities. This refers to all fields of activity in the extension work it be health, agriculture, cooperatives CD etc.

It is evident from the discussions that much of what has been done by the communities is what might be called induced felt need. This naturally would not allow a lot of participation or participation at all necessary levels. Mangoor Amed says "the principle of popular

Participation in social and economic development programmes including
Primary Health Care, have become widely accepted. At the level of
specific policies and programme decsions, however, the concept is
understood and interpreted in different ways and is very much influenced
by the political and socio-economic situation within each country." See
Appendix for more details 'Community Participation.'

Quite often communities are involved in the discussions as far as it
matters at the local level. The Who bureaucratic machinery including
policy and Budgetary matters are left to the high administration. How
then can people plan on what they do not know. Quite often one hears
that donor countries want to withdraw money they had helped with because
it is not being used. But this information rarely reaches the masses
for which the help is meant. There is a need to develop communication
strategies in development which aims to promote realistic discussion
in the ₤ight of all the available facts in order to get the people to
think out whether, and if so just how any such disadvantages that may
be, can be avoided or reduced. True, governments, and development
agencies may be having problems financially, politically, socially etc
but what chances are people given through information to think of
alternatives. The extension worker in his communication strategies
₤oes not always have to lead, guide, persuade, sell, direct, manipulate,
enforce and threaten which one can indicate in the approaches we often
use, but the worker's purpose throughout is to help people come to an
informed and therefore realistic decision on matters which can vitally
affect them. The extension worker in communicating should not use the
'Tell' 'sell' command tactics but rather use the 'consult' tactic. In
that way he does not want people to accept an idea, however well
intentioned, unless and until they are sure it has a favourable 'balance
of advantage' for them. See Appendix II for more information on CD
Approaches.

In the early years of the independence era participation like CD was
restricted. Brian Egner and his teams writing on rural development
participation said:
"As the strategy of development moves to what is called a "basic
needs" approach, we find participation identified as an essential
element of this strategy." They further note "This recent interest

in participation reflects dissatisfaction with the peradigms that
dominated development thinking from the World War II until the late
1960's. The earlier theories of development tended to emphasize
capital and technology over labour, and industry rather than
agriculture. With the exception of CD and animation rurale programmes,
most development plans adopted at that time allowed little role for
the majority of people. In the dominent view, policies were to be
decided upon by university-trained technocrats, and carried out by new
rationally organised bureaucracies. While many theorists hoped the
developing countries would eventually adopt liberal and deomcratic
political systems, they tended to think popular involvement in politics
and administration should be restricted, at least temporarily, to proteot
fragile governments from excessive demands.

The emerging paradigm posits a mere central and active role for the ma-
jority of citizens than was previously thought desirable, by giving
greater attention to decentralized administration and flexible planning,
to efforts to raise output in the small germ sector, and to providing
the poor majority with better food, shelter, health care, and education.
But the problem facing us today as communicators is how much of parti-
cipation is really development. Egner and his group make an observation
that:
"When the meaning of development is said to include aspects of popular
participation, promoting this becomes good by definition. Participation
is often endorsed unambiquously on normative grounds even of the
empirical basis is not clear. A real danger is that with growing
gaddishness and a lot of lip service, participation could become drained
of substance and its relevance to development programmes disputable.

For an example,if we analyse our own situtation in this regard, we find
that though we so often talk about popular participation in our
circles there is a lot still left to be desired in our approach.
And it appears more fruitful and proper to regard participation as a
descriptive term detroting "the involvement of a significant number
of persons in situations or actions which enhance their well-being
e.g. their income, security or self-esteem.

But for our purpose it is more instructive to think in terms of three
dimensions of participation: (1) What kind of participation is under
consider.tion

(2) Who is participating in it?

(3) How is participation occuring? It is also necessary to consider
closely the context in which participation is occuring or intended
to occur. This calls for careful attention given to the characteristics
of the rural development programm and the ways the historical, societal,
and physical environment conditions the kinds of participation that
are more or less likely.

What kind of participation: Four kinds of participation are identi-
fiable in our development processes (1) participation in decision-
making; (2) participation in implementation (3) participation in
benefits; Participation in evaluation. As observed together these
encompass a potentially integrated set of rural development activities,
although a complete or consistent cycle of participatory activities is
probably uncommon. In this category three sets of people view partici-
pation differently according to their briefs. These sets are made of:

(i) Political scientists who often conceptualize as participation,
decision-making and perhaps evaluation

(ii) Administrative specialists who concentrate participation as
implementation.

