CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

On February 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela walked out of prison after 10,000 days in gaol for championing the freedom of the black people of South Africa. Three years later, on April 22, 1993, South Africa became the last country in Africa to become independent from colonial rule. Mandela’s freedom and the subsequent freedom of South Africa gave new hope for the African continent and ushered in a new period of change in the continent.

Mandela was released from prison at a time of great technological change where the dissemination of information and the growth of the electronic media have led to a silent revolution (Ostrow, 1997). Battery operated radio digital messages are now beamed from satellites to the homes of many in developing nations. The Internet has expanded fast and has provided a venue of expression for a few oppressed people who use it to champion for democracy and exchange development ideas. Today, nearly every capital city in the world has access to the Internet and has the ability to receive satellite news transmissions. The expansion of wireless technology, with the use of mobile phone and satellite telephones expanding fast in Third World nations, has many analysts optimistic of a “deliverance” and “economic salvation” in these societies (Shaw, 2000). Press control and misinformation have taken a new shape and more journalists and social activists have more avenues of informing the world of their plight.
Despite these technological advances, the majority of Third World nations are not getting richer but poorer (Cater, 1997). Poverty has increased with the result that the gap between the rich nations and the poor is expanding. Global economics have become more of dependency than balance (Nulens, 1997) with The Bretton Woods lending organizations: International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank acting as the economic masters of poor nations because of the unfettered and failing belief that globalisation and economic growth are the only solutions to Third World problems (Nulens, 1997). Regardless of years of failure in their economic adjustment policies, these Western lending organizations have used arm-twisting tactics to create change in the name of accountability and democratisation (Akinrinade, 1999). The people in the nations forced into structural adjustments by these monetary organizations have suffered even more. After years of interference and mismanagement – colonial imperialism, cold war victimization and economic control by foreign nations, dictatorships and corruption – development has been stunted. In 1990, Mandela was free but the continent he calls home was still gripped by poverty, apathy, violence and a new form of colonialism - dependency.

This thesis investigates the role of communication in the development of the Third World. The thesis concentrates on the African continent and bases its arguments on existing conditions in the continent rather than just theoretical notions of what the situation should be. This is because day to day life for the majority of Africans is difficult compared to that of the West, and hampered by poverty, instability and a growing apathy. Therefore, effective programs and ideas for alleviating poverty and suffering are needed.
Written from an African perspective, this thesis draws its style and analysis from the perspective of journalistic practice with the text presented in journalistic prose where anecdotal evidence, literature review and field research are used to support various arguments (the methodological framework is presented in chapter five). With the end of the cold war, for example, the thesis will argue that movements towards democratisation have become possible (Akinrinade, 1999). Where previously Western nations and the Soviet Union supported and encouraged dictatorships in Third World nations\textsuperscript{i}, people are calling out for free elections and accountability. New identities to address economic and social woes are being revealed with movements such as Pan Africanism and the African Renaissance gaining momentum. A recent example is that of the dissolution of the 38-year-old Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its replacement with the African Union which aims to “spearhead Africa’s economic development and integration” (Chiahemen & Kotch, 2001, p.1) while solving many of the continent’s socio-political quagmires.

These quagmires such as Zambia’s political power play, instability in the Great Lakes region, dictatorships in many nations and blatant abuses of human rights are still plaguing the continent and offer a challenge to these new initiatives.

II. COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

This thesis will examine the core research principles that justify using communication for development. In chapter three, the thesis defines development as a \textit{people-centred process} which leads to an improvement in the quality of life by alleviating poverty and by empowering people in order to offset inequality and make lives better.
Because communication does not exist in a vacuum but is influenced by societal changes, the thesis will consistently present the state of communication today as influenced by social, political and economic changes.

The thesis will argue that the development models of the 1950s and 1960s in Third World nations failed to alleviate poverty (Atteh, 1999). As a result, there has been a movement away from the "dominant paradigm" which guided communication and development research and projects (Melkote, 1991) towards a more participatory and understanding model (Morrison, 1998). Whereas the dominant paradigm advocated change with the belief that what Third World nations needed to develop was to mimic Western ways of thinking and processes (Melkote, 1991), the new models of communication for development concentrate more on culture with the underlying philosophy that to develop communities, one must first understand people (Morrison, 1998) and that economic growth must now be "judged in terms of its contribution to the adaptation of a group of people to their total environment, rather than as a value in itself" (Morrison, 1998, p.189).

Hence, it has been argued that ideas and theories such as the American two-step-theory and modernisation models (Nulens, 1992) are inefficient ways to develop people and that the answer to democracy and improvement in life depends on a people being able to chart their own destinies as regards their cultures and specific desires, and their ability to have a voice in their lives.
However, despite all these changes, this thesis will argue that with the growing inequality between the rich and poor, and the control of poor nations by rich ones, the question needs to be asked: “Is the dominant paradigm really dead or has it re-invented itself?”

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

a.) Culture and Development

The failure of the Western modernisation models was due to their lack of understanding and appreciation of non-Western cultures. The importance of language, for example, was and continues to be ignored and hence the connection between language and knowledge and the politics of representation is overlooked (White, 1999, p.18).

One of the major cultural differences that determine the efficiency of development by communication is that between literate and non-literate societies. Oral tradition-based cultures look at the world from a different perspective than those based on written history. Oral traditions have been shown to be influential in the understanding of messages, especially in preliterate societies where the eye is subservient to the ear (McLuhan, 1997).

This necessitates a clear understanding of the differences between cultures so as to avoid the perceptual errors common in Western anthropological work which assumes vision of other peoples’ ways of life (McLuhan, 1997). These errors are common in
many international development projects in the Third World where project leaders usually approach oral traditional cultures and employ tactics designed for written, Western cultures.iii

It is becoming clear that development projects need more than just economic principles to succeed. Employing cultural and environmental knowledge is vital in the success of any development plan. This thesis will argue that communication channels should, therefore, be fashioned and employed with an understanding of how culture influences perception and development.

This thesis will also address the use of media and communication for the enhancement of democracy and development, especially in Third World nations. The media will be shown to "support dominant cultural values and structures of power" (Adkins-Covert et. al, 2000) while at the same time playing the role of educator, entertainer and a critic of the community.

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This thesis argues that there is a need for a new paradigm for development using communication. This paradigm needs to take into consideration the existing, "real" rather than "theoretical" situations in today's world -- economic, social and political -- and the changes in communication channels. Culture and the question of voice will be shown to be vital in formulating any successful system of communication for the development of African nations. Third World journalists will be charged with the role of initiating development campaigns in their nations. The thesis will present a model
that uses journalism and media for development, and one which journalists can employ for their development campaigns.

a) **Effective Communication**

Because in the African situation, one of the greatest needs right now is that communication be efficient (Shaw, 2000), the thesis will base its discussion on the argument that it is not enough to communicate or to establish communication. It is vital that the message or information being conveyed in the communication be able to be intelligible or at least understood, and then after being digested or assimilated, have an effect that may lead to behavioural change. In developing nations, for example, Shaw (2000) argues, it is not enough to relay a message - if the message is not understood, then it will have a minimum effect on the desired outcome and thus can be said to have failed -- or in other words, no communication has taken place.

Because perception influences communication and affects meaning (Roloff & Berger, 1982), efficient and effective communication requires the communicator to understand the receiver’s way of thinking and patterns of comprehension. This necessitates taking into account of general knowledge (political and socio-economic factors), cultural and environmental factors (including taboos and political and religious beliefs) and types and degrees of need. In addition, the communicator needs to fashion the message in the simplest manner to achieve first comprehension, then understanding and finally persuasion. The message has to be presented more than once for it has been shown that repetition enhances comprehension and persuasion (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999).
If the desired result is not achieved, the communicator must re-examine the fashioning of the message and either repeat an altered version of the original message or create a new message that leads to the desired effect.

Following the thrust of this view of effective communication, this thesis will argue that communication, viewed through the lens of development, should be measured by its success and accomplishment of three significant stages:

i.) First, it has to be understood and comprehended;

ii.) Second, it has to be acted upon, and most important;

iii.) The desired actions have to be sustained.

Communication, however, is always complex and these three stages provide the bare minimum criteria of the sender-receiver model. This model is discussed further in chapters five and seven.

V. CLARIFICATION OF LABELS: AFRICA AND THE THIRD WORLD

a) Africa

This thesis will use the word Africa and Africans to refer to the whole of the African continent and her people. It is not the aim of the thesis to argue that all Africans are similar and share the same cultural and historical backgrounds. However, the thesis will show Africans share recent similar histories and similar problems as a result of
these histories⁴. Culturally, Africans, may they be from south of the Sahara (Sub-Saharan Africa) or North Africa share similarities in culture based founded on an oral-tradition. Even though there are differences between countries, the thesis argues that Africa should be seen as one continent whose problems and the solutions to these problems should be solved by members of a united continent⁵.

b) Third World

This thesis will use the term Third World to refer to nations which are “developing” and which share similar socio-economic conditions. The term Third World has been selected because of the historical development which reflects neutrality rather than a state of being undeveloped, underdeveloped or developing.

After the Second World War, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics became the dominant forces in global relations. Nations that were in agreement with the Western, capitalistic bloc led by the United States became the First World and those in support of the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union became the Second World (Lynch, 1999). The rest of the world, mostly the poor, colonised or just free nations decided to be free from the description of these two super powers and to have non-aligned stance. In 1961, the first Conference of Non-Aligned Heads of State was convened in Belgrade in September 1961, with 25 countries represented. The meeting was initiated by Yugoslav President Tito, who was concerned with the accelerating arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States. To avoid being caught in the middle, many poor states that had just gained independence or who did not wish to support either sides, formed the non-
aligned movement different from either the First or Second Worlds and hence became the Third World.

Today the term Third World symbolises nations of Africa, Middle East, Latin America, parts of Asia (excluding Japan) and parts of Oceania (excluding New Zealand and Australia). These nations also represent nations in the Southern half of the world and have also been referred to as the South (Nyerere, 1989).

VI. THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is presented in ten chapters of varying lengths. In this Chapter 1, the thesis is introduced and significance of the study presented.

Chapter 2 provides the context for the arguments in this thesis. The chapter provides a synopsis of the social, political and economic past and present situation of the African continent and her people. The arguments presented in this chapter provide the basis for ideas and analysis which evolve throughout subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical background of the thesis. The chapter examines the various models used for development of the Third World. Poverty and development are defined in this chapter. The failed dominant paradigm, popular with the Western world as a system of developing Third World countries, is examined and the impact of its use, especially by powerful lending organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF, analysed. The chapter then examines the use of communication for development from the models of technology transfer to the participatory model. The
Chapter 4’s main aim is to explore the importance of a people charting their own views by expressing themselves their own way. A concept referred to in this thesis as the **voice**. To clearly understand the concept of voice, the chapter will argue that one has to be aware of the effects of dependency on the way Africans see themselves and how they view and express themselves. In keeping with the media emphasis of this thesis, this chapter will examine the role reportage by foreign press on African issues have contributed to entrenching African dependency. By discussing culture, cultural imperialism and Africa’s oral-tradition base of communication, the chapter will argue that Africans have been misrepresented by media and hence there is need for Africans to assert their identity and represent their views to the rest of the world. This, it will be argued, is one of the key ways Africans can chart a solution for the development of *their* continent.

Chapter 5 presents the methodological framework for this study. The chapter argues that the journalistic style in this thesis is in keeping with the expectations of the practice and study of journalism. The chapter will also explore the use of a qualitative methodology for the Kakuma field work. Finally the chapter will present the films accompanying this thesis (*AFRICA 2000: Voices of the Future* and *Africa AIDS: An African Perspective*) and demonstrate how they articulate the arguments in the written thesis.
**Chapter 6** moves the thesis from the theoretical analysis mode to that of qualitative research. The chapter presents a qualitative field research study conducted in United Nation's Kakuma Refugee Camp, which is located in north-Western Kenya. Process, findings and conclusions backed by field data are presented. This study underscores the arguments presented in chapters two, three and four.

**Chapter 7** explores the use of media for development. The main argument of this chapter is to establish how journalistic practice in Africa can be used for development. The chapter will examine difficult conditions facing African media (such as press control) and the role of the African press in development. The chapter will also present mass media theory and the functions of the media.

**Chapter 8** provides an example of how new media technologies are being used in development. The chapter offers a case study of a developmental health non-governmental agency, South Africa's Soul City. Soul City has a television program, radio programs and newspaper columns, which it has successfully used in developmental communication by employing its Edutainment communication model.

**Chapter 9** evolves from each of the arguments presented in the earlier chapters and argues for the use of journalism for development. The chapter presents the argument that journalists are charged with initiating development and hence there is need for a new paradigm for development. This paradigm is suggested in the form of a model for using journalism and media for development. This model will be shown to contribute to the hypothesis that there is need for effective communication.
Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by summarising the arguments presented and demonstrates this thesis has effectively argued for **media for development and democracy** by presenting a new paradigm for development incorporating culture and communication.
CHAPTER 2

THESIS CONTEXT: THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the context for the arguments in this thesis. The chapter provides a synopsis of the social, political and economic history as well as the present situation of the African continent and her people. Knowledge derived from this understanding will be instrumental in the analysis provided in subsequent chapters.

a). A Diverse Continent

Africa is geographically the largest continent in the world. Its 54 countries are home to nearly one billion people made up of four races and 2000 ethnic groups. In the last 60 years, the continent has been known more for its despair and poverty than its hidden potential and its immense untapped mineral wealth (Ayittey, 1998). The reality is that the continent has "40 percent of the world's hydro-electric power supply; the bulk of the world's diamonds and chromium; 30 percent of the uranium in the non-communist world; 50 percent of the world's gold; 90 percent of its cobalt; 50 percent of its phosphates; 40 percent of its platinum; 7.5 percent of its coal; 8 percent of its known petroleum reserves; 12 percent of its natural gas; 3 percent of its iron ore; millions upon millions of untilled farmland" (Lamb, 1983, cited in Ayittey, 1998, p.5), "an estimated 11 percent of the world's known reserves of diamonds" with Angola's diamonds, for example, 12 times more valuable than Australia's (The Economist, 14 September 1996, cited in Ayittey, 1998, p .6).
The question that continues to baffle many is: Why has the continent remained poor and its people continued to suffer despite its resources? This chapter will show that Africa’s poverty and instability have their roots in a complex history of foreign power relationships. These relationships, most of which have been detrimental to the continent, have, as Davidson (1978) observed, been based on economics. This relationship, Davidson (1978) argues, dates back to Africa’s pre-colonial times with trade by Europe and the Americas. This trade, beginning before 1500, had become of great influence by about 1650, and continued for two hundred years before colonial imperialism:

What was started by the old coastal partnership, in terms of mercantile and political influence, the Atlantic slave trade continuously enlarged; and what the slave trade achieved, driving through those sombre years, the non-slave trade of the nineteenth century again enlarged in terms of that same mercantile and political influence. No doubt the influence of this inter-continental relationship went both ways; its influence was in any case profound (Davidson, 1978, p.20).

This argument highlights the economic interests by foreigners in the continent which culminated in colonialism. Colonialism in turn led to struggles which, Mazrui (1994) argues, can be used to explain everything that has transpired in Africa. These events, in the period of colonial imperialism, the fight for independence and the birth of African Socialism will be discussed. The effects of neo-colonialism and economic dependency will be discussed in an examination of the extent to which each has contributed to the poor governance and insecurity which characterises many African nations.
II. THE COLONISATION OF AFRICA

a) Before Colonialism

Recent archaeological discoveries have given Africa the title, “Cradle of Mankind.” More than just being the “mother” of all humanity, the continent has also been home to strong and influential systems of governance (Davidson, 1978). Empires such as The Asante Kingdom in Ghana, Shaka Zulu’s Zulu Kingdom and Ethiopia’s Queen of Sheba’s Empire, dating from as far back as 600 BC to the 19th Century, were the norm in many parts of the continent (Davidson, ibid).

From the 15th century onwards, early Asian and Western traders came into contact with African kingdoms and traded with them. These interactions, Davidson (1978) argues, later led to the slave trade and its after effects. Slavery provided free labour for the industrialisation of the Americas and fed on a sense of racial superiority by the slave owners over the enslaved. Despite these trading relationships, the continent, though, remained a mystery to the rest of the world up to the end of the 18th Century when there was a huge interest in the exploration of Africa by Europeans and Americans.

b) Missionaries, Explorers and the Pre-cursor to Colonialism

In the 1800s, Europeans, as Christian Missionaries and explorers, set out to find out more about Africa (a process called to “discover” the "dark continent"). In 1872, the Christian explorer David Livingstone wrote that Africa was "a division of the world
which is the most interesting, and about which we know the least" (p.17). His picture of Africa as a land of adventure and the tales of his life in Africa, which were continuously chronicled in the Western press, raised tremendous interest in the West. The stories run by *The New York Herald*, *the London Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Standard*, created a sudden movement to discover and “liberate” the continent whose "inhabitants are among the most barbarous and depraved of all the people in the world" (Livingstone, 1872, p.18).

David Livingstone said that his aim was to achieve a great good for Africa (Northcott, 1957). That was his claim but it wasn't the motivation of the explorers who followed him. Africa was an unexplored continent with great wealth "waiting to be claimed". H.M. Stanley, who was sent by *The New York Herald* to find Livingstone, later wrote books (*In Darkest Africa*, 1890 and *Through the Dark continent*, 1897) which portrayed Africans as less than human. These books provided racist images of Africans that were accepted by Americans and Europeans as real (Hultman, 1992). These views led to the belief that Africa’s wealth did not actually belong to Africans and it was for Africa’s good that others took control of the continent’s resources. As the British colonial merchant Cecil Rhodes wrote: "I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race" (cited in Brooke-Smith, 1987 p.83).

Native Africans, not suspecting the real motive of these people of God, welcomed white missionaries open handed, in an African spirit of communal sharing. By using arms, Europeans turned against the Africans and initiated systems of colonial rule. Colonisation meant Africans had to pledge alliance to Kingdoms they had not
previously been aware existed, and that foreigners would increasingly exert influence and effectively control their political and economic lives. Colonisation was part of a process that had began with early trading interests of the continent by Europeans (Grottanelli, 1961).

c) Why Africa was colonised

In 1884, Europeans met in Berlin and carved the African continent amongst themselves (Du Cane, 2001). The major players were the Belgians, British, French, Spanish, Italians, Germans and the Portuguese.

Figure 2.1: The partition of Africa among European nations.
Source: http://wombat.cusd-chico.k12.ca.us/~bsilya/projects/scramble/ Nov. 9, 2001
In a process called the ""Scramble for Africa"", Europeans allocated themselves huge regions and drew borders acting with the racist belief that African viewpoints did not matter. To ensure an organised way of reaping the fruits of Africa, Europeans decided to use force in controlling the regions they had generously been welcomed to before.

"If you cannot tame them, break them," was their motto (Faure, 1986).

The "Scramble for Africa" was about generation of wealth for the Europeans -- not a romantic notion of occupation. King Leopold of Belgium was lucky to strike it rich in Congo; the British Highlands in Kenya produced coffee and tea; the West African farms produced cocoa; there was cotton in Niger; a viable groundnut economy in Senegal; the Nigerian landscape was dotted with oil reserves; and South Africa was full of uranium, gold and diamonds. Africa had a lot to offer and Europeans wanted it all, not through trade but through occupation, dictatorships and brutal rule.

Scholars, though, have differed in their analysis of the reasons behind colonialism. Hobson (1902), for example, argued that imperialism was based on the greedy desire to conquer and take all without relying on what was available in Europe. Others, on the other hand, saw imperialism as part of the requirement of capitalism, which used the guise of providing equality for all while impoverishing and controlling those it affected (Lenin, 1972). "Colonial policy is the daughter of industrialism," wrote Jules Ferry (1967), arguing that imperialism was necessary for the creation of markets to feed on the large products of the industrial revolution. Frankel (1938) had expressed the same viewpoint but added that "it was necessary (for the colonial powers) to divert enormous resources to Africa in order, first, to obtain access to the interior, and, secondly, to commence the arduous task of revitalising the habits and work of its
*backward people*” (Italics mine). Paul Bairoch (1986) however argues the West did not need to colonise Africa for it (the West) to develop. He discounts Ferry’s (1967) ideas that colonialism was a necessary by-product of industrialisation. Hodder (1978) offers a similar argument claiming that colonialism was mainly driven by a concept of trusteeship and control. However, Bairoch and Hodder fail to acknowledge that raw materials and human labour from Africa have left the continent worse off while minerals, such as those from the Congo, became the backbone of Belgium’s economy.

It is difficult to dispute the postulation that had South Africa not been mineral rich, it would have gained democratic rule and freedom sooner than it did. The British may have wanted to expand their empire all over the world such that the “sun never set on the British empire”, but history has shown that economics and wealth to be gained from colonised Africa were more powerful driving forces than mere empire expansion.

To be able to manage the wealth in these countries and to be able to efficiently provide farms (which effectively became settlements) for their citizens in Africa, Europeans set up governments and systems of colonial rule. Huge trading companies were established on the continent and raw materials were shipped back “home” to Europe. Africans had few rights and were denied self-rule. This period of colonialism did not last very long because events occurring in Europe became a turning point for Africans and from the 1940s, calls for freedom bred nationalism and a fight against oppression.
III. INDEPENDENCE AND NEO-COLONIALISM

a) Struggle for Independence

The Second World War was instrumental in launching revolutions for independence in Africa (Davidson, 1978). To fight the war, the French recruited 80,000 Africans. The British recruited 169,000 African soldiers from West Africa and a similar number from East Africa. Each colonised region provided soldiers for the war. These soldiers fought in Africa, the trenches of Europe and against the Japanese in Burma.

This war experience had two major results: One, because war scrapes away the artificialities imposed by class differences of breeding, the African soldiers saw the Europeans cry, fight courageously, cower with fear and die. The Europeans were human, with emotions and intelligence not superior to those of the Africans. Their weaknesses were blatantly exposed to the Africans and perceptions were altered. Second, the Africans were told they were fighting and dying for “freedom.” This concept of freedom, later spelt out in the 1941 Atlantic Charter by Roosevelt and Churchill, declared that all peoples should have a right to choose their form of government when the Second World War was won (Davidson, 1978). When the Africans returned home, especially those from Kenya and Zimbabwe, they were shocked. While they had been away fighting for Britain, more Europeans had descended on Kenya and kicked their parents, wives and children from their ancestral land, sending them to uninhabitable land. The Africans decided this was not fair and approached their “fellow” colonial veterans who were being rewarded by being given huge parcels of land in Africa, in an attempt to reach a diplomatic solution. Africans
wanted to exercise their right given by the Atlantic Charter. The response Africans received forced them to launch armed revolutions and as Kenyan freedom fighter Tom Mboya (1963) pointed out, a revolution such as the Mau Mau struggle, was the result of years of inequality:

Mau Mau was the child of economic and social problems which had accumulated over the years and which had not found any solution through constitutional channels. They were nearly all problems of discrimination against Africans in different forms... These irritations went together to create frustrations which accumulated over the years (p.47).

i) The Mau Mau Revolution and Algerian Uprising

The Mau Mau Revolution is an example of how the lessons of World War II were employed. The movement initially emerged out of a group called *Anake a 40*, -- the Young men of 40. These were the men who had returned from World War II to find their families living in reserves set up by white people. Attempts to reason with the colonial government were in vain because of the blatant racism and disregard of humanity by the colonial government. For example, the British High Commissioner to Kenya, Sir Charles Eliot, who Kenyans approached for negotiation, claimed that "the African is greedy and covetous," and "he is too indolent in his ways, and too disconnected in his ideas, to make any attempt to better himself... His mind is far nearer the animal world than is that of the European or Asiatic, and exhibits something of the animal's placidity and want of desire to rise beyond the stage he has reached" (Eliot, 1966, p.92). The attitude was clear: You do not reason with animals and as one newspaper wrote, the notion of giving Africans self-governance was not
“cricket” (Mboya, 1963). Africans who questioned the morality behind colonialism were rounded up and detained without trial. Those left behind decided to take up arms.

It is significant to note some of the propaganda tactics employed by the colonial powers against African revolutions because these are similar to those employed in Africa today. To justify their barbaric treatment of the African people, the British launched a campaign to dehumanise the Mau Mau freedom fighters. The Mau Mau nationalists were at once branded as terrorists. In his extensive study of the Mau Mau revolution, Wuyanyiri Maloba (1992) found that "the portrayal of Mau Mau in foreign press, especially in Western countries, tended on the whole to emphasise the alleged 'atavistic nature' of the movement" (p 58). Newspapers in the West carried stories provided by the British colonial government and even added their own propaganda twist.

For example, Time magazine ran a picture of a dead cat hanging from a tree, in its November 10, 1952 issue, and claimed, without evidence, that the Mau Mau had a habit of "nailing headless cats to their victims doors." The magazine insinuated that the Mau Mau were senseless barbarians. The New York Times told Americans in its October 20, 1952 issue that the Mau Mau revolt arose from "the frustrations of a savage people neither mentally nor economically able to adjust itself to the swift pace of civilization."

The Mau Mau were portrayed as a disorganised group of savages who used witchcraft and barbarism as a reaction to a system they were too inferior to comprehend. British
soldiers dispatched to fight the Mau Mau had an easy time of it. "Official propaganda aided by media coverage succeeded in dehumanising the guerrillas and ensuring the soldiers saw them not as people, but agents of evil. In killing them, the soldiers were killing an evil idea; thought had been paralysed." (Maloba, 1992, p.59).

The French carried out a similar campaign against Algerian nationalists. The French had occupied Algeria in 1830 and developed their colonial structures in the assumption that they would last forever (Fanon, 1959). However, after World War II, Algerians decided to take up arms and demand freedom. In what has been called a savage war of peace (Horne, 1987), the French engaged their military and propaganda might in seven and a half years of brutal violence against the locals.

However, the nationalists believed freedom was overdue and a new Algerian society could only be achieved under a framework of independence (Fanon, 1959). All members of the Algerian community, including women and teenage girls, fought in the trenches to free their land from imperialism. (Horne, 1987).

These two revolutionary struggles as well as others in West and South Africa (such as the Chimurenga wars in Zimbabwe), together with voting for freedom in some countries, worked and forced colonial powers to give freedom to Africans. However, the struggles had taken their toll. For example, by the time the French flag was lowered on the 1st of July, 1962, Algerians were tired and even though they had gained independence had no choice but to rely on French structures and money for rebuilding the destroyed country. This set in motion religious and ethnic divisions that have continued to plague the country.
IV. BIRTH OF PAN AFRICANISM, AFRICAN SOCIALISM AND NEO COLONIALISM

a) Pan-Africanism

Ghana was in 1957 the first African country to gain independence. The former Gold Coast was a country of rich resources, which its new nationalist leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah believed should be shared with the rest of the continent. As a result of Nkrumah’s call for a free Africa, a new chain of decolonisation was set in motion (Mazrui, 1994). In 1958, Nkrumah hosted an all-Africa people’s conference in Accra and launched his dream of a United Africa, with each country being a Federal State unified under a United States of Africa. This new country would be guided by an ideology of African Socialism. Nkrumah and others saw the practice of African Socialism as a way of trying to involve "what is relevant and good in African customs to create new values in the changing world of the money economy” (Mboya, 1963, p.167). This system would be attuned to African culture. Tanzania's Julius Nyerere (1962) in his book, Ujamaa - The Basis of African Socialism said that Africans by tradition have always been socialists. African socialism, which in Swahili is referred to as Ujamaa, was based on three main principles: "First, people lived and worked together; second, all common goods were held in common - no one could go hungry while others hoarded food, or be denied shelter if others had some to spare; third, everyone (even guests) had an obligation to work” (cited in Temu, 1979, p.197).

But the idea of a United Africa was problematic from the very beginning. Most African nations were still struggling for independence and the continent too
fragmented to unite. In 1963, Ethiopia's leader Haile Sellassie, convened a meeting in Addis Ababa and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed. Even though the formation of the OAU was met with a lot of excitement, especially by those like Ghana's Nkrumah who envisioned a United States of Africa (Harris, 1987), the organisation did not call for a united Africa. Rather, it called for a system where individual nations worked together for a common good. It was clear that the Pan African movement could not work because the colonial legacy (OAU was formed while 20 countries were not yet independent) had taken its toll. Despite high expectations by Pan-Africanists, historical isolation by colonialism made it difficult for Africans to see eye to eye (Harris, 1987). Their differences had been cemented by the colonial governments, which had played on language, tribal and border differences. Colonial governments had drawn up boundaries which at times separated otherwise united communities, and exploited differences that arose over land and ethnic issues. According to Mboya (1963), this was part of the colonial strategy of divide and rule.

Governance in free Africa began on the wrong footing from the moment the colonial governments relinquished their power. The colonial governments, while acting on the contemporary view that "the normal African unit was the tribe with an autocratic chief at its head," had created tribal chiefs which they incorporated in their administrative structure (Wirz, 1986, p.127). These administrative and tribe-divisive systems and laws were, unfortunately, adopted by new African leaders. In some countries, administrative structures were torn down by departing Europeans, leaving Africans with no established system of governance. African nationalists decided to adopt established colonial structures and laws in order to facilitate a stable transition. New
constitutions tended to be carbon copies of their former masters’ operating guidelines which had been established for colonial governance. This adoption of colonial laws meant that new leaders were settled into the shoes of the colonial governments and oppression continued.

b) Neo-Colonialism

The adoption of colonial laws and governance systems was the beginning of neo-colonialism, or a new form of colonialism. Some nationalists such as Mboya (1963) foresaw what he called the "Neo colonial threat" (p.178) where there was continued political and economic influence of the colonial powers. In other words the drivers of the new countries were now Africans but the engines were still colonial and controlled from London and Paris. Sensing a new form of dependency, African leaders attempted to have all economic aid coming to them to pass via the United Nations so that they would not be tied to a certain country's whims (Mboya, ibid, p.180). However, the UN lacked and still lacks the capacity to carry this out. Even Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah, despite his desire for a self-reliant nation, was forced to rely on colonial aid for his economy which the British had left suffering. He decided to invite foreign investors to provide capital for the cocoa industry. This brought back old colonial companies which had earlier exploited the region (Amin, 1973). This economic involvement, Brooke-Smith (1987) argues, led to political control by the former colonialists:

The great financiers of Europe have no doubt often used their powers to control questions of peace and war and to influence politics, but they always acted from a strictly
financial motive. Their aims were primarily the shifting of the value of stocks. To effect that they have often taken a leading hand in politics deals (p.83).

Zambia’s first president Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was aware of this financial control. In a speech to graduating students at the University of Lusaka on March 18, 1966, he said Africa was helpless in the hand of its former colonial powers:

When we go to any of these big powers for help they readily will give us that help. They will say aid is being given to us without any strings because this is what they know is popular fancy with us. In fact, there is no such a thing as aid without strings. . . . The question, of course, is-what are we supposed to do? (http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1966Kaunda-africadev1.html).

Political control meant governments and leaders in Africa had to dance to the tunes being played in Europe and the United States. Governments were changed and renegade leaders such as Patrice Lumumba and Tom Mboya assassinated. Pan Africanists such as Nkrumah were overthrown and Western stooges placed in power. This detrimental political interference was made worse during the Cold War era.

V. THE COLD WAR, POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Years before the Cold War struggle for supremacy between the former Soviet Union and the United States took root, socio-economic development in Africa was being dictated by economists who used Western economic concepts. These concepts, based on America’s Marshall Plan, saw the establishment of the Dominant Paradigm
(Melkote, 1991). This paradigm (which is discussed fully in Chapter 3), tried to
develop Africa by transplanting Western economic situations and principles in the
continent. Based on a capitalist ideology, the Marshall Plan provided economic aid to
many nations with the requirement that the Western concepts of governance and
economics be adhered to.

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania believed that neither Western nor Soviet style economics
would work in Africa. Using his country as an experiment, he established the earlier
mentioned Ujamaa economic system based on African socialism. Viewed with
scepticism by the West (The Economist, Jan 25, 1992), Nyerere was isolated and his
country struggled as markets for Tanzania’s goods were shut and foreign investments
halted. The message to African leaders was clear: They were either to adopt their
“masters” policies or they would be isolated. Nyerere was, however, successful in
uniting his people and maintaining stability in Tanzania, which cannot be said of
many other African nations.

a) Conflict in Africa

The colonial period made it difficult for countries such as Congo to achieve national
unity (Hodder, 1978). After independence, Congo was torn by civil strife and
mismanagement. This conflict was mostly generated from overseas by nations that
wanted to control the rich resources available in the country (Hodder, 1978). The
Congo situation was repeated all over the continent. Assassinations and coups
engineered in the West or the Eastern Block became common in the continent. Soon
after independence, Africa was viewed as a geopolitical and strategically important
continent (Aititkey, 1998). Therefore, at the height of the Cold War, control of African governments, at any cost, was seen as paramount to the competition for supremacy between the super powers. Arms were poured into the continent and civil wars sparked as the Soviet Union and the United States fought each other on African soil in the guise of supporting conflicting groups. For example, the United States set a policy to support Angola’s UNITA rebel force in its struggle to overthrow the official Angolan MPLA government (Harris, 1987). In turn, the Soviet Union and Cuba backed the government. The Angolan war is still going on. When Ethiopia’s leader Mengistu Haile Mariam adopted a Communist ideology for governance, war erupted culminating in the starvation of over two million Ethiopians who were unable to cultivate crops because of the violence. Somali, Mozambique and Sudan are other examples. The Sudanese have been fighting since 1955 with a few unsuccessful moments of reprieve achieved through peace accords (Mazrui, 1999). Today, continued foreign support of poor rebel troops with sophisticated weapons has given each Sudanese four main enemies: government troops, rebel/guerrilla troops, tribal militias/bandits and famine (Jada, 1988). For the last 20 years, the situation in the Sudan has deteriorated such that the dead are not only uncounted but will always be uncountable (Tinker, 1988). Survivors have been driven out of their homelands and most - especially women and children - have found themselves in refugee camps, the main one being in Kakuma, northern Kenya.ix

Conflict between countries in Africa has always been easy to stir because of differences established by colonial rule. Arbitrary borders drawn by the Europeans with no regard for cultural differences and previous regional agreements led to disagreements. As Zartman (May, 2001) observed, this in turn led to violence:
Countries in the region have gone to war over their boundaries many times: Conflict erupted between Morocco and Algeria, Dahomey (Benin) and Niger, and Ethiopia and Somalia in the 1960s; Uganda and Tanzania and again Ethiopia and Somalia in the late 1970s; Chad and Libya in the early 1980s; Senegal and Mauritania in the late 1980s; and Eritrea and Ethiopia in the late 1990s. Meanwhile, Mali and Burkina Faso fought border wars at different times during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, while Nigeria and Cameroon warred over boundaries in the 1960s and 1980s. None of these wars resulted in changed boundaries (p.66).

What was most destructive in some African nations was the imposition and support of dictators by the super powers. Congo again makes a good example. The United States, Belgium and France installed Mobutu Sese Seko as its puppet in the Congo. Mobutu became a ruthless dictator who amassed immense wealth by looting the national treasury (Du Cane, 2001). His Western supporters, though, continued offering him support and helped him crush any dissenting voices that called for democracy and human rights. At the same time, “who ruled poverty-stricken Somalia became a matter of strategic significance for policymakers in Moscow and Washington” (Mazrui, 1999, p.97). This led to the breakdown of the Somali nation. Equally destructive was the pouring of five hundred million dollars in US military aid (the highest in Sub Sahara Africa 1980-1990) to maintain Liberia’s Samuel Doe’s regime (The Perspective Magazine, July, 2000, cited in Sunwabe, 2001). Doe’s dictatorship led to a war that has claimed over 250, 000 people and destroyed the country’s economy and infrastructure. The Liberian conflict has also led to the destabilisation of surrounding nations such as diamond rich Sierra Leone which is torn by conflict.
This Africa wide support of despotic leaders and oppressive systems (including Idi Amin’s reign of terror in Uganda and South Africa’s Apartheid regime) did not make matters easier for other African leaders. Trying to marry African socialism with new modes of capitalism, these leaders, most of them installed as puppets, became even more oppressive than colonial masters (Sunwabe, April 6, 2001). What the colonial governments had crafted, African leaders refined. Using adopted laws that permitted detention without trial, theft from national coffers and one party rule, African leaders set up corrupt systems that halted any hope of development for their nations.

These leaders, blind with power and acquisition of wealth (Ayithey, 1998), later found themselves at the mercy of Western lending organisations. These organisations, still employing the flawed Dominant Paradigm, demanded economic change and structural changes which have made the situation worse for Africa. By the end of the 20th century, Africa, with its recent painful history, was the poorest and most unstable continent in the world. According to the United Nations criteria of Least Developed Countries, 34 of the listed 49 nations are in sub-Saharan Africa (Nine are in Asia, five in the Pacific and one in the Caribbean) (Imisim, June 25, 2001).

VI. AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

The Organisation of African Unity achieved so little in terms of unifying and assisting African nations that by the dawn of the 21st century it had failed and had been dubbed “the useless OAU” (Ayithey, 1998 p.346). By the mid 1990s, conflict, mismanagement and apathy in Africa had escalated to a point where the future of the continent as a viable part of the world’s economic movement was in doubt. As the
cold war ended, it left a continent torn apart and as Mazrui’s (1999) example shows, Africans were left to struggle by themselves:

In June 1960 the whole world was brought to attention because an ill-disciplined African army in the former Belgian Congo had mutinied. In 1998 - with the Cold War ended - eight African armies were fighting each other in the same territory of the Congo and the rest of the world could not care less. The end of the Cold War had disglobalized the strategic value of the Congo in a political sense (p.97).

This disglobalizing, or the end of Africa’s usefulness to the super powers and European nations, was evident in the international reaction to the 1991 Rwanda genocide. The crisis had its history in the Belgium instigation of the Hutu people against the Tutsi, in the 1950s. The Rwandan genocide was a continuation of a conflict that began with a 1959 uprising and a subsequent decimation of the Tutsis in 1961 after Belgium handed independence to a Hutu led government. When an old war blew up with the massacre of thousands, the world, especially the US controlled United Nations, refused to send in peacekeeping forces (Centre for African Peace and Conflict Resolution, 1998). There was clearly nothing that the United States or the European nations saw of sufficient importance in Rwanda, to trigger action which could have prevented the massacre of nearly a million people³. The Organisation of African Unity, with its history of inaction was helpless and waited for the international community to respond.

Another turning event that encouraged a new way of thinking in the continent was South Africa’s independence and the release of Nelson Mandela from imprisonment.
Mandela and his successor President Thabo Mbeki, started a campaign of solving “Africa’s problems with African Solutions,” an African Renaissance movement, based on the idea that it is only Africans who can solve their own problems and stake their own future (Dlamini, June 26, 2001).

The Rwanda crisis, the hope given by a new South Africa, the continued affliction of Africans by mismanagement, diseases, growing poverty, strife and the realization that Western nations are still akin to support dictators as long as they can protect economic interests (The Economist, Oct 28, 1995), have revived Nkrumah’s idea of a strong African organisation. The end of the Cold War brought upon a new wave of change in the continent. Single party-rule was replaced by multi-party politics and corrupt leaders are slowly being replaced with democratic rulers.

This new African renaissance has seen the dismantling of the Organisation of African Unity and the formation, in June, 2001 of the African Union (Chiahemen & Kotch, 2001), a regional economic-based organisation spearheaded by Libya’s Muammar Ghadaffi. The goal of the organisation is to unite the 53 African states politically, socially and economically\(^\text{x}\).

\textbf{VII. CONCLUSION}

This chapter has offered neither an exhaustive history of Africa nor of member nation states, but has used key selections from history to underscore the main issues relevant to this thesis. Therefore, the chapter has provided a brief overview of the social, political and economic constructs which constitute the African continent. The chapter
has demonstrated that events in the African continent together with the prevailing situation of mismanagement that have bred poverty, apathy and conflict, have their foundations in the continent’s history of trade, slavery and colonial imperialism and struggle.

The problems in Africa cannot be simply blamed on interference by foreigners. African leaders are to blame for high levels of mismanagement and corruption in the continent. Many states in the continent still use laws and constitutions similar to the oppressive ones by their former colonialists. Movements across the continent to rewrite constitutions and change the failed political systems, indicate Africans are aware of this shortcoming. True democracy as a way of rule is being championed (Versi, 2001) with the understanding that the struggle for real independence is not over:

The first part involved freeing Africa from colonial clutches. . . But then came the more difficult part, maintaining freedom and democracy. We soon found that the freedom we had won from the colonialist could be and often was hijacked by the very people we had put in power. . . The people of Africa are now demanding their power back from those who have reneged on their pledge to hold it in trust. In many countries the people have succeeded; in others, the fight is still going on. But there is no doubt that in the not so distant future, all of Africa’s people will complete their journey to freedom (Versi, 2001, p.5).

The talk of globalisation and free market economies under the umbrella of democracy are emerging as key issues in the continent. Key because, as will be shown in the next
chapter, experiments of development in Africa have been mostly unsuccessful (Ayittey, 1998). As a result, the role of culture in development and the role of the media in either initiating or supporting this development will be even more important in the new Africa. Neo-colonialism is still alive in the continent and as will be shown in coming chapters, economic colonialism is one of the new yokes that Africans have to free themselves, as they attempt to “modernise” in a world caught up in globalisation and post-modernism. Kwame Nkrumah’s idea of a United States of Africa may never come true but one lesson that has been learnt is that the African Voice, or ways of Africans expressing their own development, is now the only way that carries any promise for the continent’s future. Only then can Africa be truly free.

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to that vital concept.

The next two chapters expand on the analysis provided in this chapter. They will examine the various developmental paradigms that have been used in an attempt to develop Africa. These paradigms will be shown to have their roots in the colonial mentality that only foreigners are able to provide the best solutions for the continent. The chapters will also look at dependency and address how media have contributed in keeping Africa dependent on rich, Western nations.
CHAPTER 3:
DEVELOPMENTAL PARADIGMS AND SUBSEQUENT AFRICAN DEPENDENCY

I. INTRODUCTION

a). Developing the Poor

The 1999 World Bank Development Report is entitled "Knowledge for Development." In the report, the bank, to whose economic policies nearly all developing nations dance to, proposes to address issues of development from the perspective of knowledge because, "poor countries differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge," and that "knowledge gives people greater control over their destinies" (p.1). This knowledge solution for the Third World is not a new idea. For over 50 years, Western governments and organisations have attempted to develop Third World Nations by setting up agendas for development. In 1999, the World Bank said knowledge was the prescription for development and insinuated that people in the Third World needed Western-style thinking and "smart" ideas to develop. The following year, the medicine for attacking poverty was by "opportunity, empowerment, and security," and in 2002, the World Bank's push is for "Building Institutions for Markets" (World Bank reports, 2000, p.1 and 2001, p.1).

These yearly changes of agendas by the World Bank and its so called development programs and policies have been blamed for the increase in the inequality between the developed nations and developing nations (Nulens, 1997). This inequality is clear
when one looks at the African continent. As shown in the previous chapter, African nations have struggled, first from colonial imperialism and then neo-colonialism and subsequent regional conflicts and propped-up authoritarian rules. Today, despite more than 30 years of World Bank influence, Africa is the poorest continent with its people suffering from poverty related ills such as infectious diseases, high mortality rates, poor standards of living, lack of adequate basic needs, apathy and a growing gap between the rich and the poor. However, the continent is not the only one suffering from unequal distribution of the world’s wealth. As Pomfret (2000) reminds us, this is a global problem:

Millions of people die of hunger in East Africa as food surpluses rot in disused European aeroplane hangars. In Latin America poor people spend hours each day walking or travelling crammed on a bus to work or to school, while North American families take one of their several cars to run the shortest errands. Many Australian houses have more than one toilet, while whole apartment blocks in China are served by a single outdoor toilet. A person born in Japan can expect to live for 78 years, but a person born in Sierra-Leone can only expect 41 years. The distribution of the world’s wealth is unglaringly unequal, and the single most important factor in any individual’s share of this wealth is where he or she happens to be born (p.1).

This chapter looks at this inequality and how it has impacted the African continent and its people who by virtue of being born in the continent, start life’s journey at a disadvantage (Pomfret, 2000). This in turn lays the ground for later discussions of the role of the media in development and the necessity for a new model of development for Third World nations. The chapter will begin by looking at what poverty and
development are. Next, the failed dominant paradigm, instrumental in shaping Africa's economic woes, will be discussed. The role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be presented as examples of the dominant paradigm. The chapter will then trace the role of communication in development. This will range from the application of the dominant paradigm to newer models such as the participatory paradigm and the role communication plays in the development of the African continent. Finally, dependency, arising from the economic control of African nations by rich Western nations and multinational companies will then be discussed.

II. POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

We will start first by defining poverty because from poverty we can draw an understanding of what the concept of “development” has come to mean.

a). Poverty

"Poverty, like an elephant, is more easily recognised than defined" writes Aboyade (1975, p.25, cited in Atteh, 1999, p.248). Defining poverty is not easy (Atteh, 1999; Alcock, 1993). Many scholars agree that there is an understanding of the effects of poverty and a general idea of what it encompasses but there is no clear definition of what it is. The United Nations Development Program says that traditionally, "poverty has been defined in terms of shortfalls of consumption or income" (2001, p.1). This means that there is a quantification of levels of poverty, with the cost of basic needs for a group set at US$1 a day per person. Anyone existing at this level or below it is viewed as poor.
Pomfret (2000) interprets this to mean that poverty is the "inability to obtain a minimal standard of living" (p.15). Alcock (ibid) argues that the best way to understand poverty is to look at the types of poverty and what they represent. He argues that there are two traditional divisions of poverty: subsistence poverty and relative poverty. Subsistence poverty is "not having enough to get by, or not having enough to meet basic needs," whilst relative poverty is the "problem of poverty in an affluent but unequal society" (p. 8). Atteh (1999) expands on these two categories and presents four types of poverty: absolute poverty, structural poverty, relative poverty and conjunctural poverty.

Absolute poverty is a chronic lack of basic needs fulfilment and is defined in terms of "those who are denied the minimal levels of health care, housing, food and education" (Atteh, ibid, p.258). Absolute poverty is manifested by meagre or unavailability of basic needs -- food, clothing, adequate housing, healthcare etc. These in turn breed problems of poor nutrition, susceptibility to diseases, hardships, high mortality rates and high rates of illiteracy. In other words, to use the quantification of poverty, absolute poverty exists where a person exists on less than US$1 a day and in many cases exists on nothing at all. Absolute poverty exists in situations where the infrastructure is also poor -- dilapidated roads, inadequate health centres, little clean water etc.

Structural poverty, on the other hand, is defined as the "short-or-long term poverty of individuals due to economic, political, cultural, and social circumstances" (Atteh, 1999, p.250). This exists where resources available for an individual or a family are not sufficient for the provision of an acceptable standard of living. This standard of
living, based on the cost of food and other basic needs, varies from nation to nation. Structural poverty is usually caused by factors such as mismanagement of economies and corruption, punishing economic conditions such as structural adjustment programs, currency devaluation and high internal and external debt. Structural poverty can be exacerbated by poor economic conditions and can push people into absolute poverty.

Relative poverty is based on an understanding of what is poverty in different societies. Therefore, it is a psychologically-based poverty (Atteh, 1999). This is in agreement with Alcock's definition of competing values in unequal societies. Relative poverty means that in different societies, levels of measuring poverty differ. For example, a person in cosmopolitan Australia may be considered poor if he or she lives in poor housing, receives government subsidy and probably drives a decrepit vehicle. This same person would be considered wealthy in Somaliland where some people do not even know where their next meal is going to come from in a society with no government let alone a system that offers subsidies for the poor.

The last type of poverty is conjunctural poverty. This is temporary poverty where self-sufficient people are thrown into a crisis (Atteh, 1999). By crisis, Atteh means human or natural disasters. These can vary from earthquakes in Turkey to wars in the former Yugoslavia or Angola. When disasters occur in a society barely making ends meet, it contributes to pushing people into absolute poverty. Disasters can also increase structural poverty in societies not prepared to cope with sudden negative changes.
These four definitions of poverty go a long way in describing the different types of poverty in the world. However, they do not clearly define what it is. This lack of a definite idea of what is or is not poverty has led the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to expand on what it sees as a human, not an economic phenomena. UNDP addresses poverty as "a denial of human rights" (2001). The organisation argues that the denial of various opportunities and choices basic for human development constitutes poverty. The organisation views these opportunities and choices as a right, not based on where one happens to be born but accorded to one by the simple fact of being alive:

Good health, adequate nutrition, literacy and employment are not favours or acts of charity to be bestowed on the poor by governments and international agencies. They are human rights, as valid today as they were 50 years ago when the Universal Declaration of Human rights was adopted. UNDP defines poverty from a sustainable human development perspective (p.1).

UNDP measures the level of poverty in different societies using a human poverty index which includes life expectancy, quality of life (decent standard of living), knowledge, levels of illiteracy and gender knowledge difference (See Appendix A). Nations and communities are said to be either developed or developing according to this criteria which bases average figures of what humans need for their sustenance. The idea behind the index is that a person requires the ability to lead a long, secure life which provides for knowledge, freedom of expression and a comfortable standard of living (UNDP, 2001).
In lieu of these various ideas, this chapter argues that **poverty is the condition where people are in a state of want and lack basic requirements for existence, for happy lives and the upholding of their human rights.** This want is manifested by poor infrastructure, inadequate social services, a lack of a redress system for people’s grievances and a government system that does not support the will of the people. This definition encompasses the situation in African nations where large populations live in abject poverty and where many are victims of structural poverty. Lack of proper infrastructure such as medical clinics, schools and roads contribute to hardship and poverty and are seen as a human condition, not just an economic index that can be measured.

b). *Development*

Defining development is as difficult as defining poverty. Scholars and economists still debate the definition of development.

For example, Rostow (1971) presents the argument that development is a process that is based on five stages of growth. In his theory of economic development, he argues that all societies, in their economic dimensions, lie in one of these five stages:

a) The Traditional Society. This is a society which devotes a large portion of its resources to agriculture. It is traditional in that it is not industrial and relies on basic economic processes for growth.

b) The Preconditions for Take-Off. In this stage, societies reach a stage where they are able to achieve economic progress and that “economic progress is a necessary condition for some other purpose, judged to be good: be it national
dignity, private profit, the general welfare, or a better life for the children” (p.6).

c) The Take-Off. This is the stage where industrial growth is instigated and a society moves towards economic growth.

d) The Drive to Maturity. In this stage, the conditions established in the Take-Off stage are sustained. This stage is attained because societies work and rework economic models to enable continued growth. At 40-60 years after takeoff, a state that can be referred to as maturity is attained.

e) The age of High Mass-Consumption. This is the stage where the leading economic sectors are those dealing with durable consumers' goods and services. This stage sees societies allocating resources to social welfare and security.

Rostow’s view is that economic growth is what can be termed as development. To him, development is an economic equation that can be used to explain why some societies are poor or “not developed” while others have developed. Hagen (1975), partly in agreement, argues that nations can be classified into three: poor continents, intermediate continents and rich continents. However, Hagen (1975) criticises some of Rostow’s stages as invalid – basically that data has so far shown that there has not been a stage in a society that can be described as takeoff. However, in his analysis on theories of development, like Rostow, he views development as a phenomena that can be explained in economic terms. This, Mathur (1991) argues, is not necessary the best way of viewing development because integration of the world means that there are many factors, most of them human and technological, that explain the process of development.
The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), on the other hand, has continued to champion the idea of development as an improvement in human life (1996). UNDP argues that there is no correlation between economic growth and human development. It is only when these two are addressed and mutually reinforced that there can be an improvement in human development (UNDP, 1996). Pomfret (2000) agrees with the UNDP that there is more to development than Gross Domestic Product (GDP) alone and that development is a process of alleviating poverty. Todaro (1999) presents the argument that development must be redefined as "an attack on the chief evils of the world today: malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, slums, unemployment and inequality" (p.77). Todaro's views are in agreement with the earlier discussed argument by the UNDP that poverty is a human rights problem and therefore, development must be a move away from poverty towards a better life, what Todaro (1999) calls outcomes, because development is about people. This argument sets up poverty as a global phenomenon whose alleviation should be carried out by the whole of the world's community. Development, then in one part of the world should be development for the whole world. This can, however, only be achieved if development is first and foremost, not about economic production elements and figures at the bottom of an economic balance sheet, but about human beings and their day to day life.

The United States Department of Commerce, however views development as fundamentally about "enhancing the factors of productive capacity - land, labor, technology." (2001, p.1). This in the view of the UNDP is a flawed view because development has to be people-centered, equitably distributed and socially and
environmentally sustainable. Versi (2001) agrees that development is not just a process of creating wealth but empowering people to make their lives better. To this end, UNDP (2001) argues that development will be achieved if attention is paid to key human development needs. The organisation is pushing for priorities in certain areas of research such as:

- Vaccines for malaria, HIV and tuberculosis as well as lesser-known diseases like sleeping sickness and river blindness.
- New varieties of sorgum, casava, maize and other staple foods of sub-saharan Africa.
- Low-cost computers and wireless connectivity as well as prepaid chip-card software for e-commerce without credit cards.
- Low-cost fuel cells and photovoltaics for decentralized electricity supply (p.20).

These research areas are directed towards the Third World and to communities facing high levels of poverty and need and are part of the organization’s five-year goals for human development (See Appendix B for a list of the goals). These goals include halving the proportion of people suffering from hunger, halving the proportion of people without access to safe water, empowering women, reducing infant mortality ratios and enrolling all children in primary school. These goals are grounded on the reality of what is needed to make the lives of people better. The goals relate directly to day to day living rather than just arbitrary economic figures or theoretical development paradigms.

Drawing from the development discussion, this chapter defines development as a people-centred process which leads to an improvement in the quality of life by
alleviating poverty and by empowering people so as to offset inequality and make lives better. This can be interpreted as the movement up from absolute poverty to a state where basic needs are not only provided for but also where there is a surplus in providing for these needs. A people-centred process requires an improvement in systems of governance to ensure accountability and to rid structural poverty-causing factors such as authoritarian rules, abuse of human rights and corruption. The improvement in people's lives, however minor, is badly needed and any process that increases people's ability to combat poverty and lead to improvement in their life, either personally or community wide, should be encouraged.

This definition of development leads to what can be termed a democratic situation. Democracy has been identified as a requirement for development (Amin, 2001). The argument is based on the belief that only democratic states present a condition viable for development. However, Kirwa (2001) argues that democracy is a process which is broad and has no general meaning. He argues that issues of democracy are best addressed by values in each nation and insinuates one cannot be a precursor for the other. Marcus, R., Mease, K. & Ottemoeller, D. (2001) present the view that it is difficult to define democracy because Western ideals of what constitutes democracy cannot be applied to all societies. However, they view democracy as a state where "attention to economic, social-structural, institutional, human rights, rule of law and political processes" are in existence and supported by a people who believe they have the ability to decide on their social structures.

Discussion on democracy centres on defining structures that embody a democratic state. These structures, Tunde (2001) argues, are based on a libertarian principle where masses are given the chance to elect leaders who in turn serve their needs. This
description provides the common understanding of a democratic state - that which provides a choice to its people. Tunde however warns that by this definition, dictatorships can also be democracies mainly because they offer people choices - to obey or suffer the consequences.

In their study of what Africans identify as democracy, Marcus et al. (2001) concluded that democracy is a process that offers people an opportunity to exercise liberal views which are reflected in an electoral process and which provide particular social or economic outcomes. They identified this process as one based on liberal political values. Others such as Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M., Cheibub, J. & Limongi, F. (2000) view democracy as a state that encourages economic growth and that democracy and development go hand in hand.

**This thesis views democracy as a system that initiates development and provides people with a choice as to how to manage their governance, economies and international relations. This definition underscores the argument that democracy and development are not in opposition but in support of each other and their main task should be to alleviate poverty.**

Despite years of development plans, there is more poverty and suffering today in the Third World than there was half a century ago (Pomfrest, 2000). These high levels of poverty have led to a refugee crisis, violence and dependency and have been blamed on the failed dominant paradigm of development. The following section explains how the dominant paradigm has led to an increase in poverty and the growth of the inequality between the rich and the poor nations of the world.
III. DOMINATING THE THIRD WORLD: THE DOMINANT PARADIGM

a) The Marshall Plan

After the end of World War II, the United States embarked on the rebuilding of some European nations that had served as its allies in the war. To facilitate the redevelopment of devastated nations, the US government set up the Bretton Wood institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, to provide funds for this venture. To restore Europe to its former glory and hence create viable trading partners for the Americas, a policy of providing monetary, scientific and technological assistance was undertaken. This was on the belief that what Europe needed were American formulae of development, human expertise and new information (Melkote, 1991: 35). This was known as the Marshall Plan after its architect, United States Secretary of State George C. Marshall.

Marshall's formula recorded initial success in Europe. This led to the blind view that success in Europe could be replicated in the Third World, to facilitate industrialisation and free people from “backward” cultures that hampered development (Melkote, 1991). The main premise was that what the Third World required was economic development because this was the "antidote to backwardness" (Pottier. 1993, p.13).

From the 1950s, social scientists adopted this view to development in research and formulation of policies in the Third World. The concept of superiority is highlighted by many scholars (Schramm, 1976; Fejes, 1976) as one based on Darwin's social change. To Western scholars, their notion of Darwin's evolution process enshrined
them with a superiority over other races and communities which were yet to "evolve." This idea of what was a modern nation (Melkote, ibid) was subscribed to the architects of the dominant paradigm. Theirs was the modern state and therefore, other societies could only aim to be like them and to achieve a higher stage closer to that of the West. The Western ways (including culture, religion, development patterns) were modern whereas those of the Third World were seen as traditional and primitive.

What was needed then was to modernise the Third World by imparting on them knowledge and Western ways of development. As Melkote (ibid) comments, the view was that Third World Nations could achieve similar results of modernisation, "but this meant dismantling all the non-Western traditional structures" (p.48). For example, Islam was criticised for its traditions, "Hinduism for its asceticism and Buddhism for its other-worldly emphasis" (p.49). In other words the best tradition for the whole world was Christian Western civilisation.\textsuperscript{xii} This notion of making the world culturally Western was adopted for economic development of the Third World. In view of the notion of superiority, it made sense that the best economic development patterns were Western and should be the ones the Third World should follow. However the transfer of economic innovations (discussed below) could only be successful with the simultaneous conversion of Third World peasants from their \textit{primitive} practices (read traditional practices) and the embracing of technologies from \textit{advanced} (read evolved) countries in the north. Therefore, development "involved not just the transfer of technology but also the assimilation of Western culture" (Melkote, Ibid, p.22) and the obliterating of any other views.
b). Development and the Dominant Paradigm

The development of Western states arose from the processes of industrialisation aided by "free" slave labour, free raw materials from colonies and the breakdown of life systems in many Third World nations\textsuperscript{xiii}. However, this was not factored in when the architects of the dominant paradigm for development spelled out their requirements needed for the development of the Third World. These elements as summarised in 1976 by Rogers (p.49) are:

1. Economic growth through industrialisation and accompanying urbanization was the key to development. It was approximately equal to passing through the Industrial Revolution. It was assumed that development performance could be quantified in economic terms: GNP, Per capita income, etc;

2. The choice of technology was to be capital intensive, and labour intensive mainly imported from more developed nations (italics added);

3. In order to guide and speed up the process of development, planning should be centralised and controlled by economists and bankers (italics added);

4. Underdevelopment was mainly due to problems within the developing nations rather than in their external relationships with other countries.

According to Rogers, economic growth was seen as the problem plaguing underdeveloped Third World nations. As stated earlier, what was needed was a transfer of Western economic system of urbanization and industrialisation and this
would solve the problem of economic growth. This would be complemented by a transfer of technology which Third World nations would import (read purchase) from the West. Economic policies would be encouraged to do away with traditional ways of life in the Third World and would adopt a Western tradition of bankers and economists running the show.

These ideas were based on the belief that Third World nations were to blame for their “underdevelopment” and historical factors such as interference from other nations or unequal balance of trade, could not be a factor. This blame factor meant that the West saw it as their duty to dictate to the Third World what was best. This model was to be adopted and initiated for the development of Third World nations using the Bretton Woods Institutions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the economic architects of the dominant paradigm.

c). Banking The Third World: The World Bank and IMF Policies

In 1944, when the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, otherwise known as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, were formed in the United States, they were proposed as institutions which would ensure development by offering loans so that a flow of trade was uninterrupted in the world market (Kevin, 1994). However, the “unwritten goal” of these institutions “has been to integrate countries into the capitalist world economy” (Kevin, Ibid, p.).

The two institutions became the vehicles for the dominant paradigm. Their focus was that economic liberalisation was what the Third World needed and the way it could
achieve this would be by restructuring its systems to be as Western as possible. This meant that nations had to structure their economic policies and to a great extent, political ideology to that of the West. Annual reports show that the Bank’s policy have always been very economically oriented with the belief that economic growth is the solution to Third World problems (Nulens, 1997). Even when the World Bank or the IMF mention poverty, they do not see it as a human condition (as UNDP does) but as an economic problem that requires economic solutions. This is keeping up with the basics of the dominant paradigm earlier outlined by Rogers (1976) that development in the Third World should be measured in economic terms and controlled by economists and bankers. The fact that the financial institutions continue to claim that eradication of poverty is their chief concern yet only instigate policies that are Western and which are critical of any other systems, indicate that their aim is to push Western ideology while reaping economic benefits. The institutions act more as lenders whose aim is to make a profit even though their economic ideas have continued to fail (Nulens, ibid). Third World nations have been left owing the banks huge debts, regardless of not achieving the promised economic and social developments.

As highlighted earlier, in 1999, the World Bank pushed the idea that knowledge was the key to economic growth which in turn would be the key to development. In 2002, the push is for creation of markets, in accordance with the West’s idea of free market economies. As Nulens (1997) observes, World Bank loans show a very inconsistent image with continuity out of the question. Every year, the bank’s key agenda changes depending on people in Washington making decisions as to what issues need to be
tackled that year. The opinion of the people who are supposedly being helped (those in the Third World) are not sought.

i.) The muscle base of the institutions

As discussed in the previous chapter, after independence, majority of African governments embarked on a social system of governance, with the state providing for education, health and communications. The governments saw their duty as one of addressing issues of poverty from an African perspective based on a communal culture where the government would be the chief supplier of services and where government agencies rather than private companies would play the central role in development. Some nations adopted the free-market concept of capitalism, although this was heavily influenced by socialist economic viewpoints, which African leaders viewed to be more in tune with African cultures. The setback to the initiatives by African leaders was a lack of resources for developmental programs. As argued in the previous chapter, some of the leaders were reluctant to borrow money from their former colonialists because they were afraid that this would lead to a new form of economic colonialism. However, left with no option, they reluctantly approached the World Bank, which was ready to offer loans as long as the socialist ideas by African leaders were altered and provided that Western style economic policies, structured by the banks, were adopted.\textsuperscript{xvi}

Left with few options, the majority of African leaders reluctantly agreed to adopt “structural adjustments” and to accept loans and conditions inimical to their views of development. By 1994, thirty of the 47 governments in Sub-Saharan Africa had been pressured into implementing structural adjustment reforms. The effects have been
devastating to the poor (Donaher, 1994). The Bretton Woods institutions required the privatisation (liberalisation) of government run institutions that were instrumental in providing services for the people. Privatisation was a condition set by the financial institutions for all loans and many governments complied (Pilger, 1992). Nations were forced to stop providing necessary services such as the cheap provision of health care and also forced to privatise government services. This was initiated despite the lack of structures such as medical insurances, government subsidies and adequate income to pay for basic health, factors that exist in the United States, for example. Poverty did not decrease but increased, with the majority of Africans being forced to choose between buying food or medicine. Even though the lending institutions viewed their policies as sound economic policies, they were operating from a theoretical base which addressed poverty and development from a quantifiable economic figure rather than as a human condition.

“Theoretical economics is very neat,” comments Anver Versi in Africa Business. “Real economics is very messy. It is about real people in real situations. ‘Retrenchment’ mean hungry mouths, shattered dreams, debts, evictions. ‘Budget cuts’ means the kids cannot go to school any more, there are no malaria pills at the dispensary. ‘End of subsidies’ means you cannot afford to buy bread, or maize flour. This is not ‘belt-tightening’, it is strangulation” (1998, p.7).

The day to day lives of many Africans have become worse since their nations adopted the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that Africans have taken to calling the programs, Strangling African People. As pointed out by Stewart (1995), SAPs have been economic failures and in human terms have led to “worsening poverty, declining
social sector expenditures per head, failing school enrolment ratios, worsening
nutrition in some cases and the persistence of a high rate of infant and maternal
mortality” (p.138).

The financial institutions have contributed to an increase in the suffering of Africans
while pushing for liberalisation. Liberalisation is a Western ideology, argues Nulens,
(1997) and this ideology as a provider of economic strength and alleviation of poverty
is a myth. African nations lack the capacity to effectively carry out the policies being
advocated by the liberalisation ideology. As Herbert Schiller (1996) points out in his
book Information Inequality:

It is equally apparent that the capability to adopt genuinely
social policies in countries subject to these pressures cannot
be sustained – if initiated to begin with. An ecological
approach to production, for example as well as the pursuit of
a standard of living that emphasizes basic needs cannot be
expected from weak, poor and relatively unindustrialized
societies. When such states are confronted by a powerful
oppositional system of global dimension that uses every
imaginable stratagem and practice to undermine the fragile
alternative structures laboriously established, the outcome is
inevitable (p.135).xvii

Liberalisation has enriched the developing nations at the expense of the poor ones
(Nulens, ibid). It has been argued that privatization was always meant to benefit the
West. For example, according to Urey (1995), American multinationals, US Congress
and the US administration urged the World Bank to push for the privatization of
telecommunication sectors in the Third World. These same companies, based in the
US, gained the most from that privatization by buying and controlling the privatized companies. Social commentators such as Pilger (1992) argue that international organizations meant to serve the whole world have been hijacked by rich Western nations and multinational companies. The discussions of globalisations and a new world order have been made predominantly by these Western nations and companies and have been based on principles that would be more beneficial to the West at the detriment of poor Third World Nations. The anti-globalisation riots against international economic organizations such as the World Trade Organization, that have rocked the world from the late 1990s, have been an indication that people have realized that the system being advocated by the rich nations may lead to an increase of poverty in the Third World while enriching Western nations and powerful multi-national companies.

ii.) Realization of failed policies?

After years of condemnation, the World Bank appears to have realized that you cannot structurally adjust peoples’ cultures and ways of thinking. You can only impose new ways that are prone to failure as they are not in synch with the true will of the people. The bank’s 1999 “Knowledge for Development” plan, talks of the need to address information problems in Third World nations. In one of its chapters, it proposes “Addressing information problems that hurt the poor, and taking the time to learn about their needs and concerns, so “that society can offer them useful information and assist them in devising ways to reduce their isolation from markets and to improve their access to formal institutions” (1998, p.3). Note that knowledge of the needs of society and provision of information is seen as one that would contribute
towards an embracing of market policies, a key criteria of the globalisation and free market idea by Western nations and one being pushed for by multinational companies.