(iii) Economists particularly those interested in improving the wel-
being of the people who stress participation in benefits. These
different disciplines have had their share of the confusion over the term
: .

participation that is viewed here with conflicting interest. Where the
agency benefits like building infrastructure participation is hailed
but where share in benefits is involved certain cadre actually know
something about. Participation in evaluation is very rare. Evaluation
reports and survey results are all the time processed to Headquarters
through the hierarchy of officers. How then will the people discuss
their failures, successes and the next step of re-appraisal.

Who Participates: Often governments use a general term of rural people
or the poor majority emphasising the need for their participation.
But such categories are too broad to capture a large and heterogenous
group of people. The rural people may share a common poverty but they
are comprised of many social groups, differing in occupation, location,
sex, status, religion and so on. As with the what dimension of partici-
pation, there is a need for a more disaggregated approach to analysing
who participates. Otherwise participation in decision-making and
beneficiary sense may concentrate on certain groups of people within
the communities leaving the rest of the majority out. Often committees
elected by people are the ones we can say participate. But other focal
people come into the picture and actually listened to because it is
feared they can make life very uncomfortable for the change agents or
politicians. These then monopolise decision making and participation
because they are the ones consulted all the time. On answering the
question who participates four general types of participants, whose
characteristics warrant specific attention are the (1) local residents
(a large and heterogenours category); (2) local leaders, including
informal leaders, association heads and office holders; (3) Govern-
ment personnel; and (4) foreign personnel. In the first category
the population can further be disaggregated according to (1) age;
(2) sex; (3) family status; (4) education; (5) occupation;
(6) income and (7) residence. By looking closely into these and the
way we communicate in our different activities it is simple to
ascertain who is participating in the various phases of development
activities. Traditionally we know that men are the most informed
people and the ones who are supposed to take decisions. In most of
development committees traditional institutions like Kgotla credit
facility arrangements women are taken only in the absence of what is
termed competent man always. But in the majority of cases it is the
very women who are pushed aside that spearhead developments. What
participation do they give. Many households are headed by women but....
pertaining to marriage, divorce and many others in society are discussed
and finalised by men. Recently there was a commission on polygamy in
Botswana finding out peoples views on that. I donot remember a single
women in that panel. Only the men could receive an interview bases
information and act on it and actually formulate policy or pass a Bill

in Parliament without the hint to women's concern over the matter
irrespective of the fact tht it is going to affect women largely.

The other group is that of the youth and other categories in the
society-communication strategies adopted seem to be such that want to
take advantage of the ignorance of the elderly. Perhaps the nearest
example is that of political involvement and education. How much
is being taught and to whom.

How Participation Occurs.

The how dimension incorporates qualitative evaluation into the
analysis of participation. The amount, distribution and trends of
participation can be assessed by looking at the who and the what
dimensions but it is useful also to know the how dimension (1) whether
the initiative participation comes from administrators or local
communities; (2) whether inducements for participation are voluntary
or coercive. The analytical view of the structure and (4) channels
of participation is also vital. Further, consideration is to be given
to (5) the duration and (6) the scope of participation - It is once-
and for-all, intermittent or continuous and extends over a broad or
narrow range of activities. Finally it is useful to consider
(7) empowerment, that is how effectively they intend.

These different participation dimensions of how can illuminate the
dynamics and consequences of participation in our communication
strategies for development if applied appropriately to the assessment
of who participates in what rural development activities. How do our
communication strategies in community development affect participation
and patterns and how fair are those patterns in creating condusive
climate for Basic Services in entire regions.

4. Problems
4.1. There are of course problems tht often inhibit progress and
even water down the well intended programmes of developments in Less
Developed countries. These are common in the field of communications
as in many other fields. It is useful therefore to identify these in
trying to get a true overhauling of our post strategies.

Cultural Barriers: This problem is difficult to overcome because often in one setting there will be people with different cultural backgrounds. As a result what might be an acceptable method of presenting a programme through a certain communication method might be taboo for the other group - see handbook for more examples. Language in this case becomes a barrier when different dialects want to give precedence to others. Every tribe wants its own language to be used.

Lack of Facilities: Sometimes governments are hampered from informing people at a large scale due to lack of facilities. In some cases Radios have been issued to groups e.g. in Botswana they were given to people for TGLP and formerly it was for familiarizing people with the 1973 @ 78 NDP. The problem arose here because Radio Botswana was not heard on the other parts of the country. This was helped to some extend by extension workers.

Illiteracy: Obviously the word of mouth can not cover everybody. In addition to news media by radio the extension workers, written word is essential but most of our countries have illiteracy rate exceeding 75% of the populations. These people suffer most because they cannot read nor write. They are not even elligible for holding offices in committees where decisions are made.

Shortage of Manpower: Coupled with these problems is the one of shortage of manpower. There are no enough extension workers to be placed in every village at the most extension worker faces a group of more than 300 people or more each often scattered.over a wide area may be 30 to 50 miles apart- hence some are never reached by extension workers.