Amid criticisms, the Bretton Woods institutions have changed some of their policies, in an attempt to be seen as shifting from solving poverty using only economic solutions to be more open to social and cultural solutions. In a World Bank report (2001) entitled "Ten things you never knew about the World Bank", the institution says,

The World Bank's priorities have changed dramatically. In 1980, investment in the power sector accounted for 21 percent of Bank lending. Today, that figure is down to 5 percent. By contrast, lending for health, nutrition, education and social protection has grown from 5 percent in 1980 to 25 percent today (p.1).

These changes are to be commended but they come after thirty years of dismantling of health care systems, increase in illiteracy and an increase in instability, problems blamed on the bank's structural adjustment programs. Most of the new arguments by the World Bank, are still missing the mark. Even though this "reformed" financial institution may "want" to do what is good for its customers, it is still not addressing the issue of poverty. It talks of the poor as if they are people who are in that situation because they lack knowledge and behold, knowledge will set them free. The issue is much more complex than this. The talk of a new world order, reliance on market forces and globalisation is not one that African and other developing nations are participating in. These concepts are being shoved down their throats in what could be
construed as a plan by rich, Western nations to control and economically re-colonize poor ones. It is a new form of struggle. But unlike other struggles, this one is being won easily because the poor nations are not fighting back. They are busy starving themselves to pay back loans as they withstand the pressures of the new world order. In the meantime, people suffer because their real needs take a back seat.

The Bretton Woods Institutions were one of several outlets for the development plans of the Third World. Social researchers and communicators also adopted the dominant paradigm for research and application of communication for development.

**IV. COMMUNICATION AND THE DOMINANT PARADIGM**

**a). Dominant Paradigm Approach**

Communicators adopted a similar view of development as did economic organizations. Communication for development was conceptualized from a Western perspective and based on the dominant paradigm that what the Third World needed was knowledge, especially of technical innovations and this would result in development. This section looks at some of the communication models adopted for the development of the Third World and why they were ineffective.

**i.) Technology transfer**

Media were seen as instruments of literacy that would free Third World masses from their bonds of tradition (Melkote, 1991). This would then enable the effective
adoption of technology which would in turn translate into development. The media were viewed as critical in getting across messages of innovations in the West, which in turn would be adopted by those in the Third World. This process of technology transfer is illustrated below in Fig 3:1.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 3.1: Change-Agency Communication and Mass Media Model of Development (Melkote, 1991, p. 25).**

The early theories of the media viewed media as a powerful tool that could be used to change mass societies. Some of these theories such as the One-Way, Linear Model of Communications and the Two-step flow model of Communication shaped the establishment of media use for development.

The One-Way, linear model of communication assumed that communication is linear (and one-way), flowing from an active source to a passive receiver. The flow of information was seen as simple and mechanical and it was assumed that contact (by a passive receiver) with a media message led to a certain effect and, or, influence.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 3.2: One-Way, Linear Model of Communication (Melkote, 1991, p. 69).**
The two-step model of communication, on the other hand, saw communication flowing in two steps. The first step was to opinion leaders who in turn would relay their message to individuals in a community. The two step model also assumed that media influence was assured because the audience was passive and use of opinion leaders ensured that the message was interpreted and relayed more effectively.

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 3.3: Two-Step Flow Model of Communication (Melkote, 1991, p. 71).*

ii.) Diffusion

Because modernization was seen as the process where primitive/traditional audiences changed their lives to a more complex, technologically advanced one (Rogers, 1969), it was argued that the best way of ensuring this movement was through diffusion. Katz (1963), argued that diffusion was the process by which ideas were communicated, via specific channels, over time and through a social structure (such as a tribe). The diffusion idea was based on the exogenous change theory (Melkote,
1991) which assumed “backward” societies could be developed by being introduced to outside influences such as technical aid, knowledge, financial resources and the communication of ideas (Golding, 1974). These outside influences (innovations) were seen as the key to development and their communication through the process of diffusion as the precursor to Third World development. The diffusion of innovation idea was based on the dominant paradigm’s notion that what Third World countries lacked was knowledge and technical advancement and therefore providing these was the antidote to their “underdevelopment.”

These models of communication were employed by communicators who, such as Lerner (1963,) saw the mass media as accelerators of modernization. Media performed special function in introducing people to new ideas and encouraging them to adopt the ideas and hence contributed greatly to modernization. Media became agents of the dominant paradigm. Media was believed to have a “powerful, uniform and direct influence on individuals” (Melkote, 1991, p.87). Differences in media acceptance and influences of culture were not considered. Results from Western assimilation studies were used as a base for developing development programs for the Third World. Third World audiences were seen as passive, ready to embrace any new information provided by communicators xviii.

b). Fall of the Dominant Paradigm

By the beginning of the 1970s, it was clear that the development programs initiated under the dominant paradigm were not working (Melkote, 1971). The development of the Third World did not fit with the expectations of Western developers. The idea of
development as an evolutionary concept flowing from underdevelopment to modernization was criticized as weak and not based on scientific inquiry (Portes, 1976). This is because the idea that societies naturally flowed from “backwardness” to “industrialization” did not consider natural transformations in societies.

By the mid 1970s, it became apparent that the relationships proposed in the dominant paradigm were different from the facts of the development in the Third World. A major criticism of the dominant paradigm was that it “denied history to developing nations” (Melkote, 1991, p.101). The flawed assumption was that at one time the developed Western nations had been at the same stage as the poor nations of the Third World. This led to a view that those in the developed nations could dictate to those in the Third World without the need of learning first, the socio-cultural traditions of the countries of the Third World and two, without consideration of the effects of political and cultural history. Failure of the development projects resulted in blames directed at those being assisted. Beltran (1976) summarized this view as: “If peasants do not adopt the technology of modernization, it is their fault, not that of those communicating the modern technology to them. It is the peasantry itself which is to be blamed for its ill fate, not the society which enslaves and exploits it” (p. 25, cited in Melkote, p.143). This blaming of the people of the Third World for the failure of the dominant paradigm became a barrier to development.

Today, these issues would appear to be obvious but at the time they were overlooked. So strong was the conviction that the Western ideas were superior that communicators and economists believed that they had the best solutions and did not see fit to include
the ideas of those in the Third World. By mid 1970s, the dominant paradigm was declared ineffective (Wei, 1998) and alternative development ideas embraced.

V. ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT IDEAS

a) “Another” Development

In the 1970s there was a shift away from the dominant paradigm. Communication scholars noticed that people who were supposed to be helped by the top-down, modernisation development process were not responding as expected. This realisation resulted in the formation of "Another Paradigm" (Melkote, 1991). This paradigm's aim was to shift from "technology transfer," "adoption and diffusion processes," to more community based development projects (Richardson, 2001). The idea was to allow development to begin from the grassroots by removing barriers to development and by teaching peasants ways of improving their lives. Whereas the diffusion idea was based on the belief that what the Third World needed was to do away with traditional practices and adopt Western ones, the "Another" idea was based on removing barriers to development. Some of these barriers were identified as:

i) Lack of an effective way of delivering knowledge and skills to the rural peasants;

ii) Lack of an effective system of delivering financial and material inputs to the peasants;

iii) Inadequate market development which prevented peasants from being able to sell their products;
iv) Infrastructure underdevelopment leading to communication and transportation barriers;

v) Lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas and

vi) Lack of people involvement in designing, planning and executing their own development plans (Melkote, 1991).

However, "Another" paradigm was problematic in that it was still a "one-way, top-down" communication technique (Melkote, 1991; Richardson, 2001). The information programs were conceptualised overseas and delivered to the Third World with no clear understanding of what was actually needed. The barriers were identified by foreigners and strategies of removing them conceptualised by the same foreigners without identifying the real needs of the people who were meant to be developed. The identified barriers concentrated on internal factors that hampered development, with little attention paid to external factors (Fejes, 1976). The architects of "Another" paradigm, like those of the Dominant paradigm, believed they understood what the Third World needed and how to overcome the barriers that faced them earlier.

However, as Hornik (1988) warned, "so long as the targets of development efforts depend on an elite's paternalistic willingness to do good, to spend resources for the benefit of the powerless, little good will be done" (p.xii). The answer, Hornik argued, was for small-scale efforts run for and by the beneficiaries. These programs would be participatory programs.
b). Participatory Paradigm

With the “Another” paradigm looking more like the dominant paradigm it was supposed to replace, Hornik's idea was adopted because there was need for a better understanding of communication as a two-way process that is participatory and interactive (Rajasunderam, 2001). This change in perception was quickly adopted by communicators (Yoon, 2001) and is still used today as the main model for communication development.

The participatory paradigm is based on a community oriented development process with communicators and/or developers abstaining from being initiators of programs but acting as facilitators or co-facilitators to solve the needs identified by community members (Singhal & Sthapitanonda, 1996). The key emphasis in the paradigm is participation with those being helped and those doing the helping participating -- working together to achieve development. Note that the emphasis here is not mainly to alleviate poverty but to empower peasants so that they can develop -- a significant process. According to Yoon (2001), projects in the Third World that have been set up using this model employ four main characteristics:

1. Participation in implementation. This is where people are encouraged and mobilised to participate in the actualization of projects. They are assigned specific tasks and shown how to contribute in the process.
2. Participation in decision making. People take part in deciding how the project will be conducted and encouraged to initiate ideas of how they can contribute as a community.
3. Participation in evaluation. At the end of the projects, all are invited to contribute in the evaluation of the project and to critique its successes and failures and

4. Participation in benefit. People share in the fruits of the success of the projects.

Even though the participatory steps outlined above are a far cry from the dominant paradigm's top-down process, they are still weak. As Yoon (ibid) observes, these can be manipulative where people are told they are participating for their own good. There is the danger that people are encouraged to participate in development plans conceived by outsiders and are encouraged to think and behave in a certain way. In this model, the outsider is still noted and development is still brought to a people rather than conceived by the people for themselves. The developer has a set idea of what the community needs and what should be developed before entering the community to initiate development, otherwise, the developer would not approach the community. Usually, developers need funding to set up projects and funding is only given with a clear identification of target problems and solution processes.

This outside notion of need also pre-supposes that the people want to be helped and that they have the time to participate in the programs. For some community members, creating time to participate in say an agricultural project, takes them away from their productive work, which earns them a living. There is danger of encouraging the misguided view that peasants and the poor just sit and wait for help and are not engaged in daily living and income generating activities vital for their survival.
Research by Singhal & Sthapitanonda, (1996) also shows that participatory communication processes are lacking in realism. The steps, such as the ones listed above, are not suitable for solving many problems of abject poverty and real needs in the Third World. For example, Yoon (2001) argues, a mother whose child is dying of diarrhoea does not want to participate. Servaes & Arnst (1999) warn that participatory process and research can “all too easily be utilized as yet another tool of manipulation by vested interests. Charges are correctly made that it is often a means of political indoctrination . . . Often organizers have been attacked for manipulating people’s minds and managing their actions toward their own ends” (p. 113).

Participatory processes are long term and at times may not solve immediate needs (such as food, clothing, clinical care, security and a regular income) that are vital for future development of a community. Culture and an understanding of traditional norms and practices are not emphasised in the participatory model and hence there are chances of messages by foreigners being misunderstood by those being developed. This can create a dissonance between what communicators view as workable ideas and what can really work on the ground for development:

Just as during the modernization era, communicators responded to the shift to participation in development by echoing the new approaches in their work: participatory communication was born. It turned out to be a difficult birth. The people who had advocated participation had done so mainly at the conceptual and ideological level: there had been no suggestions on how to make participatory communication work in real development settings (Yoon, 2001, p.1).
In addition to this, strangers (nearly always foreigners) are still involved in the process of development and people view them as visitors who have come to help them. This, it can be argued, creates a dependency mentality where people believe they need to be shown how to develop themselves.

VI. DEPENDENCY

a) Dependency Theory

Dependency Theory was developed in the 1950s by Raul Prebisch, then director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (Ferraro, 1996). Prebisch and his colleagues argued that economic activity in richer nations led to serious economic problems in poorer nations. They believed that the neoclassical approach (which was basically the dominant paradigm approach) that poorer countries would end poverty by adopting techniques of modern economics from the West, was flawed and created a system of imbalance in economics between the rich and poor nations. This was based on the argument that “poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The ‘Value Added’ by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports” (Ferraro, 1996, p.1). This in turn contributed to the rising poverty in poorer nations. Dependency theory, therefore, was used to explain the persistent poverty of the poorer countries (Ferraro, ibid).
Dependency theory was earlier defined as "an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural—on national development policies" (Sunkel, 1969, p. 23 cited in Ferraro, 1996). Key to this definition was the idea that external forces – influences that are not only economic but also political and cultural - have impacted the development process of poor nations. This idea was expanded by Santos (1971) who argued that dependency is a "historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected" (p.226).

Later Eckstein and Noah (1988) summarised that dependency theory "argues that the world's present state can be most validly seen as the outcome of domination by the 'have' nations over the 'have-nots'" (p.165). In other words, rich nations are viewed as dominant and whose push for control of poorer nations has led to imbalances that favour the dominant states while impoverishing the poorer nations – the "have-nots." The outcome of this relationship is a state of dependency where the poorer nations are forced to become economically dependent on richer nations. This state of dependence has led to an exploitation of the poor by the rich (Stanford, 2001), a process that was initiated by colonial imperialism:

Dependency is an embodiment of the neo-colonial international relation between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, and the exploiting and the exploited (Lee, 1980, p. 30);
The historical record is read as beginning with a missionary zeal, which was soon transformed into explicit, unabashed colonization. The contemporary scene is characterized by the retreat of classical colonialism, and its replacement by a more sophisticated and insidious colonization -- that of the mind and the will (Eckstein and Noah, 1988, p.165)

This relationship between the rich and the poor is not only an economic phenomenon but extends to the influence by rich nations in the way people of poorer nations view their situation, view themselves and their abilities. In the context of the dominant paradigm, and especially the workings of the IMF and the World Bank, it can be argued that dependency by poor nations on the rich has been furthered and that it is not in the interests of the rich nations to see poor nations grow rich. Lee (1980, p. 30-31) argues that this is based on the three major arguments of economic dependence:

i) First, dependence causes underdevelopment – the prosperity of the West has been taken from the Third World. Exploitation of Third World nations has contributed to the development of the West while leaving Third World nations poorer and in a state of underdevelopment.

ii) Second, the West has strived to perpetuate this dependency of the Third World and has become richer by ensuring Third World’s continued economic dependency.

iii) Third, dependence is the central feature of the current economic system – the West has dictated the economic prospects of the Third World by all sorts of schemes: investments directed by American economic and
political interests; trade barriers to Third World exports; foreign aid; overpricing by multinationals etc.

These arguments underscore the view that Third World nations have been deliberately encouraged to become dependent because this benefits the rich Western nations and extends the colonial exploitation and control of poor nations.

Economic dependency has, however, been criticised as not being a “useful” theoretical concept (Lee, 1980) and is “flawed on logical grounds” (Larrain, 1989, p.188). Dependency theory has also been criticised for failing to clearly establish effective solutions to Third World development and faces the risk of becoming political rhetoric (Lee, 1980). As a theory, dependency theory has been accused of providing “an ideological and deterministic conception of underdevelopment which replicates the errors of modernization theory” (Larrain, 1989, p.189). This is the error of assuming Third World development can be achieved by socialism because capitalism has failed to alleviate poverty.

b) Dependency – more than just a theory

Dependency theory may be flawed but the concept of dependency – where poor countries have been forced to depend on rich nations, is recognised as a quagmire in international relations today. These relations are of what Julius Nyerere (1989) called an acute crisis for countries of the Third World:

We are held to ransom by threats of withholding credit, investment, or Aid, or blocking markets for our goods and
commodities. In these circumstances or virtual dependency our freedom of action - and thus the reality of our independence - is inevitably jeopardised (http://www.southcentre.org/mwalimu/speeches/written/belgradespeech.htm, 1989).

This thesis argues that dependency and the growing inequality between the rich and poor nations is a significant fact facing Third World nations and one that has grown with the gaining of strength of the United States and other Western nations (Wallerstein, 1996). Dependency has been taken seriously by leaders of the Third World and evidence that it has had an impact is highlighted by the formation of the South Commission.

In 1986, at a meeting of Third World Scholars and Statesmen in Kuala Lumpur, a new movement that best highlighted the economic quagmire facing the Third World was proposed. A year later, on October 2nd, 1987, the movement given the name of The South Commission was inaugurated in Geneva with former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere as its first chairman.

The South Commission was formed on the backdrop of what Nyerere saw as the reality of the Economic South: "Extreme economic and technical backwardness; a dependency on, rather than a relationship of genuine interdependence with the Economic North; powerlessness in making vital but underlying structural decisions which affect the lives of their peoples; and -- save in a few exceptional cases -- an intolerable level of national poverty" (http://www.southcentre.org/mwalimu/speeches/written/inauguralspeech.htm, 1987).
The South, as the Third World nations South of North America and Europe were called, had suffered similar traits in the last 50 years. Nyerere highlighted these as:

i) Growth and hope after independence and then disillusionment;

ii) Malfunctioning of the International Economic Order which had placed countries in the South in high debt with resources flowing from the South to the North instead of the other way round;

iii) The Collapse of International Co-operation where no political attempts were being made to encourage interdependence and cooperation between nations of the North and South. Alternatively every effort was being made to impose on the Third World preconceived and ideologically oriented policy packages and perspectives.

To combat these problems, the South Commission was established to champion:

i) National and Collective Self-Reliance: This would encourage economic and social co-operation between nations of the South (South-South cooperation). Nations of the South to identify how they can work together to create markets for their goods and an exchange of ideas and support for one another;

ii) North to South relations. The South Commission would be helping to build the foundation for genuine and meaningful cooperation between North and South. The commission realized that inter-dependence between the South and the North was necessary but what was important was how it was managed. The South Commission wanted to create a more equitable and just cooperation that would favour both the North and South.
However, the idea of creating an equitable relationship has been hijacked by the concepts of homogenisation and globalisation and is proving to be a problem in the African continent.

c) Globalisation and Dependency

The globalisation movement, a move towards what Mazrui (1999) calls homogenisation, is not the solution for the African continent. In fact, it may justify the reinventing of the dominant paradigm (Mazrui, ibid). To Mazrui, homogenisation is the situation where we are getting more and more alike as a result of globalisation. Globalisation "consists of processes which lead toward global interdependence and increasing rapidity of exchange across vast distances" (p.97). Economists argue that globalisation is vital for development and regional partnerships (such as the African Union, European Union and the North American Free Trade - NAFTA) are key to development. The problem with the globalisation movement lies in its imbalance. To the West (or North), globalisation means creating markets for its products in the Third World (or South) without reciprocal conditions. The movement has also been "hijacked" by multi-national companies whose aim is to make profit at the expense of developing nations. This has seen an increase in poverty and the widening of the gap between the rich and poor nations. Concepts of liberalisation, Mazrui (ibid) argues, are being embraced either "spontaneously or under duress" (p.97). He continues that:

However, the people who are orchestrating and sometimes enforcing marketization, liberalisation and privatization are Western economic gurus-reinforced by the power of the
World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United States and the European Union (p.97).

In other words, the same people who designed the failed dominant paradigm are at it again -- creating structures for global economic patterns, their way, for their benefit.

For example, the United States has in the last few years expressed great interest in African democratisation and development and has established its own policy goals for Africa. These goals are:

1. Integrating Africa into the global economy by promoting economic development, democracy and respect for human rights and conflict resolution, and

It is clear that apart from military reasons, the United States has economic interests in the continent. Strategically, Africa's Cape controls economic traffic flow between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Add to this the great untapped oil deposit bed from Nigeria to Angola and the 700 million emerging consumer market in the continent and "sub-Saharan's importance to the economic health and national security of the US is evident" (Vanderpuye, 2001, p.49).

The US policy of integrating Africa into the global economy is one of direct involvement in the development processes in African nations. Preston (1996) presents
the view that Economic dependency is "further expressed by political dependency" (p. 195). This American involvement, unless checked, will ensure that Africa remains economically and politically dependent on the West. As shown in chapter two, African nations have been influenced and at times controlled by more powerful nations. This has made African nations more politically dependent on the West and has left them susceptible to outside influence such as that American manipulation and control. The dependency is strengthened by the disregard of the continent’s views and exports which are not highly valued (Henderson 1998). It would appear that Africa is not only sinking in poverty but is also becoming more and more dependent on the West for its rescue. The formation of the African Union, however, and the quest by Africans to be in control of their own development processes is encouraging. As Versi (2001) rightly observes, there is the realisation that African problems require African solutions because:

Wealth cannot be created by governments or through aid programmes or loans from the World Bank. National wealth can only be created by the people themselves. It is when people turn straw and mud into bricks, and bricks into houses that wealth is created. It is only when all the people working separately yet unitedly (sic) start to produce the things they need that a nation begins to become self-sufficient (p.5).

Africans are saying clearly that they are "fed up with Western lies, gimmicks and the immoral policies that bolster tyranny in Africa" (Sunwabe, 2001, p.100) There is a growing view among Africans that the continent is not yet free and that the struggle to free it from the yoke of economic and political dependency and imperialism is a battle that is yet to be won.
VII. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined inequality in the world and the contributions to Africa’s poverty and slow development processes. Poverty has been shown as a human factor which impacts on people and which leads to suffering. UNDP’s definition of development as an alleviation of poverty and an improvement of people’s standards of living and human rights, has been adopted for this thesis. This chapter agrees with the United Nations Development Programme that priorities in research areas such as vaccines for malaria, new varieties of food, low cost computers and low cost energy supplies are essential and a practical solution in the fight against poverty.

This chapter has also argued that the dominant paradigm is based on a misconstrued notion of development that views some societies as superior and more “evolved.” The use of the dominant paradigm in communications and by world financial institutions have resulted in more hardship in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The alternative paradigm and participatory paradigm are much better than the dominant one and have contributed to small scale improvements in life. However, they have been criticised for their lack of realism and their continual use of assumptions that African nations need solutions that are conceived overseas. For example, Nick Cater (1997) finds the notion of Westerners going into other cultures and doing things for them “ridiculous.” He argues that Westerners should not presume they can understand what is going on in these cultures:

We would never expect the average Indian, Chinese, Latin American person to arrive in the UK and US and suddenly to tell us how to run, say Boston. . . And yet we Westerners feel
very comfortable going into Africa and immediately to start talking about the structure of a village and how people should plan it and communal ownership of land and this kind of thing (http://www-personal.umich.edu/~fiatlux/tl/nick/nco-eng.html).

Dependency has been identified as a factor that has impacted African nations whose economies are to a large extent under the controls of the Bretton Wood Institutions and Western governments.

It is vital to note that the problems within African nations do not only lie in involvement by outsiders or by Africa being dependent on the West. The Ghanaian Chronicle (May 22, 2000) and many African newspapers have echoed arguments by scholars (such as Ayittey, 1998) that Africa is partly to blame for her problems. African leaders have encouraged corruption and have mismanaged their economies and plundered their national wealth. This view that Africa's woes are self-inflicted was depicted in the Economist of May 13-19, 2000 in a sketch of Africa lying prostrate while a bloodied black hand drills a knife into her very heart.

A realisation that Africa's problems can only be solved with a change in the systems of governance is essential before any development plans can be achieved. These new systems of governance, free from the old colonial constitutions, have to be developed by Africans for themselves -- a process that is ongoing in several African nations. African leaders will need to realise the intricacies of the dominant paradigm, globalisation and the needs and development of their people, in the context of an African environment. They also have to be accountable to their people and become servants rather than masters of their nations. Corruption, abuse of human rights,
clamping down on the press and violence have to end and be replaced with accountability, good management and efficient utilization of resources.

On the issue of sustainable development, this chapter supports the arguments by the South Commission as highlighted by Nyerere (1989):

i) The only people responsible for the development of the South and the freedom of the South are the Governments and Peoples of the South.

ii) Sustained development in freedom has to be based on national self-reliance.

iii) The countries of the South must practice collective self-reliance if they want to maximise their capacity to develop in conditions of freedom.

iv) If the countries of the South want to gain some influence over the international economic order they must work together in solidarity in all major dealings with the North.

African nations have begun acting on these suggestions and have embarked on initiatives to turn around the continent's downward spiral. The New African Initiative (NAI) has been established as a movement which requires African leaders to commit themselves to democracy, development of peace, good governance and stability of their nations. The initiative is significant in that it has been developed by Africans for themselves and is a combination of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP) by Presidents Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria) and Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria) and the Omega Plan by President Abdoulaye Wade (Senegal) (Mbogo, 2001). However, these new initiatives
have to be made up of more than just rhetoric if the continent is to rise above problems of corruption, wars, poor governance and dependency.

Self-reliance and strong co-operation among African nations through regional and continent-wide blocks will be essential for total freedom and development of the African continent. Development, though, will need to be structured around an understanding of what Africans need and the best ways of solving these needs. This requires efficient communication between those initiating development ideas and the people. Knowledge of the impact of culture, oral tradition-based communication and the impact of outside interference on how Africans view their reality is hence, vital. The next chapter will extend the arguments of this chapter by examining how representation and culture are important for development.
CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURE, MEDIA IMPERIALISM AND THE CONCEPT OF VOICE

I. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the various developmental paradigms that have been employed for the development of the Third World. We looked at the effects of these paradigms, especially that of economic dependency in which African nations find themselves caught. This chapter develops from these arguments and explores the importance of a people charting their own views by expressing themselves their own way, a concept referred to in this thesis as the voice. However, before one can understand the concept of voice, one has to be aware of the effects of dependency on the way Africans see themselves and how they view and express themselves. In keeping with the media emphasis of this thesis, this chapter will examine the role reportage by foreign press on African issues have contributed to entrenching African dependency. The chapter will examine how issues such as cultural imperialism and culture have been blamed on dependency. The chapter will select certain arguments from the vast literature of culture and cultural imperialism to support the argument of using media for African development. Finally, the chapter will how an oral tradition base has contributed to communication patterns in African cultures. This will lay a foundation for the Kakuma field research presented in the chapter six.
II. CULTURE, IMPERIALISM AND A SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

a) Culture and imperialism

The term culture has been used to identify groups and to organise people according to their similarities and identity. According to Kenyan scholar Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1972):

Culture, in its broadest sense, is a way of life fashioned by a people in their collective endeavour to live and come to terms with their total environment. It is the sum of their art, their science and all their social institutions, including their system of beliefs and rituals" (p.4).

As Ngugi wa Thiong'o points out, the way of life in a culture is fashioned by a people for themselves. This fashioning is influenced by external factors such as the physical environment, history and need for harmony and improvement in life. Human beings, it can be argued, have always sought ways of life that ensure cohesion and which reflect their identity - that which makes them who they are, what they are and what their belief system indicates they should be. This, as Ngugi explains, can be seen in the development of art and important belief systems and a construction of reality. O'Shaughnessy (1999) outlines this idea of social construction by arguing that:

1. Human societies organise and structure the world in particular ways;
2. In so doing they 'construct' the world and they construct 'reality';
3. This reality tends to be normalised and naturalised so that it is taken for granted -- 'that's life' -- by the people in that society.
O'Shaughnessy's construction explains a basic human factor - that of living in communities with a structured sense of what is and what is not - beliefs, traditions, behaviours, expectations and a general way of life. This is what makes a cultural group.

Culture, it has been argued (Carey, 1999; Jowett & O'Donell, 1999; Benge, 1972), influences the way people communicate and fashion their communication patterns. Communication is part of a cultural construct of reality and hence messages in communication are filtered using specific cultural norms and ideas of what encompasses reality. Therefore, messages from or to a certain culture are influenced by communication traditions that mirror the cultures involved in the communication.

What happens then when people are influenced such that they no longer view meaning through their own cultural structures but through the eyes of foreign cultures? It has been argued that Africans are victims of this state of mind due to the effects of colonialism. As presented in chapter two, the main motivation for colonial imperialism was economic. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1996) further explains: “The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth . . . Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others” (p.16).

Here, Ngugi wa Thiong'o associates the control of people’s culture with economic control. An economically dependent people are, as argued in the previous chapter, easier to influence but they are even more easily manipulated and controlled if they
are also made culturally and mentally dependent. Tanzania’s first president Julius Nyerere argued that this mental dependency and control was initiated by colonial imperialism as a way of undermining African cultures:

A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation. Of all the crimes of colonialism, there is none worse than the attempts to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we have was worthless - some of which we should be ashamed instead of a source of pride (in Mytton, 1988).

In his book *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi wa Thion'go views these colonial attempts to have been successful and sees them as an attack with devastating results:

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people’s beliefs in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland (1986, p. 3).

In other words, the major effects of this cultural “bombing” is to destroy a people’s culture and the fabric of their existence. Both Nyerere and Ngugi wa Thion’o present the argument that African social constructs of reality have been altered and have resulted in negative outcomes and new forms of imperialism. Today, the perpetuation of this cultural “bombing” is by media and has been given the name cultural imperialism.
Cultural imperialism is a term used to describe the impact of Western mass media on foreign audiences (Salwen, 1991). It has also been defined as "a verifiable process of social influence by which a nation imposes on other countries its set of beliefs, values, knowledge and behavioural norms as well as its overall style of life" (Beltran, 1978, p. 184). The "imposed" beliefs can either be positive or negative depending on how they are structured, the reason for their imposition and the effect they have on the receiving culture. Communication theorists view this imposition to be through processes such as technological diffusion which make it possible for the dissemination of "the heavy dosage of Anglo-America programs appearing on television screens around the world" (Lee, 1980, p.69). Lerner's (1958) modernization theory viewed Western media (BBC World Service, Radio Moscow, Voice of America, American films, American publications etc) as a major part of developing "modern" attitudes and cultures in the Third World. However, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1972) argues the attitudes that have been formed cannot be called modern because this assumes that African cultures are primitive. This dominant paradigm view by Lerner is unfortunately one that is still employed today, especially in reportage.

Since independence, African nations have struggled to establish themselves and their views in the world. However, as previously argued, dependency created by the dominant paradigm and the failures of African governments have made it difficult for Africans to break away from the control of richer nations. These are the nations which Beltran (1978) sees as imposers of their cultures on dependent African nations. Noam Chomsky (1992) argues that this imposition is made possible by cultural managers – editors and journalists who make up powerful Western media and whose agenda is to push the way of life of their rich nations. Media imperialism was explored by Schiller
who viewed it as an organised system of imposing American government
agendas in other nations. He concluded that the reliance on American programming
by other nations is encouraged by the US government through financial and military
influence on media houses. Lee (1980) agrees “American media dominance stems
from U.S. foreign and defence policies and in turn are important instruments of such
policies. In short, mass media are the extension of the American empire, coming to
global ascendency during the postwar period when the majority of the non-communist
countries were eager for freedom and were so weak to accept American influence”
(p.37).

In the 1980s, inequality in the world’s production of information led to debates of
media ownership and the role of information in contributing to how societies viewed
themselves. These debates culminated in the establishment of the New World
Information and Communication Order (NWICO) (Brown-Seyed, 1999). NWICO’s
focus was to address the imbalance of media ownership which had five Western
agencies providing 80 percent of the World’s information (Birch, 1998). The debate
was conducted through UNESCO and was not welcome by Western powers who saw
a “shift of information (and therefore economic control)” from them. (Birch, 1998, p.
336). Continued debate led to the 1985 withdrawal of the United States and Britain
from the UN organisation and this later resulted in the abandoning of NWICO’s
arguments by UNESCO (Brown-Seyed, 1999; Birch, 1998).

Stunting of NWICO’s debate on information equality was not accompanied by any
significant changes in the structure of media and economic control. On the contrary,
Schiller (1981), Hamelink (1990) and Sims (1995) contend that development in the
information sector has not changed much and that information and technology and hence the ability to influence and perpetuate imperialism still lies in the hands of the rich nations.

b) International press' management of Imperialism

This section provides anecdotal and analytical evidence to set up the argument that media imperialism and its effects in Africa are a calculated extension of economic dominance and as Chomsky (1992) argues, are planned and executed by powerful states in order to control the ways of life of poor countries.

African intellectuals are always complaining about the negative impression of Africa that has been cultivated by foreign media (Ngechu, 1993). Foreign agencies, mostly from the West, have been accused of engaging in propaganda campaigns that paint Africa only as a broken down, useless and hopeless continent, whose people cannot produce anything of value. The four main press agencies with reporters in Africa -- the Associated Press, the United Press International, Reuters and Agence France-Presse have been "charged with being more interested in denigrating the young developing states than in reporting their positive accomplishments." (Tatarian, 1978, p.1).

These agencies supply the majority of information about Africa to the rest of the world. The picture systematically painted is one of a sick continent. Whilst some may argue this is an accurate description of the state of the continent, rarely are stories of Africans and their great successes ever written by these foreign reporters. These
scribes pose an "incurable predilection for lifting succulent facts out of their real
contexts, thus unavoidingly distorting or falsifying the whole picture" (Ochieng, 1992,
p.10).

The Western mass media continue to portray Africa as a "region wrought with crime,
poverty and overpopulation" (Askin & Collins, 1995, p.17). The Western media have
been doing this for so long (from the time of colonial rule) that they have created an
expectation of Africa that has to be continually fulfilled. Their focus is narrow and
one that feeds off calamities, without explaining the real causes of these "sad" events.
Their stories provide the "notion that Africans are passive victims who can only be
rescued by white people" (O'Malley, 1995, p.vii). Their propaganda campaigns are
successful as long as they continue providing exaggerated reports of Africa's failures
and their intended audiences remain ignorant and passive towards Africa. For
example, reportage on the outbreak of AIDS in the African continent has focused on
sexual habits of Africans rather than on the economic and health reasons that are the
catalysts for the disease\textsuperscript{x}. Violence within states is given the tag of "tribal warfare"
and viewed as an extension of unreasonable tribal\textsuperscript{xxi} conflict.

This was evident during the era of dictator Idi Amin of Uganda. Amin was known to
the world as a devious murderer whose rule over Uganda destroyed a nation that had
once been regarded as Africa's Garden of Eden. Western correspondents, as expected,
concentrated on reporting about Amin's plunder and sent juicy stories back to their
editors in Washington, London and Paris. Little attention was paid to the fact that
Amin's government was heavily funded and supported by the British government.
Western journalists liked Amin as he kept their by-lines at home on the front pages. In
actual fact, "a number of Western correspondents based in Nairobi were heard to lament aloud when the tyrant Idi Amin was overthrown in 1979. Why? Because -- they confessed -- there would be nobody colourful enough to provide them with ready and delicious copy!" (Ochieng, ibid, p11).

An argument can be made that media as a whole concentrate on negative stories because they make the “best” copy. However, Western journalists while operating in Europe, tend to balance their negative portrayals with positive stories that offer a more comprehensive picture of the regions they operate. This, however, is not the case in Africa. Western correspondents appear to concentrate on sensational stories meant to perpetuate the colonial idea of Africa’s savagery. For examples, a quick look at headlines of African stories written by Western correspondents for Western media find them to be mostly in the vein of: "Another way to die in Africa," (The Economist, Jan 4, 1997, p.46) and "African ritual pain: Genital cutting," (Duggert, Cecilia, The New York Times, Oct. 5, 1996 p.1N). It can be argued that the headline by the Economist insinuates that African ways of dying are unique and that the continent is a dangerous place compared with the rest of the world. The New York Times headline suggests that brutality in Africa is a way of life; something to gawk at as a shocking example of everyday “brutal” African life.

These foreign journalists, by concentrating on negative and "juicy" stories have been accused of engaging on a propaganda campaign to destroy Africa’s image and to perpetuate the need for Western control of the continent -- a view accepted by those who do not get a chance to visit the continent
Nigerian journalist Biola Olasope (1978) argues that foreign correspondents exhibit preferences and prejudices when they report about Africa. He explains that

The new states of Africa and the rest of the Third World are today preoccupied with social and economic development. They are building hospitals, schools, roads, skyscrapers. To them, but not to the Western correspondents, this development is what is new and relevant. The voluminous development plans are dismissed in a few paragraphs, if the plans belong to countries the correspondents fancy; otherwise they are ignored. The development, and, indeed, transformation that is going on all around is hardly ever noticed while events or issues that are insignificant or that in no way contribute to the progress of the nation, but rather create a bad image, get interpreted from the Western point of view and are blown up out of all proportion (p.25).

In 1978, for example, a BBC external services coverage of a “massacre” of white people in Shaba province (Zaire - present day Democratic Republic of Congo) was criticized by a BBC staff member for concentrating almost exclusively on molestation and deaths of whites during the early days of the disturbances, and almost totally ignoring the far larger number of deaths among blacks (Browne, 1992). Similar coverage was given to Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe’s government’s eviction of white farmers from their land. Mugabe had for years oppressed his fellow black people but it was only when he started encouraging attacks on white land owners (who had obtained the land during the colonial era) that he became a pariah to the West. Images of distraught white farmers were shown in the West, and Mugabe painted as a merciless dictator – something that his black people had known all along but no one had previously been interested.
These arguments are not meant to allege that all foreign correspondents in Africa are actively engaged in racist reporting. However, it would appear that there is a tendency for Western reporters and their editors to mostly view positive stories about Africa to be about animals, not black humans. This is not occurring in a vacuum but from a history of viewing Africa as a continent that needs Western assistance -- a principal notion of the dominant paradigm. This representation of Africa, Ochieng (1992) argues, is based on a notion of superiority and underlying racism. The reportage of Western correspondents is not accidental because they are aware of what they are doing. David Gergen, communications director in the Reagan White House, the Clinton Government and also editor-at-large for US News and World Report, says that the history of American and most Western media has been one of general inattention to Africa, “except when there’s been major famine or conflict.” American Broadcasting Corporation’s Nightline presenter Ted Koppel agrees with Gergen and explains that Africa gets insufficient media attention because of “a certain fundamental racism,” in the media (Hultman, 1992, p.224). This racism assumes that Africans are inferior compared to Westerners -- a concept that has been used to justify slavery, colonial imperialism, invasions on countries such as Somalia, interference in the sovereign nature of states and the dominant paradigm.

The impact of this type of reportage in the West is illustrated by the Westerner view of Africa. An example of this can be seen in the documentary film When We Were Kings (Gast, Hackford & Sonenberg, 1996), which tells the story of boxer Muhammad Ali and his trip to the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) for a World Championship fight against George Foreman. In the film, Muhammad Ali is
shocked to be in a plane piloted by Africans. He says that he has never heard of Africans flying planes and never had the concept of Africans as people able to achieve anything. “This is strange to the American Negro,” he says. “We never dreamt of this and every time we watch television they show us Tarzan and the natives and the jungle.”

His view of Africa, perpetuated by the media, had been of gorillas, savages and of a people with not much to offer the world. This effect of the media on how others see Africans and the opinions and views they hold in relation to Africans is crucial because it has been used to justify a continuation of imperialism on Africans\textsuperscript{xxii}. If Africans have nothing to offer the world, then it makes sense for the world, per say the Western world, to impart its culture on the continent. Africans, on the other hand, are made aware of this and, as Ngugi wa Thiong’o and Mbiti have argued, are ashamed of who they are and hence react by disassociating themselves from their culture.

d) **International media influence**

Why then is the role of international press important in the understanding of cultural imperialism?

The credibility of Africans is undermined by this unbalanced reporting. This has entrenched the view that Africans lack civilisation and they cannot be expected to offer anything of value to the rest of the world. This has in turn contributed to the disregard of African views in global discussions, resulting in clear discrimination in
the setting of world food prices, the lack of significant African representation in
International bodies such as the United Nations security council and World Trade
Organisation and the imposition of the dominant paradigm’s views on the continent.
This idea that Africa has nothing to offer and is dispensable was expressed in an
article by the *Economist* which suggested that Africa was “so irrelevant” that if it was
to sink in the ocean today no one would notice (May 13-19, 2000).

In Africa, the influence of Western media, especially in the form of news agencies
and broadcasts, is strengthened by the reliance on these services by African media
houses. These agencies, Olasope (1978) argues, determine what one African country
should know about events in other African countries and “they determine as well,
through careful selection of facts, the emphasis and orientation of each story, and by
implication, its impact” (p.166). These agencies also tell Africans what they should
know about what is happening in the Western nations. Therefore, the articles printed
in African newspapers are "dominated by the official Western viewpoint. Consciously
or not, they promote only the Western interest in the world." (Ochieng, 1992, p.16).
As a result, Africans see themselves and see the rest of the world, not from their own
eyes, but from the eyes and prejudices of Western news organizations.

This has led to "double alienation," an alienation from one's own tradition and cultural
explains, due to this double alienation, people have started copying the lifestyles of
Westerners and have adopted traits of individualism which moves them away from
the African communal ways of life. Africans are fashioning their cities, their way of
rule and their lifestyles to match those of the Western world. African leaders are
always complaining that the African culture is being lost as more and more Africans aspire to look, live and even think like Westerners. Because of the continuous barrage of information telling them that they are "savages," "primitive" and "non-thinking animals," backed by what appears as evidence of their failures, Africans have even started believing their portrayal by the media and have adopted the view that nothing good can come out of Africa. Tami Hultman (1992) who spent 20 years as the Executive Editor of Africa News Service, observed that blacks have subscribed to the notion that they are inferior. For example, "A successful African is now one who tries to be European" (p. 224). "Successful" parents are teaching their children English and French but not their mother tongues. The dream for some Africans is to be like white people, for they associate being white as being better and look to their blackness with shame (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1992).

Being white also means replacing African traditions with Western ones. As Mbiti (1990) laments, "The traditional solidarity in which the individual says, 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am', is constantly being smashed, undermined and in some respects destroyed. Emphasis is shifting from the 'we' of traditional corporate life to the 'I' of modern individualism" (p.219). This has dire consequences in a culture that has traditionally been held together by an "internal communication system" where "the individual is first and foremost a group member" (Fuglesang, 1973, p.34). Therefore, the African who negates his Africanism and adopts a Western lifestyle suffers:

The individual discovers that he is alone. When he falls sick, perhaps only one or two other people come to see him; when he is hungry he finds that begging food from his neighbour is
either shameful or unrewarding or both; when he gets bad
news from his relatives in the countryside, he cries alone
even if hundreds of other people rub shoulders with him in
the factory or bus . . . The individualism makes a person
aware of himself, but his self-consciousness is not founded
upon either traditional solidarity which by its very nature and
structure allowed little or no room for individualism, or
another solidarity since nothing concrete has yet replaced
what history is submerging (Mbiti, 1990, p.219).

The people of Africa are victims of cultural imperialism. Julius Nyerere lamented
about the colonial powers dividing Africans by telling them their culture is not good
enough. Today, the media have continued that message and even enhanced it more.
This is the context in which any new developmental plans for the continent must be
considered.

III. ORAL TRADITIONS

a) Oral Traditions and culture

One significant communication influence in African cultures is the oral tradition of
communication. Finnegans (1970) argues that African ways of thought and
interpretation of meanings are based on an oral tradition. African cultures have been
predominantly oral in their communication and even with literacy and written
communication, still employ oral communication rules such as the use of
colloquialisms in language to paint visual images of what one is speaking about
(Fuglesang, 1973). For example, Africans languages Fuglesang (ibid) argues, tend to
be more descriptive and use poetry, proverbs and sayings to make arguments.
Examples from real life are employed in argumentation as a way of bridging between theory and its relation to day to day life. Because of relying predominantly on oral communication, African cultures have developed specific ways of interpreting meaning. Fuglesang (1973) has observed that Africans view concepts of time, the present, the future and analysis of what is important, by employing rules developed from an oral tradition base. Mbiti (1990) points out that the use of anecdotes, myths and analogies to explain philosophies that paint pictures form part of the oral tradition communication system.

An oral tradition does not only affect the way meanings are interpreted but also contributes to the way people view their identity and reality (Proctor, 1997). Marshall Mcluhan, in his essay "Acoustic Space" explains this role of an oral base on people's understanding of reality:

In many preliterate cultures the binding power of oral tradition is so strong that the eye is subservient to the ear. In the beginning was the Word: a spoken word, not the visual one of literate man. Among the Eskimo, there is no silent sculpture. Idols are unknown, instead deities are masked dancers who *speak* and *sing*. When the mask speaks it contains meaning and value; silent, static -- illustrated in a book or hung in a museum -- it is empty of value (1997, p.39).

Mcluhan's arguments are well illustrated in African fiction, where stories once told in an oral form are presented in written form. In his analysis of Africa literature, Cook (1977) observed that African literature bears structures heavily influenced by an oral tradition. Books such as Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God* (1964) show what can
happen when cultures based on an oral tradition come into conflict with rules of thought and operation designed for literate cultures. Achebe argues that misunderstanding is inevitable when communication designed for literate cultures is transported to oral-based cultures. McLuhan supports this view with his argument that oral based cultures assign life to objects whose importance lies in their contribution to the welfare of the community. Communication in an oral-based culture is therefore heavily influenced by the ability of individual members of these communities to relate to the meanings assigned to different events and objects.

African oral tradition societies are also communal. Individualism, as shown earlier by Mbiti’s (1990) argument, is inimical to Africanism. Kenya’s first president Jomo Kenyatta highlights this factor in his book, Facing Mt Kenya (1965): “An individualistic (sic) is looked upon with suspicion and is given a nickname of mwebongia, one who works only for himself and likely to end up as a wizard... there is really no individual affair for everything has a moral and social reference (p.119, cited in Cook, 1977, p.4).

In other words, to be African is to view reality from a communal perspective based on the collective good for all. This notion is influential in communication by Africans and the grasping of messages by Africans. There is no doubt that interaction with the West and the adopting of new ideas (such as Capitalism and Individualism) have with time altered the way realities are perceived. However, as the field research in chapter six highlights, Africans still view communication from an oral base and interpret messages based on this understanding.
b) Oral traditions and the Communicator

Bearing in mind the oral-base of African communication, it can be reiterated here that to be able to develop Africa, it is not enough to relay a message. If the relayed message is not understood, then it will have no effect whatsoever and thus can be said to have failed. In other words, it can be argued, no relevant communication has taken place.

This chapter recapitulates that one cannot claim communication has been achieved because it has been initiated whether it is acted upon (in the desired manner) or not. In this thesis, relevant communication is that which realistically and physically leads to specific improvement in people's lives.

Communication requires the communicator to understand the receiver's way of thinking and comprehension patterns, taking into account general knowledge, cultural and environmental factors (including taboos and political and religious beliefs) and type and degree of need. Then, the communicator has to fashion the message in the simplest manner to achieve, first, comprehension, then understanding, and finally persuasion. The aim of the message is to be learned and acted upon. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, effective communication for development requires:

1. Understanding of the audience – cultural norms, communication patterns and environmental (such as political and economic) factors.

2. The message to be fashioned with these factors in mind – especially communication patterns.
3. Message presented in a persuasive manner so as to be learnt

4. Message is acted upon in the desired manner.

This understanding of the audience, it can be argued, is easier if it emanates from a member of the audience that is to be targeted. Persuasion techniques have shown that people respond more to messages that are presented by a member of their group in a way that is complimentary with their understanding of meaning (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999; Aronson & Pratkanis, 1991; Key, 1993):

Messages have greater impact when they are in line with existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions . . . Messages appear to be resonant, for they seem to be coming from within the audience than from without (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999, p.290).

Hatim (1997), in his study on communication across cultures, argues that the type of audience plays a major role in the choice of messages to be communicated and that an audience’s orality and rhetorical traditions influence its perceptions. This is because social-cultural factors contribute to the motivation of people in their understanding of messages. Who better than a person from a culture to engage in communication for development in that culture? As seen earlier, The South Commission argues that development of the Third World nations will only be achieved by Third World nations themselves. African development has to be initiated and carried out by Africans, who are at an advantage for they understand and are part of a culture based on a history of oral tradition communication. Therefore, they speak in one voice expressing their views their own way for their own benefit.
IV. CONCLUSION: THE CONCEPT OF VOICE

The discussions on cultural imperialism, the role of the international press in the dependency of African nations and the significance of oral traditions lead to the argument that the question of who is speaking to and for Africans for development, is important. It can be argued that:

When the "object" gazed at is called Africa and when the gazing subject is Africa, the observer cannot help but conclude that any gaze that is related to Africa is an intersection of gazes calling forth several questions: Who is looking at Africa? What is Africa looking at? Who looks at the one who is looking at Africa? (Bidima., 1998 p. 169).

The concept of voice springs from the argument that communication for development is mostly effective if it is presented efficiently and with an understanding of the cultural rules involved. The concept of voice also means that people need to tell their own stories. When people express themselves in their own way, they are said to be speaking in their own voice. The revolutionary calls of "let their voices be heard” exiv means that the ability of people to express themselves in their own way is significant to their identity, freedom and development.

During the colonial era, as Nyerere and Ngugi wa Thiong’o have pointed out, Africans were denied a say in the running of their affairs. They were denied a voice in decisions affecting their livelihoods. Independence ushered in the dominant paradigm and dependency and Africans have continued to be “told” how to run their affairs and that they are lacking the strength of purpose to speak in one voice for the betterment of the continent.
This chapter has shown that media have been used to present a negative image of the African people and to justify continued interference by foreigners on the continent’s plight. For the concept of voice to be achieved, there needs to be a counter to this powerful force so as to present a better image of the continent. This will in turn give more power to those who negotiate on behalf of Africa in various international discussions – whether they be involved in world trade, military intervention or debt relief.

Africans have to “market” themselves and tell their stories their own way to the rest of the world. This requires active participation by Africans in the generation of information on the continent. This can be achieved through major African media houses actively sending correspondents to the rest of the world to file stories written from an African angle for Africans. Reality from an African perspective about Africa and the rest of the world needs to be presented. A model that can be employed is that of Qatar’s Al-Jazeera news station which provides news to the Middle East from a Middle Eastern viewpoint, without relying on Western networks for information. The station has given the world an opportunity to hear the views of Palestinians and Afghans whose views may not be presented by Western agencies due to logistical, cultural, language, political and editorial hindrances.

Another “marketing” technique is for African journalists to actively seek opportunities in foreign news media so as to actively engage in presenting a more balanced image of the African continent. This reportage may be through the production of films, newspaper, magazine and Online stories and radio broadcasts.
Africans telling African stories to the world are needed and journalists producing work for foreign markets are needed so as to counter the negative and misunderstood view of Africa. Chapter seven will explore various media theories and how a story's angle is dependent on the journalists motivation and viewpoint.

This idea of one voice was what the founding fathers of the African nations – Nkrumah, Senghor, Kenyatta, Nyerere and others had when they talked of Pan Africanism. This idea did not succeed. However, there is understanding now that only a United Africa that speaks in one voice is able to challenge the forces of imperialism and eventually fight poverty.

All in all, Bidima (1998) with his question of who is gazing at Africa, insinuates that Africans need to be the ones telling their own stories and charting their own destinies. Therefore an African voice is one that comes from an African, employs African communication styles, understands the African audience and speaks for the African cause. Chapter six provides the results of a field research that supports the argument that understanding of a culture and the concept of voice are essential in development. The next chapter provides the methodological framework of this study.
CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodological framework for this study. This study is broken into two major components: a written thesis and production section – two, one-half hour films. This chapter will first address the written thesis, particularly the Kakuma Case study and will then present a summary of the documentary and current affairs piece: AFRICA 2000: Voices of the Future and Africa AIDS: An African Perspective.

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of this study are:

a) To explore and understand the role of communication and culture in the development of Africa;

b) To understand and analyse the social, political and economic situations facing the African people; and,

c) To generate arguments and a new way of using media for development of the African continent.

To achieve this, the study employs various methodologies:

1). Presentation of the context of the study;
2). An analysis of theories of communication and media that pertain to the study. This also includes social, political and economic arguments relevant to a clear understanding of selected arguments.

3). Two case studies – one a qualitative field research and the other an analysis of the edutainment model of communication in application in South Africa and

4). One documentary film and one television production film.

III. PART ONE – THE WRITTEN THESIS

This section will introduce the written thesis with a research framework for the various arguments, followed by a qualitative field research at Kakuma refugee camp.

The written thesis is divided into ten chapters of varying lengths. Each chapter is build on the one before with the idea of generating arguments that culminate in the development of a new paradigm for development. The methodology used here is one of inquiry and development of a certain way of thought, based on literature review, field research and a case study. The basis for this is the argument that to be able to articulate clearly the role media have in development, it is important to study most aspects that contribute to media influence – especially those of culture, media/journalism theory and socio-economic factors under which media operate.

a) Journalistic Framework

Writing from a journalistic background, this thesis is influenced by journalism’s empirical methodology which demands that writing be clear, concrete and straightforward in the expression of ideas (Windschuttle, 1999). This is because a
mass market is usually the audience/reader of journalistic work. That said, also
journalism follows patterns similar to that of social science (Parsigian, 1987) and the
process of journalism is in itself research. Even though Keith Windschuttle's general
views would not be in agreement with the theoretical and political perspectives of this
thesis, he nonetheless provides a sound analysis of the process of journalism:

While journalism is admittedly a very broad church that
includes essays, thought pieces, columns and commentaries
that can be produced without straying very far from a
computer screen, the great volume of journalism, especially
daily reporting for print and broadcasting, involves research.
Journalists go places, witness events, listen to speeches,
conduct interviews and discover documents (Windschuttle,
1999, p.11).

This process of journalism, Jack Waterford, one time editor of the Canberra
Times argues, is about audiences and is hence influenced by shifts in age, time,
market expectations etc., which lead to changes in newsrooms (2000). This means
that journalism research, if the process of journalism can be called that, is based
on what societies require it to be or what journalists view as their role in that
society – an argument central to this thesis. This introduces the question of, what
is journalism?

Scholars tend to describe what journalism is by explaining what journalism does or is
supposed to do (Tapsall & Varley, 2001) (the functions of the media are explored
fully in chapter seven). Meadows (2001) puts it that journalism “should be seen as
part of the broader process of making culture” (p.41). This is because journalism
today, “forms public opinion rather than reports it” (p. 41). What Meadows is
presenting is the argument that journalism is more than just reporting news.

Journalism is more about interpretation and a conscious effort to change situations.

Burns (2001) agrees and argues that key to the independence to report information is based on the argument that journalists have a duty to report in the public’s interest.

Journalism, then, Burns would argue, is a duty. This, Henningham (1998) adds, is based on the reality that “journalists and their mass media organizations are of supreme importance as gatherers and presenters of the information, analysis and commentary seen and read each day by millions of people” (p. 333). Indeed, journalism’s importance makes it the first draft of history (Herbert, 1998).

This “important” role of journalism, Myles (1998) argues, means that journalism should be seen to be dealing with fact. This means the process of journalism should be separated from drama and set up in a way that journalistic output is credible.

However, journalism is only seen to be credible, if journalists are able to communicate well. As Morgan (1998) argues:

> Journalism and journalists are judged by the success with which they communicate with their readers, listeners and viewers . . . This means more than the effectiveness and efficiency with which they convey particular messages with audiences. It also includes the degree to which journalists establish and maintain a sense of community with audiences, the clarity and guile with which they display themselves and their wares and the extent to which they enable their audiences to ‘read’ and make sense of the world (p.58).

This study employs these journalistic principles and employs journalistic techniques in the gathering of information. Literature review for the arguments used are approached from the view of whether they fit with the understanding of the world
from information provided by journalism. The two case studies (Kakuma Refugee camp and Soul City) are motivated by journalistic inquiry which encourages visits to sites and the study of how people are achieving outcomes and creating meaning. The use of interviews and examples in the writing style is in keeping with the narrative form of journalistic discourse where meaning is created by “drawing” pictures of situations by either using the pen, camera or microphone.

Eisner (1997) presents the argument that the use of narrative, similar to that employed in journalism, can be an effective way of making an argument. This is because narrative discourse “spurs” imagination and enables the reader/viewer/listener to grasp the immediate meaning behind the words. Journalism tends to be direct rather than ambiguous in its form (Windschuttle, 1999). Therefore, social research influenced by a journalistic framework assumes that the reader either approaches presented information with some prior knowledge or requires a basic introduction and background information of the topic as an introduction for the rest of the information. This means that background information (context) that is relevant to the study at hand is presented without being bogged down by long analysis of each specifically mentioned concept, piece of historical background or theory. This form of social research ensures that there is clarity in communication of essential arguments.

A common journalistic style is the use of empathy to get a message across. This is evident in long journalistic stories and especially those produced for broadcast. The use of interviews that narrate experiences is empathic in nature. Because human beings are pragmatic as well as emotional beings, expressing an idea using empathy should be acceptable. However, Eisner (1997) points out that empathy has
Traditionally been regarded as a “contaminant to understanding” (p.259) especially in scholarly writing:

To be emotional was to lose control. Rationality at its best was cool and disinterested; it did not traffic in feeling. Indeed, one of the intractable legacies of the enlightenment was the separation of body from mind, a separation that is alive and well in the subtexts of school curricula and in our conceptions of human ability (Eisner, 1997, p.259).

This separation is however not valid when viewed from the application of the journalism process. The field of journalism, like many fields which investigate social factors that affect people’s lives, is one where logic cannot be separated from emotions. This is because logic and emotions are elements that are inherent in the perception of reality of human beings and which researchers employ for their analysis. The use of non-conventional forms of research such as films (Eisner, 1997) is eroding this traditional view that valid research is only that which is free from empathy. Rationality, therefore, can be fully gained when logic is combined well with empathy. This study employs arguments based on evidence that is both logical and empathic. To talk of poverty, suffering and happiness only from a logical position is to deny the truth of the conditions being described and an injustice to the victims of the suffering being expressed.

This use of empathy is highlighted by Soul City’s work. The thesis analyses South Africa’s Soul City’s Edutainment model. The communication model is structured around the use of appealing and entertaining productions which are used to encourage social development. Edutainment and Soul City provide the thesis with an example of
how communication and media are being used in the Third World to change perceptions and how a campaign should be conducted if it is to achieve positive results. Ideas from the Edutainment model are borrowed for the design of a model for using media for development. This model is presented in chapter nine.

In addition to employing a journalistic style in its approach and an analysis of the Edutainment model, this study employs qualitative techniques for its analysis, especially of research conducted at Kakuma Refugee camp.

b) Qualitative Field Research

The main aim of the study at Kakuma is to complement and contribute to the arguments on cultural differences and how communication is vital for creating a sense of harmony and understanding, conditions that enable social development. The camp is a testimony to the conflict across the African continent and underscores the importance of human rights and the effects of displaced people due to conflict arising from the impacts of colonialism, Cold War and poor governance in the continent. Choice of Kakuma underscores a major argument in this thesis – that of presenting Africa’s social and political context based on what exists. The study presents communications patterns at the refugee camp and raises the issue of the treatment of refugees and how the provision of effective communication channels are tantamount to the upholding of the refugees' fundamental human rights. The study also presents an example of the differences in cultural interpretations of meaning, with the expectations of an oral tradition different from that of a literate culture. The study
analyses the argument that the United Nations operates from a Western perspective and is in danger of being a conduit for the dominant paradigm (Mazrui, 1996).

The study was undertaken using three procedures: interviews, questionnaires and Multi-media recording. Two hundred refugees participated in the field research, with 100 of them filling out questionnaires. The study was qualitative in nature. Whereas quantitative analysis is based on a statistical relationships between numbers based on systematic organisation (Vettenranta, 1998), a qualitative study considers the totality of the gathered information (Alasuutari, 1995, cited in Vettenranta, 1998) with the intention of “shading light on the structure of a logical whole” and is “ideally carried out in a naturalistic setting with an emphasis on everyday behaviour, and it is often descriptive”(Vettenranta, ibid, p.65). Qualitative research is also defined as research that employs open-ended interviewing to explore and understand the opinions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviour of individuals or a group of individuals (Qualitative Research Consultants Association, 2001).

Alasuutari (1995) argues that qualitative study is made up of two parts: a) the purification of observations and b) unriddling. In purification of observations, attention is paid to information that contributes to the theoretical framework – information that is essential to the study at hand and the research question. In unriddling, data is analysed with a set denominator or specific set of rules. Operating with similar rules to those governing quantitative analysis, unriddling relies on combining data in specific ways according to information gathered by the research process (Vettenranta, 1998). All data are analysed using these specific rules and conclusions drawn.
The analysis of data from Kakuma falls into the purification of observations category. Conclusions from the research are arrived at by setting collected data and interviews into manageable sections that relate to the communication patterns in the refugee camp. Because the study is conducted in a natural setting, it provides information on the day-to-day living conditions of refugees, enabling conclusions to be made on how things really are in the camp. The study explores the attitudes, ideas and feelings of refugees and compares this with the views and actions of United High Commission for Refugee staff and documentation.

The field research at Kakuma satisfies three main categories of qualitative research: exploring alternative communication messages; identifying strengths and weaknesses; and probing perceptions of current societal or public affairs issues (Qualitative Research Consultants Association - QRCA, 2001). The study hence complements the rest of the thesis and contributes to the achievement of the objectives of this study, especially that of exploring and understanding the role of communication and culture in the development of Africa and analysing the social, political and economic situation facing the African people. Information from the study also contributes to the generation of a media paradigm for development by providing knowledge on the importance of setting up relevant communication structures. The qualitative process undertaken (methodology) of the Kakuma research is presented in chapter six.
IV. PART TWO – FILMWORK

a) Methodological framework

The documentary and television current affairs production included as part of this study are not ethnographic. The productions do not attempt to reveal information of a culture or conventions of film making particular to specific cultures. The films are journalistic productions in the format of documentary and current affairs. The films are produced for a general audience from the perspective of an African film maker interviewing Africans.

The audience of the films is universal but special attention is paid to the films’ applicability to and relevance for an African audience as well as to an Australian audience (especially the current affairs piece). The use of film as a key part of this study is based on two ideas: First that the film media, especially if conveyed on television, is powerful because of its visual makeup (Elliott and Golding, 1997). Because images and pictures usually portray scenes that are in existence, documentary film provides “concrete evidence of the global surveillance of electronic journalism by demonstrating visually the journalist’s presence at an event” (Elliott and Golding, 1997, p.407). Second, film can effectively be used as a process of making meaning (Fiske, 1997) and hence to present arguments and various points of view based on research.

Production of the two films was based on these two ideas and encouraged by Rabiger’s (2001) exploration of the difference between documentary film and print.
Rabiger argues that more people believe the documentary is more objective “because an inanimate instrument like a movie camera, taking ‘truth 24 times a second,’ seemed incapable of deception” (p.63). This is mainly because film (including video) is always in the present tense, while print journalism tends to reside in the reflective past tense. Another key difference between print journalism and film is that “in reading an article, actions are described, voices are imagined” (p.63). Rabiger (2001) explains that in reading text, dense layers of meaning that a person conveys vocally, facially and bodily get lost. However, he adds, “in the hands of skilful writers, these (meanings) will be selectively implied, but to exist they depend on a writer’s sensitivity to nuance. The same transaction, captured by the camera, gets it all the first time, and the footage can be searched afterwards for deeper layers of meaning” (p.63).

Journalists understand that the documentary film, though, is not objective. The human element denies it this view of objectivity. Films tend to be a group production with several people contributing to the form of the film. This means that cultural and professional prejudices are evident in the choices that are made. The human element, Rabiger (2001) argues, also means that it is possible for deception to be introduced in documentary film. However, what is important in this study is that viewers tend to believe that the documentary film is objective and is a medium that can provide several layers of meaning.

b) Presentation of the films

This section will suggest how my films articulate the arguments developed in the written part of the thesis.
i) *Africa 2000: Voices of the Future (30 minutes)*

In my film, "Africa 2000: Voices of the Future," young people (aged between 18 and 35)*xxv* address issues pertaining to the political, social and economic welfare of the African continent. The film is made up of a series of interviews with these "future leaders" of the African continent. The participants were drawn from a wide audience group and range from university-educated journalists, lecturers and economists to clerks, taxi drivers, security personnel and students.

They were asked three questions:

1.) What went wrong with Africa?

2.) What solutions are there for the continent to free itself from its problems? And

3.) What does the future hold for the continent - predictions?

This example of giving of a voice to the young to express their ideas and talk of their destinies as leaders is not a common occurrence in Africa. Because of the traditional base and way of acquiring knowledge in African cultures*xxvi*, it is always those who are older who discuss problems and proffer their solutions. By involving only the youth, the film gives a voice to this group. Their ideas show that they are politically active and fully understand what went wrong with their continent and their plight.

This choice of focusing on the youth and their views is made on the premise that they are the ones who will inherit the future. The youth are called upon to explain meaning as they perceive it and to indicate their place in the future of their respective nations and continents.
The production elements in the film are significant to this study. The film is mostly made in the style of a “one man band” whereby I am the producer, director, camera person, narrator and editor. This gives me editorial control that I assume from the shooting of the film in the various countries visited to the final edited production. This production element provides several advantages:

First, those interviewed were able to express their ideas to “one of their own.” They were encouraged to voice their opinions freely with the understanding that they were in discussion with a fellow African. My intervention in the filming process meant that I was aware of some of the issues discussed and I was able to explore them further during the filmmaking. My intervention also meant that I was able to concentrate on the questions I wanted answered and the way they related to my research. I was also able to explore the idea of giving a voice to people and presenting views that are true to their meanings. The film also gave those interviewed a chance to be seen and heard by using a format that is complimentary with an oral tradition base of exchanging ideas and feelings. The film provided an avenue through which their emotions and ideas were able to be grasped and documented in a format that, as Rabiger (2001) argues, remains present.

This intervention is carried along in the editing process. Choice of images are made to provide a picture of the continent that I have been exposed to. This includes balancing between rural and urban presentations and including interviews of people from various socio-economic backgrounds.
The film complements the arguments presented in the written thesis and contributes to this study’s objectives.

ii). *Africa AIDS: An African Perspective (30 Minutes)*

a) **Production elements**

The production process of this film is slightly different from that employed for *Africa 2000*. This film was made as an international current affairs story for SBS Television’s DATELINE program. As part of my research process, I was engaged by SBS to make films for the program as a journalist providing an African perspective. The program’s executive producer was interested in the production of stories with a higher degree of credibility because they were made by people who understood the area the films were to be made. This fitted in with my argument (in chapter four) that in order to provide a better view of the continent than that presented by Western journalists, African journalists should actively seek opportunities in foreign news media so as to actively engage in presenting a more balanced image of the African continent. The production also provided me with an opportunity to further explore the concept of *voice* – especially that of getting Africans to explore their problems and suggest solutions. Because I was able to interview decision makers and people who have to deal with the problems arising from the effects of dependency on multinational companies and poverty-related problems, I was able to use the filming process as a significant research process. This research process led to an
understanding of the socio-economic quagmires facing the continent and how communication can contribute to social development.

SBS granted me a contract on the basis of my journalism background, research needs and because I could operate as a “one man band” whereby I would be a producer, reporter and cameraperson for my stories. The choice of using a single person in this “one man band” format was initially forced upon DATELINE by budget constraints but with time it became evident that high quality pieces\textsuperscript{xxvii} could be produced and aired in this format\textsuperscript{xxvii}. The format has the advantage of enabling a reporter to operate with a mini-DV camera in areas where a production crew would find it difficult to operate. The format also has the added advantage of using smaller cameras which are less threatening to people than large production cameras.