Policy Versus People's Decisions: Often people's participation is tied down to what the policy says. Who participates and how far that participation occurs is very much a matter of administrators who come to people saying 'the policy says'. In such a way it cannot create a dialogue because in a dialogue there is an atmosphere of social barganining.

The result has therefore been communications strategies which maintain the status quo Religion foreign expertise even if it is not

relevant to the environment and to the day to day lives of the people.
This tendency has disadvantages of disregarding people's beliefs,
views and attitudes on certain issues and thus instead of promoting
change communication skills used have produced dysfunctional results.

Level of Development: This aspect has contributed a lot to
communication strategies employed. Governments being new and fragile
had to be cautious of what they communicated to the people lest they
voted themselves out of power. They have tended to avoid a radical
approach in communications and have used covering up tactics. To a
large extend this has been also the result of lack of facilities.
Obviously Botswana cannot enjoy the relaxation and the prompters of
televised news because we have not reached that level yet. As
President Nyerere has said:

> "Obviously there is no Adult Education Programme pattern
> to which nations should aspire to. The pattern of
> development is affected in each given area by the resources,
> the people's attitudes and the cultural and the
> political commitment."

While one would like to agree with this one sees in this approach
of governments being reluctant to communicate to their people these
very issues. It is better to pretend that we have got money lest
people rioted or to inform people that there is no money and invite
their views to discuss with you. Instead of covering up tactics, I
think our communication strategies should attempt to open up channels
of discussing and solving problems with the people even if it means
exposing governments' or our agencies failures.

CONCLUSION

Problems of communications can not be overcome at all levels,,at one
given time. They are imbued in the situational institutional and the
and the dispositional variables.

The situational problems are related to peoples' culture, traditional
beliefs, historical backgrounds, language barriers etc. So problems
will also vary depending on the situation we find ourselves in.

The institutional problems relate to the bureaucratic structures within
which we work. Therein are rules, regulations and definition of roles
guiding and directing our line of action.to achieve the organisational
goal. As a result we fall within explicitly defined heirirchical order
and once there we are limited in our approach to problems. The goal
of the clients and the principle of accountability counts a lot. Quite
often the man accountable has the final word in decision making thus
hampering any efforts of the lower level officers to apply more profital
communication strategies.

I think there is a need to pause and ask ourselves the objective of our
rural education. Having been based on the western objective there is a
risk of perpetuating that first objective but is this really what we
aim at? The education in Black Africa has this to say: Education is
politics. It is an effective way of making our colonial policy accept-
able to the Africans. It aims at producing the type of African who
will always be our ally in all spheres of our colonial policies. The
objective is to make sure that we have a few but well selected African
elite who will become cogs in the machinery of our colonial system. On
the other hand, it is education whose essence, in relation to the
African masses is to create a gap between Europeans and Africans so that
the African Elite is something intermediary. Something neither
African nor European from the point of view of politics, the aim is to
make the African believe that we are changing his life and his ways for
the better and thus redeeming the African from slavery. From the

point of view of economics our colonial education is aimed at producing
producers of the raw materials we need in Europe and consumers of the
manufactured goods, we makein Europe from the raw materials.

Our approach emphasises much or rural areas being productive but not
on how those people should get the fruits of their labours. They should
produce under pressure and in turn we urban dwellers buy with low
prices from them. We should be paid to teach them to be self-reliant
so that they do not demand pay from the struggling governments.
As communicators here today we are looking at new methods of getting
rural areas even more exploited on development issues under such
names as communication health visitors and the like- what about their
pay: This is what A.A. Jones meant by saying:
W.. through the ages education has been a gateway to priviledge for
those not born to privilege, but a narrow gateway. In static and
hierarchic societies such as ancient China, or imperial Rome, or the
medieval church or the Reniaissance City-State, educational achievement
counld bring an infusion on new ability to the privileged classes
without dilution of their number or power. In such a society there
was no need to consider the underprivileged at all except in their
functions of providing labour, service and protection.

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Notes

Paper, 33 pp, presented at the workshop by Kgomotso Mogome, Lecturer in Adult Education, University of Botswana. The paper sees community development in a historical perspective. The Introduction talks about the growing evidence that the conventional development strategies were not working; "Policies were to be decided upo by university-trained technocrats and carried out by new rationally organized bureaucracies manned by Western-groomed elites" . The paper then discusses the roots of the current concept of community development to colonial practices, British as well as American and French, and traces the development and application of the concept through the 1950's and 1960s. A case study on Botswana illustrates. A concluding section clarifies the mai| principles underlying the organization of community development staff at district level, and cautions against the "misleading 'felt-need' concept in communication strategy".

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