I was in charge of writing my script and supervising the editing procedure. A supervising producer and the executive producer provided guidance and approved the final production of the story. However, I had editorial control in most aspects of the production process: the research, filming, interviewing, scripting and editing. However, SBS was influential in the structure of the film and there was significant balancing between what an African journalist thought was important, and what my duties as a journalist producing work for an Australian audience were. The story had to satisfy Australian expectations but still be able to be clear to a general audience.
b) Story elements

The story was motivated by South African president Thabo Mbeki’s controversial claim that HIV was not necessarily the cause of AIDS. Mbeki was criticised heavily by Western media for his ideas. However, newspaper stories published in African newspapers held views in support of Mbeki. With the understanding that the AIDS issue was complex, I endeavoured to investigate what the view of Africans was, from my own African perspective. Interview sessions were secured and organised from the point of view that the story was to feature an African interpretation to the AIDS issue.

The film is presented in the form of a “journey back home” where I travel to four countries in search of information. I used this process to explore the issue of neocolonialism and the power multi-national organizations have in determining the fate of Africans. I was able to show that poverty and the effects of World Bank and IMF forced structural adjustments had contributed to the rapid growth of the disease in the continent, hence providing concrete evidence to support the arguments in the written thesis.

The choice of those to be interviewed was based on the idea that this was a story about Africans and they were better able to express their views and arguments – their voice. A critique of filmwork produced in Africa by Western journalists is that they tend to feature interviews with foreign White experts who act as analysts of the problems or issues facing Africans. My intention was to interview Africans only
because this was their story and African experts who could interpret the different issues covered were available in the continent.

V. CONCLUSION

This study employs various methods to present the argument that media can be used for development in Africa. The use of a journalistic framework in the written thesis is in keeping with the style employed in the production of the films. Use of case studies provides evidence to the arguments in the study and anchor the study as timely and one which deals with difficult questions of the livelihood of Africans.

The two films AFRICA 2000: Voices of the Future and Africa AIDS: An African Perspective provide journalistic material that complement the arguments in the written thesis.

Production of the two films was non-traditional and low cost because they relied on skills required for a “one man band.” There is, however, ongoing debate whether the current affairs “one man band” formula is the way of the future of broadcast journalism (after all print journalists can work alone and present award-winning work) or whether it is a detracting shortcut of a tried and tested mode of production that satisfies the complex demands of the filming process (Little, The Australian, June 7, 2001). DATELINE is continuing its use of its formula and it appears to be working well but time and future research will provide a better view of this journalistic practice.
All in all, the films provide a context and journalistic examples for the written thesis. They also enable the concept of voice to be presented and contribute to arguments on the use of media for development. These arguments are featured in the next three chapters beginning with a communications research at Kakuma refugee camp.
CHAPTER SIX:
FIELD RESEARCH: COMMUNICATION RELATIONSHIPS AT
KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

1. INTRODUCTION

This Chapter investigates the communication patterns between the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and refugees. Chapter four has argued that oral traditions and culture affect the way Africans view meaning and the way they communicate. This chapter expands this argument by providing a case study of the interaction between Africans and Westerners. Knowledge from the study will later contribute to development of a communication paradigm for development. The study is mainly on the relationship between African refugees and mostly Western United Nations and aid organizations staff at Kakuma refugee camp, in North-Western Kenya. These refugees, displaced by conflict in several African countries, are today’s evidence of the instability and poverty in the African continent. In 1971, the African Refugee Convention was signed in Addis Ababa with the intention of containing the already one million refugee. Thirty years later, the United Nations estimates that there are more than 6.5 million refugees in Africa with 230,000 residing in Kenya (Ghati, 2001). This increase in refugee numbers is not surprising when one understands the social, political and economic situation in the continent as a result of the various factors outlined in preceding chapters.

Because communication is shaped by context, socio-economic and demographic factors (Clowers, 2000) as well as expectations, an understanding of the
communication patterns in the "controlled" environment of an African refugee camp can provide an insight into what Africans view as important aspects of their culture and communication. This can in turn highlight some of the cultural and fundamental differences of problem solving between Africans and Westerners. The role of communication in the lives of displaced people, who by virtue of being rendered refugees are looked at as helpless, is vital for refugees to maintain their dignity as human beings whose viewpoints should be considered and problems addressed. Because people do not lose their human rights as a result of being subjected to becoming refugees, understanding refugees' ideas and being able to communicate with them is essential in upholding fundamental human rights.

Therefore, Kakuma refugee camp was chosen because it is a consequence of the real geo-political conditions in Africa and provided conditions for the study of the problems that arise when aid organizations and foreigners engage in improvement of African lives.

a) Refugee Research

Most research in refugee camps falls under the categories of inquiry concerned with the physiological and psychological effects on the lives of refugees. Leaning (2001) sums up these categories as: a) aetiology or prevalence – for example, what is causing this outbreak of diarrhoea? What percentage of the population is vaccinated for measles?; b) Assessment of operations or systems – e.g. did this mode of soap distribution reduce skin infections?; and c) Clinical intervention research - is the cure rate the same with 3 days of antibiotics as with 5 days?. These questions are
important. However, they are meant to satisfy vital physiological needs but with little emphasis placed on cultural factors and communication patterns in the lives of refugees. As Black (2001) points out, most refugee studies have only been connected with policy developments (such as establishment of logistical support for maintenance of refugee camps) and have been conducted for United Nations and aid organizations. In the last decade, studies that consider social frameworks and environmental factors in the lives of refugees have been encouraged and this has been viewed positively. For many years, the process of dealing with refugees has been viewed as emergency parameters – short term and mainly concerned with logistics. However, today camps exist where people spend up to 10 years, which calls for the redefining of the relationship between aid agencies (including the United Nations) and refugees. This has created a need for studies such as this -- examining of communication patterns in a refugee setting.

b) Study’s Overview and Hypothesis

The tragedy of being a refugee does not only lie in being displaced from one’s home country but also in the empty feeling of being in a limbo while waiting in a refugee camp for a future that is unclear and which for some “refuses to come.” This restless feeling of one’s life being empty of meaning is evident in the lives of the nearly 90,000 refugees at Kakuma’s refugee camp. Most of these refugees have been in the camp for anywhere between six months to over 10 years. Kakuma Refugee camp is administered by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and is located in the semi-arid and very hot area of North Western Kenya where temperatures hover between 32 and over 40 degrees all year round. The camp is home

This study was concerned with the communication patterns existing in the large camp, especially between refugees and their helpers – United Nations staff and staff of supporting NGO (International Rescue Committee, Lutheran World Federation and Don Bosco). However, emphasis was on the relationship between UNHCR and refugees because as the main administration body, UNHCR is the one in control of the fate of refugees in the camp. The initial aim of the study was to highlight strong areas of communication and to bring to light poor or non-existent avenues of communication which have in the past caused conflict and led refugees to claim they felt imprisoned and worthless. The underlying hypothesis is that cultural differences of communication bearing on Africa’s oral traditional backgrounds are very important and play a major role in differences of communication between mostly Western expatriates and the African refugees.

This chapter presents the findings from the study. Some of these findings will be shown to contradict common views among UN staff that refugees complain a lot because they want to be repatriated to rich Western nations. The chapter will also explore the problems arising from poor communication between the United Nations and refugees and will offer recommendations for improving communication and restoring the dignity of refugees who believe they are being discriminated against and hated because they are Africans and are refugees.
II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

a) Context

Kakuma refugee camp is located in the north-Western area of Kenya, about 700 kilometres from Kenya’s capital Nairobi, and is close to the borders with Sudan and Uganda. The camp is in a semi-desert area and is remote. The town of Kakuma was a small town of less than 1,000 people before the camp was set up. Now, with the nearly 90,000 refugees in the area, it is a small city.

The camp was established as a settlement for refugees who had already gone through the first stage of rescue/assistance. Starving and wounded refugees streaming from Sudan, for example, stopped at Lokichogio camp, on the Kenyan-Sudan border, and after initial treatment and feeding were transferred to Kakuma. Refugees from other parts of Kenya have also been moved to the camp.

Kakuma is not a typical refugee camp with tents and carton shelters. It is made up of grass thatched, four walled mud houses. It covers an area of 15 kilometres in diameter and has several murram (dirt) roads. A major, tarmacked road from Nairobi passes by the camp and an airstrip in the camp (with flights twice a week) is used to bring in UN staff and necessary equipment and medicines. Several bore holes provide piped water that can be collected at several centres in the camp.
The camp has a hospital (managed by the International Rescue Committee – IRC, an aid agency). The hospital has wards and even a small operations/surgery theatre. Everyday, babies are born in the hospital.

Education centres are managed by Don Bosco and the Lutheran World Federation. These run primary to secondary education and technical schools (these teach basic literacy courses to technical skills such as typing, secretarial work, carpentry, shoe making, leather tanning and agriculture). A single building University offers undergraduate degrees in partnership with the University of South Africa, in Johannesburg.

Food rations are provided by the UN’s World Food Programme (WFP) and refugees constantly queue to receive grains and oil. Inadequate food provision is part of the problem in the camp. Refugees are not allowed to grow crops or keep livestock and are expected to depend on the UN food rations. Several reasons are offered by the UN for this decision: firstly, the camp is supposed to be a temporary home and the growing of crops can translate to a sense of permanency. Secondly, low resources of water in the semi-arid area would make cultivation futile. And thirdly, the keeping of livestock would breed tension between the local Kenyan communities who sell milk and meat to the refugees.

The camp is not fenced and there is limited interaction between refugees and Kakuma’s Kenyan residents. The government of Kenya provides security and runs a court and a jail in the camp. The UN coordinates and keeps the camp running as smoothly as possible as more refugees stream in due to the continued violence in
Sudan and instability in Ethiopia, Somali and Congo. Refugees are not allowed to travel without a permit and must stay in the camp.

In the last two years, Kakuma has been gripped with tension as refugees have demonstrated, rioted and accused the United Nations of inhuman treatment. Fires have broken out and destroyed refugee dwellings, leaving some sleeping under trees. Initial reports indicated problems have arisen because the refugees felt the United Nations did not “listen” to them. The United Nation's officials have been mostly reactionary, acting only after conflict has arisen or problems have been identified by the media. United Nations staff interviewed indicated they had not received communication or cultural training that would help them diffuse some of the conflicts before they became violent. Their conclusion as to the problems in the camp were that the refugees chose not to understand and adhere to United Nations conditions and that was why they were complaining -- a clear breakdown of communication. This is a major problem because, as will be argued later, it creates situations which infringe on the fundamental human rights accorded all humans, regardless of their situation. Refugees are victims of disasters, albeit mostly man-made, and are displaced as they escape dangerous and difficult conditions of abuse of human rights.

III. METHOD

Two hundred refugees participated in the field research, with 100 of them filling out questionnaires. The research was conducted at the camp in residential compounds of refugees or refugee homes. Communities were interviewed separately according to their home nations. Participants were drawn from five nations: Uganda, Somali, Congo, Sudan and Ethiopia. In the case of the Somali, in the course of the interview,
distinction was drawn between southern Somali people (Bantu Somalis) who spoke Swahili and had coastal cultures and northern Somali, who were predominantly Arab speaking and more akin to inland, semi-desert cultures. However, in the analysis of results they were grouped together as originating from one nation.

a) Methodology

The qualitative study was undertaken using three procedures: interviews, questionnaires and Multi-media recording. Refugees from different communities were approached via their community leaders or members of their community and requested to attend focus group meetings to discuss communication problems in the camp for the study. Their attendance and participation was voluntary and was not encouraged by any gifts or warnings of repercussions for not participating. It was made clear that the study was not by the United Nations and was by an independent party and that results would be communicated back to the refugees. During the focus groups, refugees were given a chance to express their views on the problems they face in the camp, especially those in communication. These sessions were audio taped. Some of the sessions were videotaped with some refugees opting to speak on camera. The refugees were also given a short questionnaire (See Appendix C) with twelve multiple-choice questions and seven essay questions. The questionnaires were used to provide a general idea of the status of the refugees and as a complement to the observation study and interviews. This use of diverse methods of data collection was employed to overcome exclusion bias arising from literacy problems especially among some women and the older generation. The use of questionnaires only would have prevented their views from being included in the study. The questionnaire was
drafted in English but translations were carried out in Kiswahili and French as the refugees filled them. Interviews were conducted in English, Kiswahili, French and the various mother tongues of the refugees. Of the 100 questionnaires filled, only 66 gave adequate information to be included in the data analysis.

IV. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This section is divided into three: General observations, communication issues faced by refugees and summary of gathered information. The general observation section provides information, which offers an understanding of some of the answers and issues highlighted by the participants of the research. The findings are presented in such a way as to provide an exposition of the various issues that affect communication patterns in the camp. They provide useful information, comments by refugees and recommendations for improving communication between the aid agencies and the refugees. This builds up to the conclusion where an analysis of communication and the lessons learnt in this study are presented.

a). General Observations

i) Diversity and Identity

The refugee camp has become "a home away from home". The refugees live in sectors, called zones, which are divided according to nationalities. This arrangement has made it easier for refugees to live in harmony. However, in some cases, when the UNHCR has placed in the same zone groups that were warring at home, conflict has
occurred. Some refugees expressed the view that they should be consulted about who
they wish not to have as immediate neighbours, so as to minimise hatred and
conflict.\textsuperscript{xxxii}

Each community has leaders, either appointed in a centralised system of elders or
encouraged by the United Nations. Communities attempt to tackle sensitive issues
among themselves and some, like the Sudanese, even have cultural approaches to
punishment and restitution. The leaders, who are seen by the UNHCR to be the main
links with refugees, act as the liaison between their communities and the UN and are
the ones many refugees understood as messengers in the discussions and the
questionnaire\textsuperscript{xxxiv}. Refugees, although expecting repatriation either to their home
country or to Australia, Canada and the United States, have resigned themselves to
their life at Kakuma. This, as shown in Figure 5.1 (See Appendix D for Figures 5.1 –
5.8), is as a result of the long periods they have spent at the camp, with 54 percent of
sampled refugees having been in the camp for more than six years.

Refugees have attempted to replicate their home life-styles in the camp and have
undertaken projects that have reflected their initiatives. For example, a street called
Addis Ababa, in the Ethiopian zone, is flanked by refugee-run shops and restaurants.
Video arcades (mini movie theatres), all over the camp, screen films for a fee.
Satellite dishes and generators bring CNN, the BBC, AFRICA NET and other media
services to the video arcades. These arcades are popular and are usually crowded as
refugees who come to find out the latest situation in their own countries or to watch
the soccer World Cup and the Olympics games live.
An Ethiopian refugee had even set up his own radio station. Using an old transformer, a car battery, an old radio, a microphone and a TV aerial set on top of a long stick, he transmitted news, discussions and music. He then had decided to venture into entrepreneurship and opened a bar and restaurant. With no time to manage Radio Kakuma, he shut it down.

The United Nations does not allow the formation of political parties, but organizations — usually support groups — have been set up by some refugees to assist each other. Churches and Mosques have been constructed and weddings and funerals are a common occurrence.

This adjustment by refugees has not been easy and has not made their life easier — just manageable. For example, conflict between African cultures and United Nation’s policies is reflected in accommodation requirements. UNHCR requirements for the construction of houses is inflexible: houses have to be square shaped (or rectangular) and size is determined by the UN. Refugees construct their houses mostly from mud and grass. However, because majority of African traditional houses are round in shape, which depicts an African identity and way of thought, some refugees have attempted to counter UNHCR stringent requirements by constructing round fences around their square houses. These fences are made up of shrubs and, or, rocks. The housing conditions have created conflict with refugees feeling their cultural ways are undermined and they are being forced to adopt cultural codes that have no bearing on African cultures. The UNHCR could not provide a reason for the strict enforcement on the shape of houses apart from the view it that was the established policy of the organisation from its documents in Europe and the United States.
ii) Insecurity

In the last five years, insecurity at Kakuma refugee camp has increased, resulting in the shooting dead of 20 refugees by thugs. Rape cases have also increased. Refugees blamed the rape on the local Kenyan community. Insecurity was identified as a key problem that has made refugees live in fear and created a sense of helplessness. Survivors of shootings indicated the attacks against them were random and that they believed there was nothing they could have done to minimise being victims. Insecurity was made worse when some communities engaged in all out wars in the camp, a reflection of disagreements in their home countries. Revenge killings were reported, with children of Rwandese and Ugandan communities killed to avenge murders committed in the home nations many years ago.

Refugees accused the UN of not paying heed to their fears and suggestions to abate their insecurity. They said the UN was “not listening” and had arrived at the conclusion that the organisation did not care that the refugees were living in a state of fear and insecurity. The UNHCR, however, indicated that the issue of security was a major priority of the organization and that it was working hard to restore security and make the life of the refugees better. This view was lost on refugees who indicated that their complaints had been ignored and that they were unaware of any measures undertaken by the UNHCR – another communication problem.
iii) Demography and education:

Figure 5.1 indicates that refugees have been at the camp for long periods of time (some girls came to the camp when they were 16 and were now 24-year-old women at the time of this study). As shown in Figure 5.2, majority of sampled refugees were between the ages of 26 and 35, with the majority of those sampled below the age of 45. This is the group most vocal in its views on communication patterns at the camp.

One of the most important aspects in relationships between the UNHCR and refugees is that a substantial number of refugees were educated and had held key jobs before becoming refugees. Some were government leaders, university lecturers, teachers, medical practitioners, engineers, university and college students, general tradesmen and women and business entrepreneurs. Others had been soldiers who fought in civil strife in their respective nations. As shown in Figure 5.3, majority of those sampled have undertaken primary and secondary education. This high literacy rate was reflected in their eloquence and outspoken view points that expressed opinions such as why UNHCR has failed in its mandate and in upholding UN human rights provisions.

b). Communication

The background information establishes the context in which communication occurs in the refugee camp. The next section looks specifically at communication issues and methods in the camp. These range from what the United Nations has initiated to the response the refugees have on these initiatives. This section, like the previous one,
reports on the findings and leaves the major analysis of the study to the conclusion of this chapter.

| Communication Field Offices |

At the time of the study, UNHCR had set up field offices in different locations of the camp. The offices were meant to provide an avenue for refugees to bring their problems to the attention of the UN. The same offices were supposed to issue appointment letters for those refugees who needed to visit an officer in the main UNHCR compound. The offices were supposed to be the first point of direct contact between refugees and UNHCR staff. While this research was being undertaken, most of the field offices were unmanned. Refugees indicated they were never certain as to when the offices would be open and would wait for several days hoping someone would show up to assist them. There were no signs indicating office hours or what services were offered in the field offices. According to refugees, when a UNHCR official showed up, he or she was bogged down by large numbers and hardly provided any answers to letters or queries earlier presented to the offices by refugees.

The idea of field offices was good but because they were unmanned, they achieved little in assisting the refugees. According to refugees and some UNHCR staff they created a new level of bureaucracy, which left refugees even more helpless. As a senior UNHCR officer admitted, the neglect of the field offices was evidence of the poor communication in the camp:

There is no communication here... The refugees want to be listened to. They are living in an information vacuum. If they
don’t hear something, yes or no for five years, they have become frustrated. Cruel, very cruel (UNHCR senior staff member).

The frustrations of receiving no answers from UNHCR have made some refugees desperate.

For example, in one field office, this was epitomized by the frustrations of a married, Somali woman of Islamic religion, who in tears and desperation, breached cultural and religious taboos and undressed herself in public to reveal rotting strings in her stomach. She had earlier undergone surgery but due to a breakdown in the UNHCR communication system, had so far been unable to get permission to go back to hospital to have the strings removed. “I do not sleep at night because of pain,” she said, showing documents highlighting her medical situation. Communication of her case to the camp’s head was met with an assurance that her case would be dealt with at once.

ii. Major Problems

Refugees were asked what bothered them the most about the UNHCR and aid organizations and what they would desire to change/improve. These results are presented in Figure 5.4 and show that respondents would desire UNHCR and aid organizations to improve their communication with the refugees. A wish to be resettled (resettlement issues), which UN officials highlighted as the main desire of refugees, is shown not to be a core issue. Refugees were more concerned with an
Improvement in their day to day life and they believed things would be better if they could be able to communicate their feelings and ideas effectively to the UN.

iii. UNHCR Communication methods

To communicate with refugees, the United Nations employs different methods, the common ones, as shown in Figure 5.5, being the use of community leaders (messengers)\(^{xxxvi}\).

The United Nations has established a system of targeting community leaders for their communication. However, as shown in Figure 5.5, despite letters and messages via community leaders, one third of those sampled never found out what was going on in the camp. Interviews to establish what they meant revealed:

1. **Messengers** did not always report back to communities what UNHCR had instructed them to report. There was a tendency by community leaders to edit and censor information from the United Nations. The refugees also felt that messengers dealt with huge issues and did not address personal problems, for which refugees sought solutions for. In all communities, some refugees felt that they could not trust their leaders and that some issues were too private to discuss with their community leaders and needed direct intervention with the UN. This was more the case for younger people and women.
2. **The messages** from the UN were never clear and even verbal messages by UN staff were not comprehended. Refugees felt UN staff did not care to find out whether the messages they were relaying were understood.

3. **Language barriers** meant that letters, sent in English to refugees, and direct messages from UN staff, were not comprehended. Refugees felt that communication in Kiswahili or in mother tongues would be better. They felt that there were enough educated refugees who the UN could call upon to translate messages for various languages. *One community leader admitted that in meetings conducted in English by UNHCR officials, he barely understood what they were talking about, because he did not understand the language and so brought erroneous information to his community.*

This barrier in communication is reflected in Figure 5.6, with majority of refugees (61 percent of those sampled) sometimes understanding or never understanding messages from the UN.

Figure 5.7 shows that to combat the use of messengers, refugees attempted direct, personal communication, with 42 percent opting to either write or visit the UN offices. Twelve percent chose not to communicate with the UN.

The major problem encountered in communicating with the UN was identified to be cultural differences. Whereas the UN staff members relied on issuing of statements, African refugees expected personal communication. This expectation is based on an oral tradition of communication. Cultural expectations became a barrier to
communication. Refugees lamented that UN officers had never visited them to see how they lived so that they could understand why the refugees complained. This led to the perception that the UN failed to visit them because they did not care. In addition to this, UN staff were said to be rude and judgemental and did not provide enough opportunities and time for refugees to express themselves.

iv. Racism

Racism was identified to be a concern by refugees who perceived lack of caring and “mistreatment” by UNHCR officials to be based on racial discrimination. This perception of racism was complemented by what they saw (by watching CNN and BBC) as better treatment and response to European refugees such as the response towards Kosovar refugees. High literacy rates also meant that the refugees could draw on history as a benchmark of analysing relationships between blacks and whites. Their deductions were based on the overall feeling that Europeans (read White), received better treatment than Africans (read Black) refugees. Their view was supported by the head of one of the NGOs in the camp (a European) who claimed that in the more than 10 years he has worked in many refugee camps in the world, he has perceived a clear, racially-based difference in the services (including amount of food) accorded to African refugees. Africans received worse services.

v. Lack of Feedback and corruption

However, the largest problem facing refugees was the lack of feedback on individual queries presented to the UNHCR. Refugees claimed they were hardly given positive
or negative answers when they applied for resettlement or consideration for more food allowances. They claimed they struggled to survive and said they were forced to trade because the food they were given was not sufficient. What frustrated them most was their inability to get through to the UNHCR to communicate their needs.

The ability of refugees to get in touch with UN officers was hampered by the inefficiency of the field offices and the difficulties in obtaining interviews in the UN’s main compound. Refugees repeatedly complained of corruption by UNHCR and aid organization’s staff who demanded bribes before allowing a refugee to see relevant officers. These allegations of corruption were acknowledged by senior officials of the UN and some of the aid organizations. Corruption at the UN camps had become so rooted that after media reports, it has come to light that refugees at Kakuma have been forced to buy their way to countries such as Australia, the United States and Canada. A few UNHCR staff have been fired and some arrested for allegedly asking for bribes of up to US$5,000 from refugees so as to repatriate them from the refugee camps to Western nations. The court cases are ongoing.xxxvii

C. SUMMARY

i) Summary of Findings

Communication at Kakuma Refugee Camp is hampered by social factors arising from UNHCR bureaucracy and inefficiency in identifying key problems with refugees. Whereas UNHCR has done a lot of good work in settling and providing emergency care for refugees in Kakuma, there is evidence that the organization has not had a
solid plan for the treatment of refugees who are in danger of becoming “refugees for life.” The use of Western styles of communication – letters and the use of the English language has alienated refugees. UNHCR bureaucracy and inability to respond quickly to situations has created the perception that there is a double standard in the treatment of African refugees compared to Western ones. This has in turn led to allegations of racism and discrimination.

The UNHCR is right when it says that refugees are concerned with repatriation issues. This, refugees expressed, is based on the feelings that life at Kakuma, which was meant to be temporary, was becoming permanent, and there was no hope for an improvement. As shown in Figure 5.8, refugees just want to get out of Kakuma. Some suggested they would have been more content if the camp was located in a cooler environment. No one from the UN has communicated to them the reason the camp was established in the punishing hot, semi-arid location.

ii) Summary of comments by refugees

According to refugees, UNHCR can undertake several steps to improve its communication with the refugees:

a) Hold direct meetings with refugees. This should include face to face meetings and group meetings.

b) The UN needs to improve access for refugees to communicate with its staff. There should be more field offices but they should be staffed, have clear timetables of when they are open and be better managed.
c) The UN needs to respond to letters and queries, even if the responses are negative. Information on the progress of queries should be provided.

d) The UN should communicate to as many people as possible directly through meetings, not just relying on community leaders.

e) UNHCR staff should visit refugees in their homes – this does not mean they have to visit all. Visiting a few in every community will be seen as a positive gesture of cultural understanding and appreciation.

f) The UN should use appropriate languages for different communities. They should also know that some people cannot read or write and therefore cannot understand letters sent to them.

g) The use of posters with cartoons to illustrate information can complement and supplement meetings and messages given by word of mouth.

h) The UN should open a centre where refugees can present new ideas for improving UN-Refugee relationships.

i) The UN should employ responsible and well-trained personnel.

j) A newsletter or newspaper can be used to encourage discussions. The UN had turned down requests for publication by refugees for a long time. However, it had allowed for a magazine with articles by refugees. The magazine, called *Kakuma News Bulletin (KANEBU)*, is highly monitored by the UNHCR and had earlier been shut down because the UN believed it was breeding disagreements and conflict. This was viewed as censorship that infringed on the refugees' freedom of expression.

k) UN should improve living conditions, especially food rations.

l) The UN should be seen to uphold human rights. In an appeal letter (see Appendix E) given to this researcher, the Ethiopian community wrote:
Though the human rights of violations in Ethiopia seem quite clear, we Ethiopian refugees in Kakuma are paid deaf ears (sic) towards our grievances at every corner and are deprived of our rights which are proclaimed in Article II of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10th, 1948:

Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property birth or other status. Furthermore, no jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which the person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

m) The UN should minimise its bureaucracy and corruption and should allow better access for refugees to see UN staff (this again can be achieved through better management of field offices).

n) Refugees need to be taught African and foreign languages. Some have been there for more than six years and do not understand English or Swahili.

Nearly 50 percent of refugees expressed the view that if communication between them and the UN improved, other problems at the camp would be easy to solve.
ii) Recommendations

There are several things the UNHCR can do to improve its relationship with refugees:

1. UNHCR needs to appreciate that it is dealing with a diverse refugee population which has highly literate people. Because of availability of media information, the population is aware of decisions carried out in other parts of the world. The refugee population has also studied UNHCR documents which highlight the organization’s mandate and responsibilities and so when there is laxity on the part of the UNHCR, it is noticed by the refugees. Therefore, the organization should be prepared for demands of equality and accountability and should be ready to clearly defend its policies.

2. UNHCR needs to establish a communications department that deals entirely with communication between refugees and the organization.

3. Cultural differences between Western and African ways of relating should also be appreciated. The simple act of visiting and lending an ear to individual refugees, whether in field offices or in public meetings, should be encouraged. Appreciation of the oral tradition of African cultures should be manifested in the use of multiple communication methods – word of mouth being one of them.

4. The use of appropriate language, especially specific mother tongues, should be used to enhance comprehension and to break cultural barriers. This can be
achieved by continual use of translators and publishing documents and posters in appropriate languages.

5. UNHCR can supplement messages it gives to community leaders with posters and meetings. Publicly displayed posters will force leaders to communicate all the messages given by the UN. The use of posters will also help in comprehension by the use of repetition and cartoons which are easier to remember.

6. Theatre groups, some already set up for youth groups, can be used to present UNHCR messages and instructions.

7. Film can be employed to induct new refugees to the camp. Video plays, acted by refugees, can explain to refugees why Kakuma is set up the way it is, provide a summary of services in the camp (including redress for domestic abuse) and the ways refugees can communicate with the UNHCR and NGOs in the camp.

8. UNHCR should set up a system of replying to queries within specified times. That way, refugees will know that they can expect an answer to a query at a particular time and not wait for up to five years with no idea whether the UNHCR is still processing a query or has forgotten about it.

9. Refugees should be encouraged to field questions on how UN manages the camp. These questions, together with refugee suggestions can assist the organisation format its policies to suit cultural and situational differences unique to the camp.
As Cater (1997) argues, it may be time for refugee camps to have similar expectations of ensuring accountability. He laments:

As far as I’m aware, no aid agency has someone like an ombudsman, to whom a refugee can go and say, ‘I got bad service.’ As far as I’m aware, refugees have never been offered the simple choice of: Would you prefer to be fed by Medecins Sans Frontiers or the Red Cross? Why not? . . . We don’t want refugees to choose; we want them to be grateful recipients of our beneficence. I’m in favour of giving people a great deal more responsibility to sort out their problems (April 11, 1997).

10. UNHCR should combat corruption and should be seen to take immediate and appropriate action when faced with corruption claims. Corruption at the camp has been likened to double punishment on people who have been unfortunate to become refugees.

These suggestions will empower refugees and minimise feelings of despair in the lives of refugees. This will in turn minimise conflict and enable UNHCR to make its services efficient and relevant to the refugees at the camp.

V. CONCLUSION

Life in Kakuma refugee camp is difficult, as life in most refugee camps is. However, this study has shown that life for refugees can be made better if cultural differences in communication were utilised positively by the UNHCR and its supporting agencies. Communication is central to the problematic nature of relationships in the camp.
There is a clear communication breakdown between the refugees and United Nations staff and this has led to misconceptions and misunderstandings that have in turn created hardships and conflicts.

A lot has been written on the view that communication is the transmission and use of knowledge. Ginsburg & Gorostlaga (2001) ascertain that knowledge is dependent on the ability of it being transmitted. For the transmission to be effective, so as to elicit the desired use of the knowledge and hence lead to development, it can be argued that communication channels need to be open and clear. This should be the case in Kakuma refugee camp. Ginsburg & Gorostlaga (2001) also argue that people construct their social relations “within structural and ideological contexts that predate their own thoughts and actions” (p. 113). Therefore, a people’s cultural backgrounds, traditions and ideological upbringings influence the way in which they communicate. This is more so in a confined, unplanned situation such as a refugee camp. The strength of culture and traditions can be seen in the attempt by refugees to reclaim their identity through the structure of their houses by fencing their homes in a way that is similar to their traditional structures.

Kress (1998) declares that “every act of communication is a cultural event” (p. 10) and therefore, the traditional communication model of S (sender) → M (message) → R (receiver) is not effective in addressing the real life situation of communication. In the setting of a Kakuma refugee camp, for example, communication cannot merely originate from the sender (UN) but can be initiated by the importance (or urgency) of the message and the cultural understanding placed on the message by refugees. A breakdown of communication in issues pertaining to security, for example, can lead to
further misunderstanding, lack of trust and feelings of abuse. If refugees do not have
an effective channel of communicating with the UNHCR (field offices are
inefficient), then the flow of communication is hampered. Kress’s analysis and the
arguments of Ginsburg & Gorostlaga (2001) go a long way in stressing that
communication channels function well when both parties are able to understand each
other. Understanding should not just be based on language but on an appreciation of
the positions and desires of all parties involved.

The United Nations and aid organizations have been accused of viewing themselves
as helpers of victims who should not question how they are being helped (Cater,
1997). This may explain the lax attitude the organization has in providing feedback to
refugee queries and the attitude of UNHCR employees which has been called rude
and racist. xxviii

The most disturbing aspect of the UNHCR’s choice of communication lies in its
policies. The organization appears to function from a dominant perspective where
refugees’ cultural backgrounds and development ideas have not been given much
credence. Lack of adequate training for staff means that most of the UN’s Western
staff are prone to fall into the trap of intrinsically viewing their culture as superior and
their way of communication as the only way.

These problems, Ali Mazrui (1996) argues, are not confined to UNHCR alone but to
the whole of the United Nations structure which indicates that the ideas and systems
of the dominant paradigm are still in operation:
The U.N. system, along with the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), continue to be disseminators of Western ideas and values. In conception, and in many of their operations, these institutions are rooted in the Western worldview. . . The United Nations deserves two cheers for trying to contribute to the racial, gender, ecological, and equity revolutions of the twentieth century. And two cheers for not giving up hope in its pursuit of a revolution of peace. But the United Nations gets no cheers at all for acting as an instrument of counterrevolution in the furtherance of Western cultural hegemony (p.37).

This study has shown that communication is dependent on a clear understanding of cultural differences. Development of societies cannot be achieved if communication conditions are hampered by misunderstandings and misconceptions. The study has also shown that there are key differences in the way Africans view reality. The study also shows how easy it is for policies developed by certain cultures with no regard for differing cultures to infringe on basic human rights of those who are being assisted. The concept of voice, of giving people a chance to express themselves their own way, has been underscored and it is clear that failure of this can lead to breakdowns in communication, conflict and an atmosphere where development is hampered. All in all the study has shown that cultural understanding of what constitutes communication is the key to the successful implementation of development plans and projects, be they in a refugee camp or a village in Africa.

Initial research has indicated that this is the first communication based refugee study of its kind. Therefore, similar studies are needed in Kakuma and other refugee camps (such as crisis-torn Australian refugee detention camps) as well as in projects undertaken by Western NGOs in their aim to develop people of the Third World.
The next three chapters will examine the role of the media in development. Chapter seven will discuss media theory and the situation of the African media. This will be followed in chapter eight by a case study of a model of development by media. This case study, together with knowledge gathered from subsequent chapters, will contribute towards the introduction of a paradigm based on the concept of voice -- one which can be used effectively for development.
CHAPTER SEVEN
MEDIA FOR DEVELOPMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to establish how journalistic practice in Africa can be used for development. By journalistic practice, the chapter means the process by journalists of gathering and disseminating information. This is what Hill & Watson (2000) call the journalist’s responsibility of “reporting to the public by conveying information, analysis, comment and entertainment” (p.162) while speaking for the public. This is the process of reportage whereby journalists report on ongoing events and conduct research to expose the truth and address issues they view pertinent at that particular time and place. Journalists report their findings and analysis using the mediums of print (newspapers and magazines), broadcasting (radio and television) and the Internet in their attempts to achieve what Gerbner (1967) defined as “social interaction through messages.” They do so in accordance with journalistic rules, conventions and practices (Vettenranta, 1998). In this chapter, it is the role of the journalist, rather than just that of media in general, that is emphasized. Therefore, understanding of and the functions and roles of media will be viewed from a journalistic viewpoint because, as Wright (1986) argues, life doesn’t always follow theory. The reality on the ground, what McQuail (1994) calls a social reality, and which is what journalists attempt to convey, will be the basis of the arguments in the chapter. As seen in chapters two, three and four, the reality in majority of African nations is that many people are economically poor, suffer from poor medical services, are victims of cultural and economic imperialism, civil strife, preventable death and
what appears to be “unending” suffering, dependency and a sad state of apathy.

African journalists, as will be seen shortly, work in this environment and address issues in this African reality, which is different from that of their counterparts in the West.

This chapter will first look at the status and role of the media in Africa. Then the traditional theories of the media will be examined, followed by a discussion of what the media are and the functions of the media with the understanding that there is a gap between media theory and journalistic practice. Drawing from this, it will be shown that there is a need to look at how journalism can be used for development.

Development, as defined in chapter three, is a people-centred process which leads to an improvement in the quality of life by alleviating poverty and by empowering people so as to offset inequality and make lives better.

The theories and ideas explored in this chapter are however biased towards a Western perspective. Available literature is mostly based on Western, capitalistic and libertarian societies, especially of the United States, Canada and England. To date, there is little media theory literature from the Third World. This, according to Wei, (1998) is reflected in the research undertaken in African, Latin American and Asian nations where “theories and application of what happens in these countries is carried out with a Western perspective” (p. 41). Third World media and especially African media, tend to mimic that of the West. This, Alhassan (1998) argues, is not surprising and can be attributed to the introduction of Western forms of political administration during colonisation and subsequent Western forms of media systems.
Therefore, this chapter will attempt to interpret these media theories from an African perspective. This will later lead to the generation of a developmental process for journalists. From chapters four and five it has been established that the African voice and ways of communication, heavily influenced by an oral tradition culture cannot be overlooked when dealing with the issue of using communication for development. By adopting to look at media theory from an African perspective, this chapter will counter Wei’s (1998) frustration that many scholars, while dealing with the Third World, are influenced by the dominant paradigm.

II. AFRICAN MEDIA: THE GREATER PERSPECTIVE

After, nearly half a century of independence, many African nations are beginning to seriously examine the role and impact of the press and especially its use in democratisation and expected socio-economic development. The media in Africa, unlike those of the rest of the world, are underdeveloped (Mytton, 1988, p.19). Newspapers are few and their circulation low. Television channels are even fewer and access to television reserved only for the minority who can afford a set (Mytton, 1988, p.19). The radio, on the other hand, many more times than not, serves as the propaganda mouthpiece of the ruling governments. Today, “Africa possesses fewer media facilities per head of population than any other continent” (Mytton, p.27).

However, despite these prevailing circumstances, African nations are experiencing tremendous changes in their socio-political frameworks. More and more Africans are being influenced by the media as democratisation and multi-party politics become the ‘order of the day.’ Freedom of expression is a right that if still not yet grasped, is
within reach. Former dictators such as Mobutu of Zaire, Idi Amin of Uganda, Bokassa of Central Africa and the apartheid regime of South Africa, have become a tragedy of the past. With these promising changes the media are becoming an even more important player in shaping the future of the continent.

However, the operations of the African press have been, to quote a journalistic slogan, “everything but clean copy.” Abuse of freedom of expression and government control have defined the status of the media and its role in society. These media problems have to a large degree been based on differences of ideology between those adopted by post-independence governments and the concept of a free press.

a). African Socialism Versus Western Democracy

The conflict between the degrees of autonomy accorded the press and the new governments in Africa was evident from the time of independence. African leaders, many of whom had suffered under the yoke of colonialism, saw their new positions as historic ones. Future generations would depend on the foundations they enacted. The main issue at hand was nation building and the press was to be used to enhance political plans, to benefit the nation. New governments meant Africans were free; free to work together and not to "hinder" development by embarrassing African leaders who were being closely watched by the rest of the World.

In Egypt, for example, President Gamal Abdel Nasser "had a keen interest in radio and television as tools of power to achieve certain political objectives" (Nasser, Munir 1990, p.7). To Nasser, and to other African leaders, the concept of press freedom was
not in tune with their plans for the country. "Radio created a new communication
channel between Nasser in Cairo and the simple peasants in the village" (Nasser, p.8),
and therefore criticism of the government had no place in the big picture of
development. Any journalist who attempted to criticize the government was portrayed
as an enemy of the people. Western style freedom of expression had, and for many
nations still continues to have, no place in the African plan for development.

This mentality of African leaders was compounded by the ideology of African
Socialism. Tom Mboya, one of Kenya's popular and charismatic leaders, explained
that in African Socialism, "There is the belief that we are all sons and daughters of the
soil ... (there is a sense of) loyalty to the society and the society gives its members
much in return" (Mboya, 1963, p.141). With this core belief, Tanzania's first
president, Julius Nyerere, expanded that, "the foundation, and the objective, of
African Socialism is the extended family. The true African socialist does not look on
one class of his men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies" (cited in
Mboya, 1963, p.170). It was therefore understood that journalists were part and parcel
of nation building and their energies were best served if directed in the promotion of
the government's plan. Therefore, journalists who sought for "truth" and reported
news that embarrassed public officials were branding the leaders as enemies -- an
inexcusable act that was viewed as counter-development. The governments responded
by clamping down on journalists for "the good of the country" (Ochieng, 1992). In
1962, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah's information minister made it clear that, "the new
African journalist lays emphasis on the positive things that go to help in building the
new Africa" and anything that "impedes development, or can be interpreted as so
doing, must be discouraged" (Faringer, 1991, p.83). Journalists who questioned
government inefficiencies were said to be propaganda agents of defeated colonialists. In the meantime, many new leaders promoted Western capitalism but without the “confines” of Western style democracy. This caused a major conflict for the media because the concept of press freedom borrows heavily from Western style democratic principles.

b). Role of the African Press

African intellectuals believe that "requisite information is power in itself" (Ngechu, 1993, p.78). Media information in Africa is available to the masses through two main channels: The radio and the newspaper. The major local radio stations in all African countries have been under government control and have served as propaganda mouthpieces for the governments. The newspapers, on the other hand, have in the most part been private ventures (with a high percentage owned by foreigners) and are "first and foremost . . . interested in profits" (Ochieng, 1992, p.74). However, with slight relaxation of media control in the last 10 years, magazines and newsletters owned by Africans have supplemented the newspapers in providing information to the people.

In Africa, radio is the most influential media instrument. As shown in previous chapters, African cultures employ an oral-based tradition which has influenced the way they perceive information. Radio is to a great part an oral medium that is easily accepted within the African cultural environment. Also, radio overcomes barriers created by illiteracy and poor infrastructure. Therefore, today, the majority of Africans, whether or not they can read (and majority who do not have access to
newspapers), rely on radio for information. Governments have been aware of this and have effectively used radio for self-promotion and for instigation of policies. In Kenya, for example, every evening news begin with, "Good evening, this is the news. Today, His Excellency the President Daniel Arap Moi said ..." (Harden, 1990, p.257). Radio is so important in Africa that whenever there is a coup d’etat, rebel forces always march to the nearest radio station, (which is usually the only one) to take control.

Newspapers, which are usually independently owned, face problems -- major problems. Governments are constantly harassing newspaper journalists and newspapers that practice "eyebrow-raising reporting" are quickly banned (Harden, 1990, p.267). Life for an African journalist is filled with trepidation and an antenna for survival. Philip Ochieng (1992), a veteran East African journalist, who has served as an editor, reporter and government "enemy", writes that:

The worrisome reality today, especially in Africa ..., is that the journalist works through an extremely narrow straitjacket. Arrests and incarcerations take place day in and day out. Deaths are not infrequent. Self-censorship by editors, managers and owners of newspapers is, as a result, a normal recourse. Many intellectually honest journalists are banned altogether from writing. Where they remain on the staff of a newspaper, they are often sidelined or kept away from all decision-making committees (p.7).

As a result of these conditions, the information that gets to the people is one that is not pure by all standards and is reported from one point of view. Self-censorship is so common because "all African newspaper editors and sub-editors have to anticipate
what the government will think tomorrow about a "tricky" story" (Ochieng', 1992, p.20). This means that a newspaper is as free as the government wants it to be (Ochieng', ibid, p.20). The government may not have direct control of which stories the journalists pursue but it has control over what the journalists dare to publish. African journalists have always had to "understand how far they can go... They know what ministers can be attacked without government repercussions. They know they cannot question foreign policy or suggest that the government is not working or criticize the president and his family" (Lamb, 1977, in Tatarian, 1978, p.47). It can be argued that in Africa, possession of requisite information may be power in itself but if the information cannot be accurately and fearlessly distributed, then its power is void. Africans are victims of misinformation, from the government and from their journalists. Governments make horrendous claims (especially against their enemies) and journalists report them because they have no safe alternative. The ideas and aspirations of Africans are manipulated and shaped by half-truths and totally false reports.

During the apartheid era in South Africa, the government had three main motivations that are replicated effectively in other African nations: to stop groups opposed to the government from mobilising effectively by stifling alternative information sources; to encourage the press into more self-censorship; and to drive the most critical journalists out of the profession (Louw & Tomaselli, 1989).

In some war-torn African nations such as Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone, journalists work in difficult conditions and are constantly tortured and killed. The reality, not based on theory, is that some journalists choose to keep on
working despite difficult conditions because they view themselves as the ones responsible for letting the public (whether local or international) know what is happening. This is the situation in the case of Faria Horacio. Horacio is an Angolan journalist in the city of Kuito, central Angola. Angola has been torn by strife since gaining independence from Portugal in 1975, and is Africa's leading example of a country still suffering from the effects of the cold war. In 1993 and 1994, while the eyes of the world were turned to the events in Sarajevo, Bosnia, the city of Kuito was for 22 months shelled by guerrilla forces. In this "forgotten city," Horacio worked as a journalist from a shelled building, shooting footage of the war with a VHS camera and the only tape he had, which he kept recording on over and over.

Interviewed by South African television show, *Carte Blanche*, Horacio said that at the start of the bombardment there were four journalists working with him. At the end, he was the only one that remained alive. His motivation was based on his belief that someone needed to document and tell the world what was going on in Kuito.

"Every day I said goodbye to my wife," he told *Carte Blanche*. "I told her to have courage if I did not return." One day, he came back home emotionally traumatised after filming a child who had been shredded by anti-aircraft ordinance. As soon as he entered the house, his wife told him that his son was dead – he had starved to death. For fifteen days the family had been surviving on coffee and for two days had had nothing to eat. Every day, a hungry Horacio dragged himself to the streets to film the war. He filmed the hand of death as bodies lay rotting on streets because people were afraid to move them because of sniper fire.
"We couldn’t do anything. If there was a friend or family member who was injured on the street, we couldn’t drag them to safety. Then the dogs would eat the corpses and when the people got hungry, they in turn would eat the dogs,” Horacio recalls.

The Kuito bombardment was hardly covered by the international press even though it claimed 40,000 people in a conflict that has killed more than one million people in the most mined country in the world (it is estimated 10 million mines are in Angola and 70,000 people have been maimed – the highest per capita figure in the world) (UNICEF, 2001). Horacio is an extreme example of how some journalists in war-torn areas, continue with reportage in situations where conventional journalism cannot be exercised. Horacio’s work can be described as survival journalism. A documentary he made appealing to the world to help end the conflict in Kuito is the only filmed coverage of the bombardment and the effects on its people.

As Horacio’s example shows, journalism in Africa can be difficult – if it is not violent conditions it can be government oppression haunting journalists. However, with the end of single party rules in many nations and the push for democratisation and multi-party politics, the press has gained more flexibility. Within the last five years there has been a relaxation of media laws and limited radio and television licenses issued in some countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

Having addressed the situation of the African press, let us now look at various media theory ideas on what the media are and how African media fit into these theories.
III. MASS MEDIA THEORY


In the Authoritarian theory, an authoritarian figure, for example a dictator, controls and regulates the press so that the dictatorship is sustained. This, Peterson et al. saw as the description of the press in nations where the state ran the media and decided what journalists could and should write. Authoritarian theory applies to countries where the press is either owned by the government or independently owned but operating under government pressure. Here, the press is forced to work in accordance with the wishes and plans of the government. Criticism of the leader, government officials and policies are not acceptable and any deviation from expected norms is dealt with severely. The Libertarian theory is in opposition to the authoritarian concept. The theory assumes that the individual rather than the government is superior, and therefore no government control at all is preferable. This is the case in the United States where freedom of expression is protected in the First Amendment and where journalists operate free from government control. Criticism of government officials and policies is expected and there is a general understanding that no one is above media scrutiny. A Soviet-Communist situation is where the media are owned and controlled by the government with the purpose of protecting the government and the status quo. This is similar to an authoritarian situation but here media are owned by
the government rather than being just independent media being forced to adopt the
government's viewpoint. In a Social-Responsibility situation, the media are charged
with providing the public with meaningful news and information free from
government control, yet responsive to societal and sometimes governmental
processes. This would be a libertarian system but where the media can be supportive
of government initiatives for the "common good." This is the view that correctly
describes the press in developed nations. The press in these nations tends to operate
freely but is aware of their role of supporting the government and protecting the
citizenry from harm. In times of conflict, the press is expected to cooperate with the
government for national security reasons. The press also supports what the particular
population views as their ideology at a particular time.\textsuperscript{xlii}

Hatchen (in Newton, 1989) believed that these four view-points did not explain the
reality in many developing nations which had both government controlled and
independent media that were encouraged and coerced to support the government's
plans for development. Some African nations such as Kenya and Ghana have a media
system "that falls between the usual classifications, embodying characteristics of both
libertarianism and authoritarianism" (Hatchen, 1971, p. 204.) Others, such as those of
Uganda and Congo have for a long time been under the controls of authoritarianism.
Tanzanian media, with Julius Nyerere's politics of African Socialism, have embodied
a mixture of Soviet-Communist theory and libertarianism to form a social-centralist
stand (Wilcox, 1975, p.109). South Africa is the only African country that can today
claim to have a pure libertarian media system where government influence is
minimum and market forces and principles of a democratic state influence journalists
and their work. In view of this, Hatchen (ibid) introduced the Developmental Model
where the press is viewed as a collaborator with government, especially in Third
World and underdeveloped nations, in urging positive social, economic and political
improvements. As explained earlier in this chapter, this model manifested itself with
the perceived roles of media in African nations after independence and even though it
worked well in many situations, contributed to the clamping down on press freedom
and the subsequent control and misuse of the media by authoritarian governments.

Developmental journalism has grown from Hatchen’s model and has been used,
especially in Asia, with the intention of improving the quality of the lives of peasants.
However, as Faringer (1991) criticizes, "those who promote development journalism
in Third World countries are most often urban, Western-educated scholars who have
read a daily newspaper all their lives and whose knowledge about the world is in large
degree formed by [Western] mass media" (p.100). This argument insinuates that the
proponents of developmental journalism are not in synch with the “voice” and reality
of the people they are supposed to serve. This, as argued earlier, is indeed a valid
critique but does not mean that developmental journalism cannot be promoted by
Western-educated scholars so long as they base their models and practices in the
context of their communities. A common problem of developmental journalism is that
it is based on the hypothesis that rural press can be used for development despite the
reality that little rural press exists in many Third World nations.

Pilards’s Democratic-Socialist theory foresaw a system wherein media ownership is
public, non-profit, and intended to permit citizens to debate what they consider to be
important societal concerns. Pilard’s idea is yet to manifest itself in societies and
therefore, has not been explored further because it is seen to be in opposition to the
economic and societal movements in the world today.

a) Media: Theory and The Fourth Estate

The mass media have been likened to a "six tier loom" where persuasive and
educative messages can be woven "into a finely crafted fabric." This loom, Sauter
(1990, quoted in Atkin & Wallack, L., 1990), argues, is made up of radio - which has
immediacy and directness and a huge reach; television with its "cinematic revelation,"
daily newspapers which provide analysis and background details; weekly magazines
for their rich context; monthly magazines which have the time to research and provide
more detailed perceptions and books which give documentation and overall
perspective (p. 14).

Dennis McQuail and others have elaborate views on media theory and its
composition. The make up of media, what Sauter called the loom, are unique because
they are involved in shaping how societies view themselves and their understanding
of their reality. To this end, McQuail (1994) argues that the media are:

a) A power resource -- potential means of influence, control and
innovation -- the primary source of information essential to the
workings of most social interactions;

b) The location where many affairs are played out;

c) Source of definitions and images of social reality;

d) Key to fame for celebrities;
e) The source of an ordered and public meaning system which
provides a benchmark for what is normal (p 1).

In McQuail’s five-step breakdown of what the media are, it is clear that journalism
has a sociological impact or role and acts not only as a platform for issues to be
discussed but defines how a society views itself. In addition to this, St. Louis Post-
Dispatch Newspaper’s editor Cole C. Campbell (1999) called journalism a democratic
art that is manifested by several characteristics:

a) Journalism is in the problem-solving business, not the truth business;
b) Journalism’s product is a contribution to understanding (but not a fully
finished state of understanding) Therefore, journalism is as much about
models for understanding the world as it is about information about the world;
c) Journalism is philosophy -- a philosophical construct of what it is worth
paying attention to and how best to pay attention to it (p. xiv).

Campbell’s idea of journalism as a problem-solver is key to the thesis of this chapter
and is explored further, later. This problem-solving quality of the media is based on
an understanding of the world and its use of information. Campbell’s ideas support
McQuail’s belief that journalism is about information in society and the resulting
social reality – or philosophical construct.
In as much as journalism influences society, McQuail (1994) argues, it has to function within the society and is subject to four social controls: on content for political reasons; on content for cultural and/or moral reasons; on infrastructure for economic reasons; and on infrastructure for technical reasons (such as availability of computers and cameras and other means of production). These controls on the media are evident in all societies regardless of socio-political conditions. However, in many Third World nations, there is an added component which McQuail fails to address. This is the lack of technical know-how and understanding of the role of the media in those societies. Know-how here means more than just basic journalistic styles of writing but more of advanced technical skills such as broadcasting techniques – camera operation, studio set-ups etc and newspaper layout and graphics, which due to economic and academic constraints, have not yet been fully developed. This lack of know-how means that media practitioners are few and are consolidated in large media houses in major cities rather than within small communities. This, together with economic reasons, can be used to explain the few number of community papers and community radios by Third World journalists. This situation is made worse by a lack of understanding of the role of journalism by African journalists – that of communicators who need to bear in mind the cultural factors of their community. The reality is that African journalists are still grappling with journalistic styles borrowed from their colonial past and in some extreme cases some still write and broadcast in ways inimical to their audience’s language and cultural understanding and compel their audience to “consult the Thesaurus, dictionary, books on Greek mythology, Latin phraseology” (Anyango, Sunday Nation, July 8, 2001) so as to understand the messages. African journalists have been accused of writing as if their audiences were in London, Paris or Lisbon. This understanding of messages is key in maintaining a
social relationship between journalists and the society and between society and itself. Failure means journalism is not as effective as it should be and is more of a victim than a beneficiary of social controls.

McNair (1998) refers to these societal controls as the social determinants of journalism. He views them as production elements and presents them clearly in Figure 7.1.

McNair introduces the role technological possibilities and constraints have on the relationship between journalists and the society. And even though he mentions the inadequacy of electronic news gathering techniques as a factor, he views them from a Western context where they have been introduced and are gaining momentum. In the Third World, their introduction has been slow and in many African nations this technical know-how is non-existent. Both McNair (1998) and McQuail (1994) view mass communication as the interpolation of a new 'communicator role' (such as that of a professional journalist in a formal media organisation) between society and audience. McQuail especially argues that the sequence of mass media communication is not sender → message → channel → many potential receivers but 1. Events and 'voices' in society, 2. Channel/communicator role. 3. Messages. 4. Receiver. This is because journalists do not usually originate messages or communication. To use the newsroom slogan, “Journalists report news, they don’t make news.” McNair (1998) believes this is because journalism is an ideological force in society and asks “to be accepted as, at the very least, an approximation of truth” (p.5). This truth is relative rather than absolute truth and is influenced by three characteristics of the real (McNair, 1998):
a) The world is (and would be, with or without the presence of human observers);
b) The world as perceived

c) The world as reported (p. 8).

Figure 7.1: The Social Determinant of Journalism (McNair, 1998, p. 14).

Journalism tries to report how issues in a society are perceived (according to different times and occurrences) to an audience within the society. Journalists, through the dissemination of information, attempt to uphold the concept of real and normality that is vital in the cohesion of a society. This is in synch with the Dominance Paradigm which claims that journalism is part of a cultural apparatus, without which an imbalance would occur and lead to unequal groups in a society tearing each other to
pieces and “the social fabric as a whole to pieces” (McNair, 1998, p.22). When Janowitz (1968) defined mass communication as “the institutions and techniques by which specialized groups employ technological devises (press, radio, films etc) to disseminate symbolic content to large, heterogenous and widely dispersed audiences” (italics mine), he was to a large extent underscoring this social attribute of journalism. This is an important idea in understanding what the media are because, as noted earlier, media are not only a location for issues to be discussed and power resource but a source of definitions and images of social reality (McQuail, 1994). This power resource, though, is dependent not only on information but on its control and use. As Edward Wilson (1998) predicted, the future

will not be run by those who possess mere information alone. Thanks to science and technology, access to factual knowledge of all kinds is rising exponentially while dropping in unit cost. It is destined to become global and democratic. Soon it will be available everywhere on television and computer screens. What then? The answer is clear: Synthesis. We are drowning in information, while starving for wisdom. The world henceforth will be run by synthesizers, people able to put together the right information at the right time, think critically about it, and make important choices wisely (p. 269).

This ability to synthesize information and present it in the correct way is the base by which media can be used for development. Journalism, therefore, McNair (1998) succinctly points out, “like any other narrative which is the work of human agency, is essentially ideological - a communicative vehicle for the transmission to an audience (intentionally or otherwise) not just facts but of the assumptions, attitudes, beliefs and values of its maker(s), drawn from and expressive of particular world-view” (p. 6). In
other words, journalism is about the journalist and the view he or she has of his role in society, and the choices (the assumptions, values etc) that the journalist utilizes in his or her synthesis.

IV. THEORY VERSUS MEDIA IN PRACTICE

George Gerbner has said that television is like religion, except most people watch TV more religiously (Morgan, 1989). There is little doubt that media and communication play a major role in society. One of the founders of media theory, Harold Laswell (1948) argued that we "can gain perspective on human societies when we note the degree to which communication is a feature of life at every level." He identified three functions of communication: a) Surveillance -- of the environment, revealing threats and opportunities by the collection and distribution of information; b) Correlation of the components of society - interpretation of the information and c) transmission of the social inheritance or in other words assimilation of people in a society. Wright (1986) added the entertainment function, a function responsible for the increase in the number of people who witness events and who engage with media often or as Gerbner would put it, more religiously.

When looking at the functions of the media, Wright (1986) argued that "the functions of mass communication are not necessarily what is intended by the communicators." When journalists choose to communicate, he argues, they are contributing to society in a way that cannot be easily and accurately explained by theory. In the African context for example, journalists have to balance what they perceive as their duty of
reporting the truth with their survival, making sure they do not jeopardise their future ability to work.

A common argument embraced in the West and accepted by journalists in Third World nations is that the media have a role in promoting and maintaining democracy. This is based on what Wallack (1990) sees as a promise media have given to the public. This promise is to "facilitate the goals of a democratic society by providing a forum for a diversity of opinion and information" (p. 43). This, together with the reflection theory of the media which partly argues that the media ought to "reflect the plurality of different groups, politics or lifestyles that can be identified outside the media in social life" (Hartley, Fiske, Montgomery, O'Sullivan & Saunders, 1994, p.4), underscores an important argument: the media, by their mere existence, have a duty to serve a free society, for the betterment of society, through democracy. This, in the African scenario, means that journalism should not be concerned with whether it should play a role in the development of a society but how it can go about doing this.

Democracy in Western nations, and especially in the United States, has been achieved through struggle (Pauly, 1999), and has developed and had its roles redefined after establishing its place within the democratic principles of the nation. This development has led to a general understanding that the press is "a basic institution of political liberty" (Carey 1999, p.64). The media have been able to uphold this role by empowering citizens, so that they are able to make better decisions on how to improve individual and community-wide life (Wallack, 1990).
Some scholars, such as Charity (1995), have however been of the view that journalism should only be a champion of democratic means and not democratic ends. However, an argument can be made against this view. Charity’s statement "Journalism should advocate democracy without advocating particular situations" (p. 146) is not based on what journalism has to do every day in its role of empowering a democratic citizenship. Newspapers are always offering opinions and specific solutions to democratic problems. Some of these solutions are adopted by politicians and used in policy making. Also, journalists, by merely questioning how things are run, are saying they should be changed and should operate in a certain way. Therefore, journalism cannot just advocate democracy but has to advocate particular situations. Charity's views have a basis on a Western perspective where democratic principles are established and the role of the press defined and understood by all. Journalism in developing nations, needless to say, operates in different atmospheres and cannot wait for authoritarian governments to empower the citizenship, but has to actively engage in the process of democratisation and champion, not just its means but its democratic end. The media are able to achieve this effectively because of their agenda-setting function.

**a) Agenda Setting Function**

Agenda setting theory argues that the media are capable of creating their own markets for information (Meyer, 1990). They achieve this by their gate-keeping characteristics. As Meyer puts it, "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to
that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. . . the mass media may well determine the important issues -- that is, the media may set the "agenda" (p. 82). This is a powerful function because as Smythe (1981) points out, the policy which governs what appears on the daily agenda produced by these institutions (media) has a special role in the process of development for those populations.

Campbell (1999) agrees that journalism has a fact-finding role which enables stories to be told and conversations kept running and journalism, more times than not decides what the issues will be. For example, in his studies on the impact of television on viewers, Gerbner (1980) arrived at the conclusion that television makes specific and measurable contributions to how viewers conceive reality.

Smythe (1981) argues that this makes journalists the 'shock troops' of consciousness in action. Today, he continues, the mass media set the daily agenda for the populations of advanced capitalistic countries and increasingly for the Third World.

What is omitted from the agenda set daily by the mass media “will hardly shape the strategic level of policy determination for that society. What is generally unconsidered or discontinuously considered cannot enter into mass consciousness” (Smythe, cited in Hanson & Maxcy, 1996, p.221).

Because no story can be told, “no account of events given, without contextualisation around a set of assumptions, beliefs and values” (McNair, 1998, p.5), journalism sets the agenda in our lives because it tells us about us. As Signorielli (1990), puts it, it shows us our life and weaves tales that teach us about the world issues faced by different people. Media messages, she continues, whether in advertisements or programs, are influential in that they expose the viewers to information they may not
have otherwise known about (Signorielli, 1990). This information is used by society
to decide what is or is not important, and to make fundamental decisions that alter
behaviour or lead to ideological change.\textsuperscript{xliv}

In its agenda-setting function, the press is not free from occasional contradictions. For
example, Signorielli (1990) argues, (in the West) there is much depiction of sex on
television and little on vital issues such as sexually transmitted diseases and the use of
condoms. The media have fallen into a trap of stressing what she calls the comic
nature of sexuality and of many issues. There are many contradictions in media where
messages cancel each other (Montgomery, 1990). Media may set out to empower and
uphold the principles of democracy, but as discussed earlier, they are not free from
societal influences. Does this then mean that while the media is setting an agenda for
the society, the society is in actual fact setting an agenda for itself? In his theory of
cultivation, Laswell (1948) argued that values are shaped according to distinctive
patterns (institutions) which include communications, ideology and political
document. Media play a central role in establishing the communication patterns that in
turn influence other patterns, but they are not free from commercial interests. In their
essay on bias, objectivity and ideology, Elliott and Golding (1997) argue that media
only present a view that is in synch with the ideologies of those in charge of media’s
organisation or particular interest groups. This results in a view that is narrow and
limited to commonly held social values and assumptions. This bias is revealed in the
daily production of news:

\text{News is ideology to the extent that it provides an integrated
picture of reality. But an ideology is more than this; it is also
the world view of particular social groups, and especially of}
social classes. The claim that news is ideology implies that it provides a world view both consistent in itself, and supportive of the interests of powerful social groupings (Elliott & Golding, 1997, p. 412).

This control of media’s ideology is not a new idea. Innis (1951) in his book *The Bias of Communications* pointed out that communication leads over time to monopolization by a group or a class of the means of production and distribution of knowledge. This monopolization, if unchecked, has the effect of producing a disequilibrium which can impede change. Media in Africa, as established earlier, is usually controlled by the government or owned by foreigners whose interests are financial. This can pose a problem in the long term role of the media to initiate change. This then introduces the question, how can journalists carry out their mandate without becoming too powerful and being manipulated and controlled by a few? Smythe (1981) puts it even better when he asks:

> Who will determine the kind of development which is to be pursued? How? When? Why? And most fundamentally, for whose benefit i.e., for the benefit of which class of people? The answers given to these questions will describe the development any people will experience (cited in Hanson & Maxcy, 1996, p.221).

These are valid questions with no straightforward answers. The challenge for African journalists is how to negotiate their agenda-setting function with their societal controls, for the betterment of society. This may mean more local ownership of media or less control of the media by governments.
However, this chapter proposes that the African journalists need to understand their mandate and their role as developers of their society. This role can be best achieved when media undertake the role of development.

V. CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that media are part of the society and have been given the task of serving society in various capacities. Argument has been presented that Third World journalists are called upon to develop their nations. When William Hatcher introduced his developmental press model, he viewed the press as a collaborator with the government for social, economic and political improvements. Even though this was the case in the first decade or two after independence in African nations, reality has been that the governments have provided poor governance and have misused the state media for non-developmental purposes. Therefore, this chapter has argued, media have to undertake developmental roles, not only as a collaborator with the government, if called upon, but by their own initiatives. Journalists should see one of their functions to be that of a developmental agent. This proposed role for journalists does not cancel the tradition roles of reportage and analysis and commentary. Rather, it is meant to supplement and complement the daily workings of journalism where the basic journalistic principles of objectivity, truth and the questions of what, where, who, when and how are upheld. If the media undertake this challenge and carry it out efficiently, they will have achieved Peterson, Siebert and Schramm’s Social-Responsibility theory. This means media will be charged with providing the public with meaningful news and information free from government control and yet responsive to societal and sometimes governmental processes.
From McNair’s and McQuail arguments of what the media are, we can arrive at the conclusion that the major functions of the media are to serve society by providing a platform for discussion of issues so as to maintain a sense of normality. This in lieu with the functionalist theory of media which says that mass media are essential for integration; cooperation; order, control and stability; adaptation to change; mobilization; management of tension; and continuity of culture and values (McQuail, 1994, p.81). These functions can be better upheld if society is uplifted – when the lives of suffering Africans are positively transformed in a tangible, measurable way by the use of the media.

This and the next two chapters are linked and work towards the same argument that media can be used for development. The following chapter, chapter eight, presents a case study in which media are used to change people’s habits and lead them to development. This study of South Africa’s Soul City’s edutainment model and the arguments in this chapter, contribute to the view that the state of media and functions of media require them to be used for development. This view is presented in chapter nine where an argument is made for a new paradigm for using the media for development.
CHAPTER EIGHT

SOUL CITY EDUTAINMENT MODEL: A CASE STUDY ON USING MEDIA FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a case study on how media and communication have been used effectively for development. As argued in the previous chapter, media can be used to alter behaviour and lead to development. Social scientists (Jacobson & Kolluri, 1999) and development proponents have viewed media as powerful tools of persuasion and have used them to influence perceptions in an attempt to achieve desired outcomes. One of the media models employed today for development is that of edutainment.

This chapter will examine how edutainment has been created and uniquely used by a South African non-governmental organization, Soul City. Soul City is a key partner of the Communication Initiative Partnership\textsuperscript{iv} - a partnership “for the sharing of information, ideas, linkages and dialogue on communication development and change” (Japhet 1999). The case study is based on interviews with the Soul City team in South Africa, observation of their work process and an analytical look at Soul City’s productions and publications.

The chapter will start by defining edutainment, whose meaning will be explored by analysing the Soul City Edutainment Model. A substantial part of this discussion will entail describing Soul City’s program because this is essential to the understanding of how edutainment works. The model encompasses Soul City’s projects, its research
basis, communication styles and the evaluation of its work. Evaluation will include an analysis of the use of media entertainment programming for development. Finally, the question of the usefulness of Soul City’s methods for other African nations much poorer than South Africa (most of which have government-controlled media) will be discussed.

II. EDUTAINMENT

Edutainment has been called an instrument of social change (Japhet, 1999). Practitioners of the concept define it as “the art of integrating social messages into popular and high quality communication formats based on a thorough research process” (Japhet, 1999). This is achieved by the presentation of messages to a large or small audience using entertainment platforms such as village theatres, radio, publications, film and television shows – using entertainment to educate. The strength of the message is influenced by the popularity of the entertainment; the more popular the entertainment, the stronger it is. However, in Soul City’s case, communication is only considered edutainment if it is offered continuously using an “edutainment vehicle” (Japhet, 1999 ). A one-time performance is not edutainment, nor are messages presented in a short campaign meant to achieve one specific aim. Edutainment employs an edutainment vehicle, which is the core of the model and could be any particular form of entertainment, chosen for social messaging (Japhet, 1999 ). This could be through the use of one medium, such as an entertaining newspaper column, or in the case of Soul City, several media which include TV drama (soap opera), radio drama, song, live theatre, newspaper columns, publications and puppet shows. The use of several media mean the same audience can be reached in various ways. The
multiplicity of mediums also means more people, of varying economic and social backgrounds, have a chance of being reached by at least one of the mediums. This adoption of different mediums is a popular technique used by campaigners (McQuail, 1997).

Edutainment is not a new concept. It was first used in 1974 as a deliberate strategy for health promotion by Mexico’s Miguel Sabido. While a Vice-President for Research at Televisa in Mexico, Sabido developed a methodology for “designing and producing radio and television drama that can win over audiences while imparting messages and values” (PMC, 2001). The methodology, today called the Sabido Method, was based on stories with characters and plot lines that engaged the audience with a range of issues. By careful writing and character development in the soap operas (Telenovelas), Sabido was able to promote health issues by introducing, exploring and tackling sensitive cultural taboos such as abortion, sex, sexually transmitted diseases and family planning. The use of a vehicle, this time a soap opera, meant that an issue could be explored while another issue was being introduced to the public. Hence, there was continued education about several issues in the popular drama series.

Sabido’s first soap opera to promote family planning was *Acompáname* ("Accompany Me"). Screened over a course of nine months, it showed the benefits of family planning (PMC, 2001). According to the Mexican government's national population council (CONAPO), the immediate impacts of the series, as outlined by (PMC, 2001) were:
• Phone calls to the CONAPO requesting family planning information increased from a low base to an average of 500 a month. Many people calling mentioned that they were encouraged to do so by the television soap opera.

• More than 2,000 women registered as voluntary workers in the national program of family planning. This was an idea suggested in the television soap opera.

• Contraceptive sales increased by 23 percent in one year, compared to a seven percent increase the preceding year.

• More than 560,000 women enrolled in family planning clinics, an increase of 33 percent (compared to a one percent decrease the previous year).

The long term impact of the soap operas was reflected in Mexico’s 34 percent decline in population growth, over a ten-year period of the airing of the programs. There might have been other factors at play such as government initiatives and other campaigns but overall, the program was viewed as the catalyst for the impacts. In the 1980s, the Sabido Method gained popularity with its adoption by John Hopkins University and the Population Communications International. By 1990, the Sabido Method was also being employed in media productions in India, Kenya, Tanzania, Brazil and Madagascar and being used in developed nations in children’s shows such as “Sesame Street.”

South Africa’s Soul City has refined the Sabido Method, adopted and popularised the term edutainment and developed a model for development using the media.
III. SOUL CITY OVERVIEW

Soul City is a South African non-governmental organisation established in 1991 by two medical doctors, Shereen Usdin and Garth Japhet. Its main aim is to “harness the power of media for social change” (Japhet, 1999). The founders, being medical doctors, were initially mainly interested in health communication and education. They decided to employ what they called “an edutainment vehicle” that could impact “on a range of health and developmental issues over time” (Japhet, 1999), by presenting different issues over time.

The edutainment vehicle they designed was made up of two components, depicted in Figure 7.1 (next page): first is a Mass Media Component that begins with a marketing and advertising strategy. This strategy includes a prime time, 13-part television drama by the name of Soul City: Heartbeat of the Nation; a daily 60-part, radio drama in nine major South African languages and three colour booklets per television series. These booklets are also serialised by ten newspapers across South Africa while the TV and radio programs are running. By using radio drama, Soul City reaches a rural community that, due to inadequate infrastructure and poverty-related limitations, is not reached by television. The booklets and newspaper stories use images depicting characters of the TV and radio drama shows and are meant to provide more factual information that can be accessed by an audience at the audience’s pace and choice of time. Twelve million booklets have been distributed to date. The television program is regularly the most watched TV programme in South Africa and has been recognised internationally for its role in education and development in a developing country (Molakeng, S., Africa News Service, June 19, 2001).
The second component of the edutainment vehicle, the post mass media component, is developed from the first component and comprises Adult Education Packages, Youth Education Packages and the Health Development Worker of the Year competition. These three packages are meant to keep the discussed agendas within specific groups and to work as an incentive for the audience to keep on paying attention to Soul City’s initiatives.

Employing its two media components, Soul City has so far covered a range of health and social issues such as violence against women, TB, hypertension, HIV/AIDS, tobacco control, alcohol effects, energy usage, maternal and child health and children issues.

Figure 8.1: Soul City’s Vehicle Components (from Japhet, 1999, p.11).
IV. SOUL CITY’S EDUTAINMENT MODEL

Soul City’s edutainment model is based on the concept that people are interested in entertainment. Therefore, messages injected in entertainment can be used to educate and lead to behaviour change. For this to be achieved efficiently, Soul City’s model concentrates on the development of the message and its generation. The model is divided into inputs, all of which are vital if the model is to be successful. These are seen in the graphic representation below:

![Diagram of Soul City’s Edutainment Model]

Figure 8.2: Soul City’s Edutainment Model (Japhet, 1999).
1. The Edutainment Vehicle

This is what Japhet (1999) calls the core of the model. Edutainment is more effective, not as a one-time development campaign but an ongoing development and persuasion campaign that employs an ongoing vehicle. In the case of Soul City, this has mainly been a television soap opera. The soap opera attracts viewers by its use of an interesting story line which develops and changes in time. Injected into the story are social and health issues, which are structured to educate and lead to behaviour change.

Magazines, newspaper articles and radio dramas complement the soap opera. The radio dramas tend to be radio versions of the TV show. As stated earlier, the use of several mediums was meant to increase the potential audience reached by Soul City because some audiences (such as those in rural areas) are better reached by radio than television and newspapers. Newspaper articles are targeted at opinion leaders such as local and national policy makers.

2. The Audience and Expert Centred formative research process

This is a vital component of Soul City that sets it apart from other communication models. According to Soul City Founder, Shereen Usdin (2000), research enables Soul City to generate an effective storyline that achieves their main aim. Research also enables Soul City program writers to focus their writing to ensure the highest comprehension and persuasive degree of the intended messages.

Once a topic, for example, domestic violence, has been chosen, the Research process is undertaken in eight steps:
a) The first step involves consultations with experts and members of the target audience, to identify what they know, what concerns them and what resistance points to the topic they have.

b) The second step involves bringing together representative groups of role players and experts to discuss the findings generated in the first step. A broader view and impact of the message is also analysed in these meetings.

c) The third step involves Soul City generating a working document which defines the messages for the edutainment.

d) At this stage, script writers and producers (the creative team) are given the working document and team discussions are held as to the best ways of incorporating the messages into a story line.

e) The creative team then drafts an outline of their ideas which are tested with representatives of the target audience, role players and experts.

f) Incorporating all the knowledge so far acquired, the creative team generates the first draft of the scripts.

g) The scripts are put through a testing process until there is satisfaction that the messages have been integrated into the story line without losing the entertainment values.

h) Finally, the scripts are produced and learned lessons are noted for future projects.

The research process can take anywhere from three months to a year. Understanding the impact of cultural values, socio-economic needs and level of education are important elements in the process. Words and phrases are chosen to overcome cultural
conflicts. Because South Africa has 11 national languages, the script employs several languages with English subtitles when English is not used.

3. Forging Partnerships

This is a managerial area based on the importance of team work and inclusion of different parties to ensure success of the edutainment vehicle. Partnerships are forged between Soul City and for example television broadcasters and relevant opinion makers depending on the issue being addressed. Partnerships are created on a win-win basis whereby each party benefits from the success of the programs. Partners are included in the process early, with some of them being included in the research and decision making process of the second unit above. The forging of partnerships ensures support by different organisations and an ownership spirit in the campaigns, meaning Soul City is not alone in its activism. Sponsors are also gained by forging partnerships.

4. Promoting and Marketing

Because the power of edutainment is dependent on it being popular, marketing and promotion are used to generate popularity and draw audiences to the edutainment vehicle. Promotion and marketing is divided into two phases: initiation and maintenance. While initiation gets people interested in the vehicle, maintenance of interest is achieved through newspaper stories and competitions with prizes to keep the audience faithful.
5. Immediate Impact and 6. Achieving project objectives

This is the understanding of the expected impact of the project. The impact may be immediate or long term and the degree of expected social change would vary from project to project. The impact may be simply the creation of a supportive environment (soft ground) for social changes for individuals and communities at large or changes in government policy. According to Soul City co-founder, Japhet Gavin, the creation of an environment that makes it easier for future persuasion or for future change to occur is seen as a major impact of the projects.

7. Potential Opportunities

To supplement media effects, the use of other opportunities that may arise as a result of the programs is key to expanding the initial message. Initiatives, which may include a call for government policy changes or support of social groups, are embraced. Publications (mostly written educational materials) can be generated and a sense of advocacy adopted. The Internet, competitions, and Youth clubs have been used by Soul City to generate more interest and maintain a campaign.

8. Evaluation

Finally, the edutainment process involves evaluation which is a key part of the model. Soul City carries out evaluation of its projects to test whether they are generating desired outcomes and to which degree they are being effective. The evaluation process is discussed later in the analysis of the edutainment model's effectiveness.
These eight units are dependent on an ongoing vehicle that can be used for several campaigns. Each campaign is studied and learned lessons employed in the next campaign.

V. ANALYSIS OF SOUL CITY EDUTAINMENT OUTPUTS

This section will analyse two facets of Soul City’s vehicle: the television program and educational magazines. First, a short synopsis of the TV program:

a). Television Programs

Episode 4 of Soul City: Heart Beat of the Nation opens with the powerful scene of domestic abuse. A man beats up his wife because she is being “hard headed” for asking him for assistance in taking care of their child. Outside, neighbours and passers by ignore the woman’s screams. Some shrug and says they cannot interfere in a personal matter between a man and his wife. The woman ends up in hospital where a doctor gives her note with a domestic abuse help-line number. She calls the number and is told that the law can protect her if she takes a legal stand against her husband. She decides to move back to her parents home. The futility of relying on the law is soon revealed when her husband starts assaulting her outside her father’s house. Her father calls the police, who fail to arrest the man because the case is a “domestic affair”. In the meantime, the couple’s children are shown to be suffering psychological anguish. The question of what can be done about domestic abuse and the responsibility of authorities and citizens are eventually presented.
This is the basic story line of Episode 4’s Violence Against Women campaign. The television program continues with its story of the lives of characters that were introduced in Episode 1. Five factors present themselves in the show.

First, Unlike Western-oriented soap operas which portray glamour and basic interpersonal problems and virtues of vanity, greed and economic success, Soul City (the show) is based on realistic re-enactment of how majority of South Africans, especially the Blacks, experience reality. Because media tell us about ourselves and what we believe to be our reality (Signorielli, 1990), Soul City’s use of realistic locations and depiction of ways of life that the majority of South Africans experience gives the viewers a connection with the show. The story revolves around a health centre — a clinic, and is filmed mainly in Johannesburg’s South Western Townships (Soweto and Alexandra). Street scenes of the poor and rich are depicted and characters in the story are from varied economic and social backgrounds. The actors live in the townships they depict and are powerful symbols of reality. This is an important factor because viewers can identify with the characters and the scenes being depicted. The stories are transformed from the realm of fairy tales to day to day struggles and successes. As Time Magazine commented, “what makes Soul City so successful is not merely its authentic portrayal of township life but also its intimacy with viewers” (July 2, 2001, p.35).

The story line is aware of cultural effects of audience response and depicts African-ways of relating and problem solving. When, for example, a group of health workers visit the neighbours of the abusive man, they are welcomed into the humble home.
Immediately, cups of tea are presented to them in the expected gesture of hospitality. Greetings are culture-specific and discussions mention and even use specific traditional/cultural arguments.

Second, the story line follows an expository narrative that continually refers to earlier occurrences. This reminds the viewers of previous issues covered such as controlling hypertension, covered in previous Soul City episodes. African proverbs and expressions based on cultural beliefs and practices are used by characters to present arguments.

Third, Soul City employs several languages in its program. Different characters speak their mother tongues and specific-language sub-titles are used for particular audiences. This use of African languages rather than just English gives ownership of the stories to the viewers. Because of the complex nature of the South African society, use of different languages is positively accompanied by depiction of all races in the story line: Coloureds (including Indians), Blacks and Whites.

Fourth, the program tackles issues at all levels of community, government involvement, community support organizations, individual responsibility and social-wide impacts are addressed in the episode. The effects of violence against women is examined from a cultural, psychological and legal premise. The clash between traditional African cultures and new laws is portrayed with the abusive man trying to defend his actions because, as his father tells him, “he is a man” who should take care of his household whichever way he chooses because he is the “head of the family.” The failure of the police to enforce the law when it comes to domestic abuse is
revealed and challenged. Violence is shown to affect children in their social interactions and performance at school. The effects of silence by individuals is portrayed as the abusive wife is maimed and hospitalised. Social and economic factors are addressed as the victim is unable to go to work. Her colleagues at work are affected and bothered by her absence. The community as a whole is shown to be at loss because of the acts of domestic abuse.

Lastly, the production provides direct solutions to combating violence against women. These are in three levels – personal, government and communal:

a) From a personal level, women are encouraged to seek help. Soul City partnered with South Africa’s National Network for Violence Against Women. The number given to the abused woman by the doctor is shown on screen and is an existing free call (toll free) number of the organisation. The number is shown several times and offers viewers an immediate solution. This is a good technique because it empowers viewers and provides an immediate call to action towards the first step for solutions. A visit to one of the support group’s offices by the abused woman reveals more of the organization and shows that women will be treated well and offered support when they visit the organisation. New South African laws on domestic abuse are explained and options are discussed. This provides new information and knowledge to viewers. For example, the woman is told she can obtain a restraining order against her husband and how she can go about doing this.

b) The role of government and community involvement is shown in a scene where community members discuss security issues with the local chief of police. The woman’s story and the refusal of the police to take action are brought up. The police
chief outlines what the police can and cannot do and later reprimands the police officers who did not take any action against the abusive husband. The laws discussed are in accordance with South Africa’s new laws on domestic abuse.

c) At the communal level, the role of neighbours and individuals is portrayed in a scene where the man abuses the woman again after she agrees to come back home. Neighbours walk towards the house hitting cooking pans against each other, making noise that lets the man know they are aware of what he is doing. This stops the man from beating his wife. The neighbours also call the police and the man is arrested. This solution by Soul City employs the use of available options in the lives of people. The solution is immediate and simple and does not require special resources or education to enact. The solution also solves the quagmire faced by individuals who fear personal harm in confronting abusive people.

d) Throughout the program, posters with messages on how to stop domestic abuse and on other issues (such as using condoms to prevent HIV infections) are depicted on walls in various scenes. The program ends with a repeat of the number that abused people and their families can call to seek help.

These solutions draw strength by offering more than one way of solving a problem. This means that viewers are presented with various options with the expectation that they will be able to utilise one of them.

From an entertainment perspective, the show uses cinematic techniques that generate suspense and draws the viewer into the story - it is an entertaining program.
From a communication and persuasion perspective, the television show is effective. The message is clear, but more important, the solutions are direct. Psychologist Carl Hovland argues that persuasion works best when stages of psychological processing (persuasion techniques) are well employed (Aronson & Pratkanis, 1991). The program satisfies Hovland's stages (presented in italics). First the show is entertaining and therefore *attracts the viewer's attention*. The arguments in the show are repeated and presented in various ways so as to ensure they are *understood and comprehended*. Because the story line is based on what is real in the lives of the people, and because it employs cultural values and processes of communication, the messages are learned and recipients come to accept them as *true*. Because media effectiveness is shaped by circumstances of time and place and by social and cultural habits (McQuail, 1997), the use of the South African social structure and the right languages and cultural norms gives weight to realism that is acceptable. As shown in chapter seven, this concept of realism is vital if media are to be effective. The show also encourages people to *act*. It gives them several options and continuously provides an incentive for the viewers to act. The idea of the common good is presented but personal rewards are also offered at the end of the program in the form of a competition covering some of the issues addressed.

b). Publications

To supplement the television program, Soul City publishes magazine-style booklets that are distributed all over the country. The glossy booklets are used to provide more in-depth discussions of the issues covered in the television program. The cover pages
of the booklets, as shown in Figure 7.3 below, have clear messages with the faces of the television program characters:

![Image of Soul City booklets]

Figure 8.3 An example of Soul City’s Booklets.

The booklets employ several techniques:

1. Aesthetics:

   a) They are in colour – bright and use cartoons to emphasize points.

   b) The messages are written out and key points are in bold typeface and underlined.

2. Content:

   a) The booklets provide background information to the issue. This is achieved through the use of questions. For example, the question “Why do people
smoke?” provides information on the social perceptions of smoking as provided by advertisements and the reality. The tobacco industry is discussed and the effects of smoking on individuals presented. An incentive for a person to either quit smoking, or to budget or end violence is provided. The booklets show the advantages of changing behaviour. Then solutions, similar to the ones provided in the television program, are presented. By providing the background information, the booklets situate the problems in the South African community. This information educates the readers and the new knowledge is used to offer pragmatic reasons why they alter their behaviour.

b) The booklets are in English but key words that need interpretation are underlined and are translated in five languages on side columns of the pages. The main idea is to get the message across in the simplest way possible.

c) On the inside cover of every booklet is a list of places people can seek more information and help, all over South Africa. These provide addresses and phone numbers and are usually that of the partner working with Soul City for a particular campaign.

VI. ANALYSIS OF SOUL CITY’S EVALUATION PROCESS

a). Cultural Understanding

As Soul City is based in South Africa, a country with a painful history of discrimination, information, education and economic inequality, plus the negative fruits of apartheid (such as violence and apathy), it has been careful to be seen as an
organisation that addresses all communities. Soul City’s success is based on it being a South African organisation seeking solutions for South Africa. Like the Sabido Model, Soul City’s Edutainment understands that its audience is key to the success of its projects. To this effect, the audience and expert centred formative research process has been used to ensure cultural and racial interpretations of meanings. This type of process, Atkin & Freimuth (1989), argue, means an effective campaign targeted at the needs of an audience can be created. This in turn enhances the success of the campaign.

Soul City’s research process is complemented by its evaluation stage (See Apendix 7.2 for Evaluation Outline example). Alcalay & Taplin (1989) reiterate that in all campaigns, the need for evaluation, despite budget size, cannot be overemphasised. Evaluation, however, has to be carried out with the knowledge of the various factors at play. These include an understanding of the community, the effects of differential audience reach and summative evaluation.

Understanding the community is important because before any intervention occurs, there exists a prior state (such as the environment, people understandings etc) that is the baseline against which evaluation measurements are compared (Foote & Rice, 1989). This means that any findings have to be judged from prior knowledge of how the community was before the campaign. Foote & Rice (1989) argue that this falls under the Systems theory which argues that “there are common structures and processes operating in phenomena regardless of the research discipline applied” (p.151). These structures include a system and a boundary. For example, a system such as a rural community exists within an environment (such as high mortality rate,
lack of pipe-borne water, fear of the state, ineffective laws and government policies). This system can then receive inputs (such as health or domestic abuse campaign) and processes them according to goal and constraints (cultural norms, benefits - improved health, availability of resources, need) and develops outputs (such as reduced infant mortality, reduction of domestic abuse).

By bringing together different groups to brainstorm the different issues that need addressing and by conducting audience formative research as the first step in the edutainment process, Soul City shows it understands the importance of this process.

Because a campaign’s effectiveness is based on the information that gets to the audience, a measure of the differential audience reach is also important (McQuail, 1997). For broadcasting campaigns, this is presented by Classee’s (1968) schema of differential audience reach. As shown in figure 7.4 below, just because a message is sent out does not mean it is useful:

![Figure 8.4: A Schema of Differential Audience Reach (Classee, 1968, p. 626)](image)
According to Clausse, any broadcast message is initially sent out with unlimited reception according to geographical constraints (such as within countries or frequency limitations). This is limited immediately by the second stage of message receivable. This is dependent on audience -- who is available to listen? On technology -- is the signal clear? On economic constraints -- who has access to a TV sets? Then the next stage of the actual is message received. This is dependent on who is watching -- is it a child or the targeted audience? The understanding of the message is seen as a registered message. This varies with the degree of impact and the immediate effect it has on the audience. Finally, the message is internalised, which for a campaign is the most important stage. This is the stage where the message is not discarded but taken to heart and acted upon. This is to ensure the message does not fall victim to what Clausse refers to as "wastage."

From Clausse’s schema, one can draw the conclusion that it is difficult to ascertain which messages were internalised and not wasted because the generation of a message does not ensure its effectiveness. Soul City’s evaluation does not measure the amount of information that is internalised and how much information is “wasted.” However, its evaluation process is broad and attempts to establish the different factors at play in their campaign. Their evaluation process is based on discrete studies which analyse the impact of the campaign at an individual level. This is conducted as a national survey. The impact on an individual at a community level is analysed using sentinel site studies and a qualitative evaluation of the impact of the campaign. Then there is also the analysis of the impact at a societal and environmental level. This is conducted by evaluating Soul City’s partnerships and its impact on the campaign process. Soul City's impact on South African Society is evaluated by media monitoring and
analysis. This examines Soul City’s contribution to the public debate. Soul City also evaluates its impact on other organizations and effects on environmental trends such as new government policy or shift in policy.

In evaluating a campaign, Cook & Flay (1989) propose the use of summative evaluation. This incorporates several factors: First is the size of the audience. Then the frequency of exposure the audience receives during the campaign. The effectiveness of the campaign – “how it causally affects those who receive its services at an acceptable quantity and quality” (p.177) should also be measured. The impact of the campaign should be evaluated, not only from the perspective of the impact on an individual but on how intervention influences families, governments and social movements. Soul City, as discussed above, addresses these issues in its evaluation process. Summative evaluation also involves a study of the cost of the campaign and a study of causal process. Causal processes provide knowledge of why specific outcomes were not achieved. Soul City’s evaluation includes a cost effectiveness study. However, it does not include a section on causal processes and this is a drawback because “while it is useful to know what affects a program, it is also good to know why specific outcomes did or did not come about”(Cook & Flay, 1989, p. 177).

The Soul City evaluation process, like its initial audience and expert centred formative research process, is comprehensive and covers most areas of the campaign. The edutainment model works for Soul City because of the degree of commitment to this process. However, how realistic is the edutainment model in today’s Africa?
VII. CONCLUSION

a). Transfer of Model to African nations

The edutainment model is complex and even though Soul City (1999) argues it is easily transferable to other African nations, it is an expensive venture that requires high organisational skills and income. Soul City programs have been shown in Barbados, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria and Zambia, and have been dubbed into French and Portuguese languages for showing in Ivory Coast and Mozambique. However, it is one thing to transport a fully completed program that has been developed for a particular society (undergoing the formative research process, need assessment, cultural understanding, partnership formation etc) and another to develop an effective one for a particular nation. This airing of programs in other African nations may be somewhat persuasive but it does not hold true to the edutainment model.

Soul City has been conducting edutainment classes in nations such as Kenya and Tanzania but is targeting non-governmental organizations which may not be in a position to raise much of the funds needed for the media campaign. The formative research process and the production of the programs are time consuming and costly and a lot of training is needed before they can be carried out effectively. A model that requires less in terms of financial and organisational input would be more appropriate for majority of African countries which do not have a strong media presence.
A major drawback in the process is Soul City’s control. Whereas Soul City is a South African established non-governmental organisation, the majority of NGOs in Africa are either formed to complement donor needs or formed by foreigners. The dependency on donor funding means that Africans have to design their developmental programs according to what the donors (mostly Western) think is important. This means the African voice is muted in the process. As a result, in Africa today, there are many skeletons of projects which were began and never completed. Also, because of the various factors at play (such as Clausewicz’s differential audience reach) campaigns and projects cannot be successful unless they are carried over a period of time. The evaluation process is key to the success of a developmental campaign, but it becomes null and void if the following year a new campaign topic is introduced. This chapter argues that an effective campaign needs to run for at least five to 10 years. Studies have shown (see Rogers & Singhal, 1989) that people’s behaviours are not altered by short-term campaigns and that cultural and communal change takes time and needs re-enforcement and repetition.
Soul City has tried to solve the dependency problem by running an entrepreneurial wing of the organization by marketing its programs to other nations. This means that the organization makes money from its work and even though it is dependent on outside funding, has more room to argue its case and be able to continue with its campaign structures. This, for many in poor nations is hard to achieve and people will continue depending on outside funding and its subsequent controls.

This chapter has introduced the concept of edutainment developed by Soul City. The model covers all aspects of designing a campaign for a community. It is sensitive to cultural and environmental issues and understands that campaigns should be based on specific audience needs. The short-term impact of Soul City’s campaigns are positive. Its evaluations have shown that a) people are aware of the program, b) the program has created a soft ground for further education and influence, c) the programs have contributed to national development campaigns and led to a shift in government policies (on domestic abuse) and that d) the media has contributed to a shift in attitudes. This shift in attitudes is vital in the mobilisation of communities towards defining what they want for themselves. The creation of a soft ground means that people are easier to convince and hence more receptive to ideas that lead to an improvement of their lives. The ability to empower people such that they undertake self-inspired development projects is a significant result of the edutainment program.

However, the effectiveness of the Soul City model and its transfer ability to other African nations will be known with time. The edutainment process, which relies on stable organizations with sufficient resources and well trained staff to enact, limits the transferability of the model. Also, because South Africa’s conditions are different
from that of majority of African nations, a more comprehensively effective process may need to be developed.

All in all, Soul City's edutainment model supports the theory that media, if used effectively, can lead to societal change and encourage development. The model aims to develop its audience by teaching them how to best manage their lives for improved health, community initiatives and social development. Lessons from the edutainment model and arguments in the preceding chapters are used in generating a new paradigm for the use of the media for development. This is presented in the next chapter.
CHAPTER NINE

HOW JOURNALISM CAN BE USED FOR DEVELOPMENT – A NEW PARADIGM

I. INTRODUCTION

The edutainment model outlined in the previous chapter requires an organisation to be set up or one to change its operation to incorporate edutainment. However, because this is not viable in many African settings, existing infrastructure should be used for development. This chapter argues that African journalists and journalists in the Third World should effectively engage in the process of development. This chapter also presents a new paradigm (developmental process) for journalists. The arguments in this chapter are an extension of the discussions in chapter seven on media theory and the complex nature of the African press, and are developed from knowledge acquired from Soul City's edutainment model.

II. JOURNALISM CREATING CHANGE

By providing information to the public and by setting the agenda of what a society will view as important, journalists can be said to be contributing to the changes occurring, whether negative or positive. This means that ability of the media to influence has and will continue to be harnessed for development. As earlier established in this thesis, the majority of African nations are poor and the lives of the majority of people are miserable and apathetic. There is little doubt that alleviation of poverty and improvement of life is a quest to be desired. Research that generates
practical solutions that can lead to positive changes in life, will be the difference between death and life for peasants. This type of research is difficult and complicated but should nevertheless be pursued. This section looks at how African journalists can contribute to changes in their society so as to encourage development and improve the quality of life.

The idea of using journalism to actively create change has taken momentum in the last two decades. In the United States, the concept of public journalism is one seen as the answer to representing the voices of ordinary people (Ewart, 2000). Even though this notion of representing the voices of the ordinary people is not new in journalism, in the United States, a movement to transform the role of journalists from just telling the news to re-engaging the public started in 1988 (Venables, 2001). There were calls for cultural changes in the way journalists viewed their role. Supporters of public journalism such as Rosen (1999), have argued that journalists need to move from seeing themselves as objective observers of society to being members of a public and therefore should work to ensure that the public does not lose faith in journalism. This idea has resulted in campaigns to make the public feel they “own” the news and that the media are part of society.

However, studies conducted on the effectiveness of public journalism techniques have not shown the campaigns to be effective (Venables, 2001). Today there is danger that public journalists do not engage with the wider public and are more attuned to the views of articulate leaders and professional groups (Friedland et al., 1998, cited in Venables, 2001).
This poor showing of public journalism may be based on the argument by Atkin and Wallack (1990) that information is not synonymous with prevention and that even the most “comprehensive public information campaigns have achieved rather limited success.” This is because reality dictates that encouraging people to alter their behaviour is only “a partial solution to socially created” problems (p.7). Wallack (1990) suggests that what is needed is not more information but better skills in analysing and using knowledge. This means that even though freedom of expression and a plurality of mediums (such as an increase in radio stations and newspapers) are essential for the development of a country’s media, they do not necessarily equal development. In the last 10 years, African nations have experienced an improvement in the freedom of the press but as Uganda’s The Monitor newspaper editor Charles Onyango-Obbo (1993) warns, this has not meant the public has been better served:

The lifting of restrictions on the media has not meant that government control has ended. It has only taken a different and more sophisticated form. The multiplicity of media has made available a lot more information, but that information is not better. What the readers have got is more choice, not more wisdom (p.70).

Atkin and Wallack’s argument on the impact of social problems is a valid one. The media cannot be expected to change society if the political situation and the social climate dictates this is not to be so. After independence, African governments tried to utilise the media for social development and did so actively. Agricultural programs, education programs, broadcasts on the maintenance of law and order and generation of patriotism have been developed by use of the media. Unfortunately, the same media have been used to divide people, entrench authoritarian rule, protect corruption
and in the case of Rwanda, contribute to genocide.\textsuperscript{xlvi} Despite all these negative uses of the media, the independent press in Africa has played a revolutionary role. The independent press has over the years prodded the government and championed for multi-party systems of governance. Now, accountable governments are being encouraged and in the next few years will probably be the majority rather than the minority in the continent. As this process of democratisation continues, one can conclude that media will always be charged with the role of development.

Mass media and development theory attributes several roles to the media:

a) Disseminating technical know-how
b) Encouraging individual change and mobility
c) Spreading elections
d) Promoting consumer demand and
e) Aiding literacy, education, health, population control etc (McQuail, 1994, p85).

To achieve this, journalists in Africa need to undertake several roles: First, because "the degree of control of media by state or society may depend on the feasibility of applying it" (McQuail, p. 24), journalists have to find ways of educating the public while not getting deregistered or clamped down. This is easily argued than done but it is more instrumental for media to champion for democracy and freedom of the press than get bogged down with personal attacks of the leaders. This chapter is not arguing that journalists should cower from presenting the truth and revealing misdeeds by dictators. The argument here is that journalists should undertake their duties with the understanding they have a more fundamental role of bringing about permanent change in the government system.
Second, journalists should educate the public on matters of state management and basic freedoms. As there is a tendency for many Africans to vote for people who are already wealthy and established in society, and not people who can improve their communities, journalists need to educate the population on how to identify bad, corrupt and opportunist politicians. This, coupled with education on the roles of their elected representatives, would encourage the public to demand more from politicians. This will contribute to the people’s understanding of democratic principles.

It is clear to many observers that the problem with African nations is not particular leaders but poor systems that prop up dictators such as Idi Amin of Uganda, Abacha of Nigeria, Moi of Kenya or Mugabe of Zimbabwe. They are not in all the nations yet nearly all countries have or have had a corrupt and authoritarian leader. Some journalists have already been contributing to education of the public on why a better constitution (instead of the one borrowed from colonial masters) is the main solution to improving governance. With the birth of the African Union, Africans will need to be taught how economic and political partnerships can change their lives for the better. The role of globalisation and the impact of economic colonisation by multi-national organizations and Western donor nations and agencies should be clearly communicated to the public so that they do not only remain items of conversations for the elite. The basic idea is: A more informed population has more power in contributing to change.
Shah (1990) argues that journalists in the Third World should move from their emphasis on political and governmental news to more development reportage. This should include the reporting of the views of peasants, social workers, non-governmental development experts, extension workers, labourers and others who are directly affected by development or lack of it. In other words the voices of the people should make the crux of their work. For nearly half a century, journalists have been reporting what opinion leaders say and do and this has not amounted to much in terms of socio-economic improvements. Shah’s suggestion will move Third World press from its emphasis on maintaining the socio-economic status quo to the development of the people. Lee (1998) argues that journalism should also be critical of development plans in order to provide residents with diverse perspectives with which they can evaluate and decide to participate in the programmes. People need to be informed and convinced that just because an organisation has a development plan, it doesn’t mean that is what they should follow blindly. People need to determine what is good for them and be allowed to decide what they need and how best they can be helped to achieve their development plans.

To be able to carry out these initiatives, Sorlin (1994) makes the case that journalists need to understand their audience -- what he calls their clientele, because this is the best way of serving the audience efficiently. This means the public’s needs, not only what journalists perceive to be their needs, should be given preference. Also, the right language and communication styles, bearing in mind cultural value systems and oral-tradition backgrounds, should be employed. Loo (1994) agrees and argues that

Development journalists are learners as well as teachers who identify with the needs and goals of the people. They are not
neutral observers who remain unmoved or unchanged by what they see and write. They share the sentiments of the people in social situations and are changed to some degree as well as changing the situation in which they are participant (p.3).

III. THE MEDIA FOR DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

For the efficient use of media for development, journalists should see themselves as development agents whose decisions impact the social rhythms and development patterns of a society. In the same way economists view their role in society as one of interpreting and setting the tone for economic development, journalists should view themselves not only as agents of change but initiators of change. This means journalists have to look at the process of development and decide to be proponents of development by initiating specific campaigns.

Journalists can engage in development by adopting models such as the one presented below.

a) Stages of the Journalism/media development process

This campaign based model has seven stages:

a) The idea;
b) Clear definition and need evaluation;
c) Introduction of idea to the society -- includes general knowledge, background information etc;
d) Structured campaigns which incorporate old and new knowledge and persuasive techniques;

e) Ongoing evaluation of responses followed by relevant changes;

f) Second phase of the campaign using a new persuasion technique (so as to combat audience fatigue);

g) Evaluation, changes and repetition of the process.

First, journalists or media houses can decide on the idea - what they want to change or develop from the list of development areas presented by McNair: technical know-how, individual change and mobility, spreading elections (political civic education and empowerment), consumer demand (economic welfare and business development) and aiding literacy, education, health, population control (social improvements). After identification of the idea, journalists should clearly define the problem to be addressed or need to be satisfied. This can be achieved by looking at the general societal need scenario and how their idea contributes to this scenario. Then the issue needs to be introduced to the society. This needs to be done over a period of time so that the audience understands the background of the issue and why change is necessary. For example, if the media want to teach people how to tap solar energy for better provision of hot water, light and general improvement of life, stories on how solar has been used and how it works can be generated. Over a short period of time the audience will be able to learn that the sun can be a viable energy source and one that can be inexpensive and practical for their tropical situation. Then a structured campaign of a series of articles, discussions and education articles can be utilised for a period of time. The information provided should be direct and simple and employ persuasion techniques such as Carl Hovland’s stages of psychological processing
which advise that for a message to be persuasive it has to a) attract the recipient’s attention, b) the arguments in the message must be understood and comprehended, c) the recipients must learn the arguments and come to accept them as true and d) people need to be encouraged to act on the learned knowledge with an incentive (in Aronson & Pratkanis, 1991). There is need for ongoing evaluation in the form of studies of the effectiveness of the campaign. Campaigns have an ability to create change in areas that were not initially planned for and so, Wallack (1990) advises, the information provided in the campaigns should contribute to the development of knowledge to ensure recipients are not disabled by the information they receive. This ongoing evaluation will ensure that corrections are made or the campaign expanded and tailored to address more needs as revealed by the evaluation.

As studies have shown that audiences tire quickly and lose interest of persuasion techniques, there is need for a second phase of the same campaign, whereby the message is presented as if it was a new subject. This will combat fatigue whose effect can cause messages to be less effective (Aronson & Pratkanis 1991). Then after the campaign’s time has ended, another evaluation should be conducted, the short-term impact of the message studied and the campaign repeated later. A one-time campaign does not lead to long term changes essential for development. Also, repetition has been shown to increase the chances of altering behaviour (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999).

The campaigns, whether on civil rights empowerment, civic education, a call for democracy, economic and consumer development or technical know-how such as agriculture techniques should not be run one at a time. Several campaigns, according
to the ability of the medium, can be carried out at the same time and be at different stages of the process. For example, a campaign on good governance may be on stage one of introduction of a developmental idea while a campaign on health techniques to combat malaria is on the ongoing evaluation stage and a campaign on women’s rights is in its second phase. This model is shown below on Figure 9:1.

A campaign should last for at least six months and then halted for four months before being repeated again. There is no set variable of how many times a campaign should be repeated for this will vary with its intended results and development. However, a minimum of three for long running campaigns would offer the public a chance to get the intended message. Campaigns can be repeated many times in different languages and cultural modes so as to impact the largest group of people.

Figure 9.1 Journalism/Media Development Process.
CONCLUSION

The process of journalism should always originate from, be sustained and completed by a journalist (Chaffee & McDevitt, 1999). This may not be that clear in African nations where journalists are still grappling with freedom of expression issues, poor governance, lack of technical and economic abilities and the heavy responsibility of not only championing democracy but being part of the democratisation process. However, it is an ideal that is vital if media are to achieve their role as developers of society.

This chapter has introduced a model of using journalism for development. The suggested stages of media development process are easy to enact and can be used for campaigns that can lead to an improvement in the quality of life of Africans. The process needs to be tested and evaluations of its effectiveness presented for any future improvements to the idea.

Emphasis needs to be placed on the fact that key to the success of this model is a commitment by journalists to work as initiators of development. This may require re-education of journalists with the information provided in this thesis, so that they can view their roles from an understanding of the African context and the dependency the continent suffers from. Journalists will also need to come from the nations they hope to change and should use cultural norms acceptable in those cultures so that their audience will be more receptive to their messages.
Journalists will also need to keep up with technical innovations so as to employ the best tools for communication to a large group of people. The Internet is theoretically a great tool for communication but in the African context where the majority of people lack electricity supply, let alone computers, Internet is restricted to the elite or to those who reside in major cities whereas majority of Africans reside in the rural areas. However, new technologies such as the digital radio, mobile and satellite phones (refugees use them in Kakuma) and even village Internet cafes, are expanding in Africa and may soon provide new avenues for journalists to communicate development information.

Finally, journalists and media houses should work with governments to ensure success in their endeavours. In the same way that Soul City’s edutainment model encourages collaboration with stakeholders, journalists applying the Media for Development process will need to incorporate organizations and government agencies that are in support of their initiatives.

The model presented, however, does not resolve significant questions such as, why would media houses, operating as commercial enterprises go out of their way to adopt the model? The model also assumes that journalists all over Africa have the time to engage in development and are not pursuing journalism as a job rather than a career which they hold dearly. More refinement and research may be required to answer these questions.

Despite these shortcomings, if the model and subsequent recommendations are successfully carried out, journalists can confidently design a new slogan that says: We
are in the business of information, justice and development: A *people-centred* process which leads to an improvement in the quality of life by alleviating poverty and by empowering people so as to offset inequality and make lives better.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis has argued that there is need to rethink how communication and especially journalism should be used for development of the Third World. This is because the problems of poverty, which African nations and nations of the Third World face, require realistic solutions that would lead to improvements in the lives of people. The use of an efficient and effective communication paradigm is one of the many ways to tackle this global inequality. This and other suggestions such as changes in leadership, systems of governance, level of foreign interference and attitudes of rich nations and their agents (such as the World Bank and the IMF), are also required if African people are to be free from apathy and poverty.

This chapter summarises the various ideas presented in the thesis and how they contribute to the fight against poverty through development (a people-centred process which leads to an improvement in the quality of life by alleviating poverty and by empowering people so as to offset inequality and make lives better). These ideas will be shown to lead towards a new way of using communication for development by employing journalists as initiators of development through a process that utilises cultural understanding, the concept of voice and an understanding of the socio-economic histories of the nations to be developed. This chapter summarises the various ideas presented by addressing how they satisfy the objectives of the study.
II. FULFILLING THE STUDY'S OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this study as outlined in the methodological framework chapter study are:

d) To explore and understand the role of communication and culture in the development of Africa
e) To understand and analyse the social, political and economic situations facing the African people and
f) To generate arguments and a new way of using media for development of the African continent.

To satisfy these objectives, the thesis has undertaken a journalistic approach of presenting information that is not just based on theory but on the reality of the African experience. This is because, as Wright (1986) argues, theory does not always mimic life. Social reality – the situation on the ground (McQuail, 1994) is important for a study of this nature whose aim is to provide solutions to problems that face people in their day-to-day life. Poverty has been viewed as a human rights problem (UNDP, 2001) which needs to be addressed with human not just economic solutions. Therefore, poverty has been presented as the condition in which people are in a state of want and lack basic requirements for existence, for happy lives and the upholding of their human rights.
The thesis has argued that before development can be initiated in Africa, there needs to be a clear understanding of the social, political and economic conditions in the continent.

a) Understanding the Social, political and economic framework

Africa’s history has been shown to be one of foreign interference. Colonial imperialism, it has been argued, was about generating wealth for European nations (Davidson, 1978, Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, 1986) rather than a romantic notion of occupation. Colonial imperialism divided the continent, drawing borders that had no relation to the existing cultural and ethnic boundaries. These colonial divisions and exploitation later led to struggles for independence, nationalism and self-rule. Self-rule, however, was hampered by lack of resources for development and as a result, new concepts such as Nkrumah’s Pan African idea were scuttled. Divisions in the continent and reliance on former colonial powers meant that African socialism was doomed from the very start. African socialism and development of the continent from an African perspective failed because of two main reasons: One, Western nations already had a paradigm of how Africans should develop and socialism was not in the picture. Leaders such as Congo’s Patrice Lumumba, who had socialistic ideas, were assassinated or like Nkrumah, overthrown. Those who still insisted on African Socialism suffered. For example, Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere’s government found itself isolated and denied vital financial support and his dream of a state embodying African Socialism “togetherness” based on African cultures succeeded from a social level but failed economically.
Foreign interference in Africa’s development was based on the dominant paradigm which assumed that Africa was a backward continent whose development could only come from adopting Western economic solutions (Melkote, 1991; Rogers, 1976). The paradigm relied on economics as the best solution for development and blamed Third World nations for their "underdevelopment" (Rogers, 1976). By the 1970s, the paradigm was adjudged as ineffective. However it has continued to be used by the Bretton Wood institutions with dilapidating effects on Africa, Latin America and Asia.

As a result of the use of the dominant paradigm, the effects of colonisation and controls by rich nations over poor ones, this thesis has argued that African nations have become dependent on the West. This dependency has further entrenched African nations into debt and powerlessness, conditions that hamper development. Instability in the continent and corrupt and poor governance have added to the misery facing the African continent.

b) Role of Communication and Culture in the Development of Africa.

Argument has been presented that communication for development requires communication to be efficient. This argument has been made based on the understanding that development, by its use of communication, is achieved when it contributes to changes that lead to specific improvements in people’s lives. Media theory has shown that journalism can be used to initiate change (McQuail, 1994) and that journalism is in the business of solving problems (Campbell, 1999). Therefore,
using journalism for development is one way of employing communication for development.

The use of communication for development, however, initially mimicked the ideas of the dominant paradigm, with technology transfer and diffusion models used to develop the people of the Third World. These models did not consider cultural differences and relied on the flawed idea that communication models which worked in West could be replicated in the Third World. With time, ideas such as the two step theory were shown to be irrelevant to African development and hence were discarded. Later, models such as “Another” and Participatory paradigms, were introduced but have been criticised for presuming that people in the Third World need foreigners to help them in development.

It was also argued that there are significant differences in the way Africans and non-Africans (especially Westerners) communicate. The study at Kakuma Refugee camp has highlighted some of these differences and provided arguments that showed communication depended on a clear understanding of cultural differences. Therefore, development of societies cannot be achieved if communication conditions are hampered by misunderstandings and misconceptions. The study has also shown that there are significant differences in the way Africans view reality and how easy it is for policies developed by certain cultures with no regard for other cultures to infringe on basic human rights of those who are being assisted.

Culture has been identified as a key factor that influences how communication in groups is organised (Carey, 1999). African cultures have an oral tradition base and
therefore their understanding of meanings and communication patterns is influenced by this factor. Communication for development within oral tradition-based cultures require the communicator to clearly understand how communication is influenced by this cultural factor. Therefore, as argued in this thesis, communication for development is mostly effective if it is presented efficiently and with an understanding of the cultural rules involved. This is the concept of voice. The concept of voice also means that people need to tell their own stories and chart their own destinies.

Soul City tells stories in its Edutainment to alter behaviour and lead to social development. This case study showed that Edutainment is an effective model for development using communication. Edutainment has thus far been successful in South Africa but its transferability to other African nations could be hampered by its complex nature. However, its processes have provided this thesis with significant knowledge that has been used in its arguments for a model of using media for development. The two case studies, especially the Kakuma one, require more research in other refugee camps so as to further refine the recommendations provided in this thesis.

c) To generate arguments and a new way of using media for development of the African continent.

To satisfy the third objective, this thesis has explored media theory and the functions of media and how they relate to development. Journalism in Africa has been shown to be difficult due to government control of the media. However, changes in government
Structures are providing African journalists with more freedom to practise in the same way their Western colleagues do. One of the challenges facing African journalism is how to counter the influence of Western media on how Africa is perceived in the West and in Africa. Western reportage has been shown to concentrate on maintaining stereotypes of the continent. These stereotypes contribute in maintaining the notion that Africa’s viewpoint is not important globally and that Africa has little to offer the rest of the world.

However, the greatest challenge facing African journalists is their role in development. This thesis has argued that journalists can serve as the voice of the people and also initiate development. One of the ways journalism can achieve this is through the use of the media prescribed for development process. This process provides a systematic approach to designing and carrying out development campaigns.

The two films highlight the importance of people being given a chance to express their views (voice), their own way. *Africa 2000: Voices of the Future* engages young people who will “inherit” the future as they analyse what has gone wrong with the continent and what Africa needs for improved development. The story told here is an African one seen through African eyes and produced with an African audience in mind. The idea behind this presentation is that Africans are the only ones who can chart solutions to their problems. This idea is echoed eloquently by Botswana’s health Minister, Joy Phumaphi in *Africa Aids: An African Perspective*: “It is the responsibility of every African to assume the task of determining the destiny of Africa,” she argues.
The idea that Africans are the ones who need to be at the fore front of change is repeated in both films where calls are made for Africans, especially the young who have so far been voiceless, to engage in the running of their nations. These calls are made passionately in *Africa 2000: Voices of the Future* and include:

**On Development:**

“What we lack is not resources. Africa has got a lot of resources. What we lack is proper utilization of those resources. Proper distribution of those resources. You find a few people amassing all the national wealth at the expense of the majority” *Jackson Mwalulu, 30, Journalist/Political Analyst. (Mwalulu, aged 33, was elected as one of Kenya’s national Members of Parliament in 2000).*

“We give our leaders credit for having fought for independence, but they didn’t have administrative skills. You find that countries before independence were very rich but no sooner had they had gotten independence than their economies began to decline. This was basically because of plundering of the funds” *Sula Mazimba, 25, Medical student.*

**On Management:**

“It is a question of policy management – the policies. It is a bit difficult to develop a country. It could be corruption, it could be sociological factors. For instance, there is tradition. We don’t know whether tradition should save modern ideals or whether modern ideals should save tradition. In some societies tradition is powerful, in some societies it is not so powerful. In some societies if you relinquish your traditions, you are down to nothing” *Daniel Murima, 34, Economist/Taxi Driver.*
On challenges of the Future:

“For us to survive, we will have to think of Africa as a bigger unit instead of just countries. If for example you are offering a small service, at least you will have a wider pool with people with the potential to buy it – and that’s the only way we will survive” Kevelin Kimanthi, 32, Lecturer/Auditor.

“We have to actively start participating towards taking over leadership in this continent. I think that is our prime challenge: to take over leadership and give a new vision for the continent. The independence generation had their vision and they did much in freeing this country from colonial rule and exploitation; but they have exhausted their vision. They have now nothing more to offer. We must identify our own mission, the mission of our generation – and rise up to fulfil it or betray it” Kepta Ombati, 27. Political Activist. (Kepta, now 30, is a candidate for a national Parliamentary seat in the 2002 Kenyan national elections to be held at the end of the 2002).

The two films reiterate Versi’s (2001) argument that development is not something outsiders can do for people. Development is what people do for themselves. Africans, especially those in the media, have the advantage of understanding their needs as members of a society and not what aid organizations and foreign groups believe people in Africa need for development.
III. CONCLUSION

The use of media in the form of the two films is in keeping with the journalistic background and social research framework of this thesis. The films, together with the written thesis, have introduced various questions that need further research: there is need for more research on refugees and a need for the United Nations to realise that some of its practices in infringe on refugee organizations' human rights principles.

Since retiring as South Africa’s president, Nelson Mandela has been serving as a mediator to resolve Burundi’s and Congo’s instabilities. Like many before him, he must have realised that Africa’s problems are complex and there is no clear equation to getting the continent into a new wave of development. The new initiatives and alliances in the continent indicate that there is a realisation that the continent will have to free itself from its dependency and state of inequality if it is to achieve development. This thesis has aimed to contribute to that realisation by linking the use of media for both development and democracy and has proposed a paradigm for development that incorporates both cultural differences and communication.
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PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning the following pages. The best possible results have been obtained.
BOX 1.1

Measuring human development

Human Development Reports, since the first in 1990, have published the human development index (HDI) as a composite measure of human development. Since then three supplementary indices have been developed; the human poverty index (HPI), gender-related development index (GDI) and gender empowerment measure (GEM). The concept of human development, however, is much broader than the HDI and these supplementary indices. It is impossible to come up with a comprehensive measure—or even a comprehensive set of indicators—because many vital dimensions of human development, such as participation in the life of the community, are not readily quantified. While simple composite measures can draw attention to the issues quite effectively, these indices are no substitute for full treatment of the rich concerns of the human development perspective.

**Human development index**

The HDI measures the overall achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development—longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. It is measured by life expectancy, educational attainment (adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment) and adjusted income per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) US dollars. The HDI is a summary, not a comprehensive measure of human development.

As a result of refinements in the HDI methodology over time and changes in data series, the HDI should not be compared across editions of the Human Development Report (see indicator table 2 for an HDI trend from 1975 based on a consistent methodology and data). The search for further methodological and data refinements to the HDI continues.

**Human poverty index**

While the HDI measures overall progress in a country in achieving human development, the human poverty index (HPI) reflects the distribution of progress and measures the backlog of deprivations that still exists. The HPI measures deprivation in the same dimensions of basic human development as the HDI.

**HPI-1**

The HPI-1 measures poverty in developing countries. It focuses on deprivations in three dimensions: longevity, as measured by the probability at birth of not surviving to age 40; knowledge, as measured by the adult illiteracy rate; and overall economic provisioning, public and private, as measured by the percentage of people not using improved water sources and the percentage of children under five who are underweight.

**HPI-2**

Because human deprivation varies with the social and economic conditions of a community, a separate index, the HPI-2, has been devised to measure human poverty in selected OECD countries, drawing on the greater availability of data. The HPI-2 focuses on deprivation in the same three dimensions as the HPI-1 and adds one additional one, social exclusion. The indicators are the probability at birth of not surviving to age 60, the adult functional illiteracy rate, the percentage of people living below the income poverty line (with disposable household income less than 50% of the median) and the long-term unemployment rate (12 months or more).

**Gender-related development index**

The gender-related development index (GDI) measures achievements in the same dimensions and using the same indicators as the HDI, but captures inequalities in achievement between women and men. It is simply the HDI adjusted downward for gender inequality. The greater is the gender disparity in basic human development, the lower is a country’s GDI compared with its HDI.

**Gender empowerment measure**

The gender empowerment measure (GEM) reveals whether women can take active part in economic and political life. It focuses on participation, measuring gender inequality in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making. It tracks the percentages of women in parliament, among legislators, senior officials and managers and among professional and technical workers—and the gender disparity in earned income, reflecting economic independence. Differing from the GDI, it exposes inequality in opportunities in selected areas.

### HDI, HPI-1, HPI-2, GDI—same components, different measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Longevity</th>
<th>Knowledge</th>
<th>Decent standard of living</th>
<th>Participation or exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Life expectancy at birth</td>
<td>1. Adult literacy rate 2. Combined enrolment ratio</td>
<td>GDP per capita (PPP US$)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPI-1</td>
<td>Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40</td>
<td>Adult illiteracy rate</td>
<td>Deprivation in economic provisioning, measured by: 1. Percentage of people not using improved water sources 2. Percentage of children under five who are underweight</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPI-2</td>
<td>Probability at birth of not surviving to age 60</td>
<td>Percentage of adults lacking functional literacy skills</td>
<td>Percentage of people living below the income poverty line (50% of median disposable household income)</td>
<td>Long-term unemployment rate (12 months or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDI</td>
<td>Female and male life expectancy at birth</td>
<td>1. Female and male adult literacy rates 2. Female and male combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratios</td>
<td>Estimated female and male earned income, reflecting women’s and men’s command over resources</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX B

#### FEATURE 1.3

### MILLENNIUM DECLARATION GOALS FOR 2015

A balance sheet of human development—goals, achievements and unfinished path

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Achievements</th>
<th>Unfinished path</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty.</td>
<td>Between 1990 and 1998 the proportion of people living on less than $1 (1993 PPP US$) a day in developing countries was reduced from 29% to 24%.</td>
<td>Even if the proportion is halved by 2015, there will still be 900 million people living in extreme poverty in the developing world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people suffering from hunger.</td>
<td>The number of undernourished people in the developing world fell by 40 million between 1990–92 and 1996–98.</td>
<td>The developing world still has 826 million undernourished people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people without access to safe water.</td>
<td>Around 80% of people in the developing world now have access to improved water sources.</td>
<td>Nearly one billion people still lack access to improved water sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrol all children in primary school.</td>
<td>By 1997 more than 70 countries had primary net enrolment ratios over 80%. In 29 of the 46 countries with data, 80% of children enrolled reached grade 5.</td>
<td>In the next 15 years provision must be made for the 113 million children now out of primary school and the millions more who will enter the school-age population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve universal completion of primary schooling.</td>
<td>By 1997 the female enrolment ratio in developing countries had reached 89% of the male ratio at the primary level and 82% at the secondary level.</td>
<td>In 20 countries girls’ secondary enrolment ratios are still less than two-thirds of boys’ enrolment ratios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empower women and eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters.</td>
<td>Only 32 countries have achieved a reported maternal mortality ratio of less than 20 per 100,000 live births.</td>
<td>In 21 countries the reported maternal mortality ratio exceeds 500 per 100,000 live births.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce infant mortality rates by two-thirds.*</td>
<td>In 1990–99 infant mortality was reduced by more than 10%, from 64 per 1,000 live births to 56. Under-five mortality was reduced from 93 per 1,000 live births to 80 in 1990–99.</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa has an infant mortality rate of more than 100 and an under-five mortality rate of more than 170—and has been making slower progress than other regions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce under-five mortality rates by two-thirds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS.</td>
<td>In a few countries, such as Uganda and possibly Zambia, HIV/AIDS prevalence is showing signs of decline.</td>
<td>Around 36 million people are living with HIV/AIDS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide access for all who want reproductive health services.*</td>
<td>Contraceptive prevalence has reached nearly 50% in developing countries.</td>
<td>Around 120 million couples who want to use contraception do not have access to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005 to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.*</td>
<td>The number of countries adopting sustainable development strategies rose from fewer than 25 in 1990 to more than 50 in 1997.</td>
<td>Implementation of the strategies remains minimal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* International development goal
SECTION A. General information

Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age _______________ years

Community (choose one)
  a) Burundi
  b) Congo
  c) Ethiopian
  d) Uganda
  e) Rwanda
  f) Somali
  g) Sudan
  h) Other _______________

How long have you been living in Kakuma refugee camp? (choose one)
  a) 0-6 months
  b) 7 months to 2 years
  c) 3 years to 5 years
  d) 6 to 10 years
  e) Over 10 years
  f) Other _______________

What was your profession before you came to the refugee camp?

__________________________

Your level of education
  a) None
  b) Primary School graduate
  c) Secondary School “O” Level
  d) High School “A” Level
  e) Certificate course
  f) Technical college (e.g. secretarial, mechanics, accounting)
  g) University
SECTION B:

1. How do you find out what the United Nations officials want you to do?
   a) They tell you
   b) They send you a letter
   c) They send a messenger from your own community (e.g. an elder)
   d) You are told by friends
   e) You never find out
   f) Other _______________________________

2. How do you tell the United Nations officers what you want them to know?
   a) You send a messenger
   b) You visit their offices
   c) You stop an officer and tell him or her
   d) You write a letter
   e) You never say anything
   f) Other _______________________________

3. Do you understand what the UN want you to do when the UN communicates with you?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Sometimes

4. Which language does the UN communicate with you?
   a) English
   b) French
   c) Italian
   d) Swahili
   e) Your mother tongue
   f) Other _______________________________

5. Which language do you prefer the UN to use when communicating with you?
   g) English
   h) French
   i) Italian
   j) Swahili
   k) Your mother tongue
   l) Other _______________________________
APPENDIX D

Figure 5.1: Time refugees have spent at Kakuma

Time spent in Kakuma Refugee camp

Percentage of refugees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Spent</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6 months</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 months to 2 years</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10 years</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time spent in Kakuma camp

Figure 5.2: Age groups.

Age

Missing
26 - 35
45 - 60
16 - 25
36 - 45
Over 60
Figure 5.3: Level of Education in sampled refugees.

[Bar chart showing levels of education with percentages for different education levels.

Figure 5.4: What refugees would desire the UN to change/improve.

[Bar chart showing what refugees would like to see change with percentages for different issues.

What would you like to see change?
Figure 5.5: Communications methods used by the UN

Finding out messages from the UN

Finding out messages from the UN

Figure 5.6: Comprehension of messages from the UN

Do you understand UN Messages?

Do you understand UN Messages?
Figure 5.7: Communication methods employed by refugees to communicate with the UN.

How do you let the UN know what you want?

Communication method employed by refugees

Figure 5.8: Places refugees would like to move to.

Would you like to move some where else and where?

Would you like to move some where else and where?
Ethiopian Refugee Community
Kakuma Refugee Camp
c/o UNHCR
P.O. Box 43801
Nairobi, Kenya

Date 25/06/2000

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN ELSEWHERE

Dear Sir/Madam:

We are the forgotten and voiceless Ethiopian refugees who fled from home and reside in Kakuma, Kenya. We prefer to endure the blazing and scorching sun of Kakuma over the destructive tribal/political catastrophe created in Ethiopia in May 1991.

The Ethiopian refugee community in Kakuma is comprised of about 2500 people with various skills ranging from daily labourers to qualified medical doctors. Among this population, women account for 15%, children (including five teenage orphans) account for 7%, and the elderly and disabled account for 3%. Generally, 93% of the population is productive.

We fled from home due to the brutal oppression and gross violation of human rights (including harassment, discrimination, violation of rights to freedom of religion and political participation, torture, detention without trial, arbitrary killings, etc.) Even though every one of us has our own story of oppression in one way or the other, we have set out to demonstrate the sort of persecution we all face in common.

The party at the helm of state power is composed of one ethnic group (TIGRE) and is known as Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF). The objective of the TPLF initially was to separate the Tigray region from the rest of Ethiopia. When favourable conditions allowed them control over the rest of the country, this nationalist group decided to refer to itself as the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in order to appear multinational, and Ethiopian. Due to this totalitarian regime based on tribal politics, the sovereignty of the country is deteriorating and Ethiopia as a country is on the verge of further disintegration.

To substantiate, the human rights situation in Ethiopia is becoming worse and worse. The bloody massacre of innocent civilians that happened in Araka, Gondar, Arbagugu, etc. are a constant feature of the TPLF/EPRDF repression. People are arbitrarily killed and this has been repeatedly reported by independent humanitarian organizations, for example, the recent case of the human rights activist Assefa Maru. The TPLF/EPRDF police, security, and troops have engaged in torture extensively. Scores of political prisoners held by the TPLF/EPRDF government have disappeared. Amnesty
International and the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRC) have amply documented (including photos) prisoners who had limbs amputated as a result of torture at the hands of TPLF/EPRDF. The existing government has banned a number of civil and political organizations on flimsy grounds and false allegations of inciting violence. The Judiciary is entirely controlled by the government and thousands of people are kidnapped and imprisoned without trial. Qualified professionals are expelled from jobs without pension based on their ethnic background. Freedom of both expression and opinion is violated, as we have seen from the harassment of independent journalists. Generally, all rights contained in the United Nations Declaration are violated in Ethiopia today. Intensified condemnation by national and international humanitarian organizations can attest to the facts stated above.

Moreover, apart from the violation of human rights within the country, the EPLF/EPRDF has been observed harassing and assassinating Ethiopians in exile. Fellow refugees Getachew, Amanuel, and Daniel were brutally slaughtered in Walda refugee camp. Mebsion Jatani and Afework Alemseged who were killed by a TPLF/EPRDF hit squad in Nairobi and Thika respectively are among the victims who lost their lives due to the cross-border policy of harassment and assassination that the TPLF/EPRDF is engaged in. In addition, our fellow refugees, Getachew, Fisha, and Yemane, etc. who went back home on the repatriation programme scheduled by UNHCR have been killed by government security forces.

Though the human rights violations in Ethiopia seem quite clear, we Ethiopian refugees in Kakuma are paid deaf ears towards our grievances at every corner and are deprived of our rights which are proclaimed in Article II of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10th, 1948:

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which the person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty."

When compared with other nationalities, we Ethiopians gain insignificant recognition and benefit from the resettlement programmes provided by philanthropic countries. We are not afraid to say that we are discriminated against because not more than 20 people have been resettled through UNHCR in the past eight solid refugee years.

We Ethiopian refugees under the banner of UNHCR are here raising our voice of appeal to all humanitarian organizations and concerned bodies to stretch their hands of help in looking for durable solutions for refugees who suffer from persecution. We ask them to condemn the undemocratically-elected, one tribe party which is violating the human rights of the Ethiopian people and furthering their annihilating and disruptive policies based on tribalism so that we may fully practice and exercise democracy in Ethiopia.
We await eagerly for a swift and affirmative response. Thank you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Ethiopian Refugee Community
Kakuma, Kenya
END NOTES

1. In August 2001, Somali’s capital Mogadishu became the last city to have access to the Internet when three Internet providers (ISPs) started operating (Rose, 2000).

2. A good example is Democratic Republic of Congo’s long time dictator, Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko. For 37 years, Mobutu as the authoritarian president of his country - then known as Zaire - received moral, financial and military support from the United States, France and Belgium. These countries were willing to turn the other cheek while Mobutu’s rule plundered the country and engaged in atrocious human rights abuses. With the end of the Cold War, Mobutu was deemed expendable and support from the nations that had propped him were withdrawn in the guise that all of a sudden Mobutu was a dictator. He was overthrown and fled to die a wanted man abroad. Congo in the meantime, was left as a crumbling, unstable nation.

3. This is explained further with examples in Chapter 5.

4. Colonialism divided up the continent and drew artificial borders (See chapter two). This thesis will counter this division by seeing the continent as the home of people who share more similarities than differences.

5. All African nations from Egypt to South Africa have been united as members of the defunct Organisation of African Unity and the African Union.

6. Cecil Rhodes was a successful merchant operating from present day South Africa to Zambia. Zimbabwe was until 1979 known as Rhodesia, a name given to it as an indication by British colonial powers that that the region had belonged to Cecil Rhodes.

7. The settlers who occupied these lands have been in constant conflict with Africans who were mainly “kicked out” of their ancestral lands. The question needs to be asked: Have politicians such as Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe used this fact to make life difficult for these white settlers? In Zimbabwe, the 1999-2001 “land invasions” of white-owned farms by black Independence War Veterans were based on this colonial past illegal occupation (grabbing) of black African farmlands.

8. Mboya argues that discrimination was found in all sectors. From “discrimination in employment and salaries... refusal by government to let Africans grow cash crops like coffee, tea, sisal and pyrethrum; discrimination in post offices, hotels and restaurants supported by a government which had made liquor laws laying down as an offence the selling or serving an African of European liquor; discrimination by government in giving aid to schools and hospitals established on a racial basis; the absence of African representation in the legislature or of any voice at all in the government; the indirect rule of the African people
through chiefs and administrative officers who did not reflect any local African opinion” (1963, p.47).

\(^{1}\) A study conducted at the refugee camp is part of this thesis and is presented in chapter five.

\(^{2}\) According to the Centre for African Peace and Conflict resolution, the United Nations later apologised for its inaction during the civil war. UN Secretary-General Kofi Anan said the UN failed because it lacked internal will and not because of lack of information. UN officials, however, felt they were being blamed for inaction which was more to do with the United States unwillingness to act than their (UN officials) will to intervene in Rwanda.

\(^{3}\) These new movements of unifying Africa for economic and political strength are covered in chapter three.

\(^{iv}\) This superiority idea was echoed on September 26, 2001 by Italy's prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, while commenting on “Americas War of Terrorism,” and the justification for the bombing of the Afghani people by the “coalition” against terrorism. Berlusconi argued that the conflict was based on civilization differences, an idea introduced by US President George Bush. Underscoring what he viewed as the “supremacy” of Western Civilization, President Berlusconi told the Western world, “We should be conscious of the superiority of our civilization, which consists of a value system that has given people widespread prosperity in those countries that embrace it, and guarantees respect for human rights and religion... This respect certainly does not exist in the Islamic countries” (The Guardian, Thursday September 27, 2001). Berlusconi’s argument did not give credence to history nor the role Western Civilisation and Christianity have played in the abuse of human rights — from the crusade wars, the holocaust, colonial imperialism, cold war motivated abuses, world poverty and to the use of Christianity to justify apartheid.

\(^{v}\) An argument presented by scholars such as Davidson (1978) and Mazrui (1994, 1999) and one which is constantly seen in the work by scholars analyzing Africa and the Third World.

\(^{vi}\) The blame factor also meant that when the initiatives of the dominant paradigm failed, it was not because they were flawed but because people in the Third World were lacking the ability to embrace the initiatives. They were too “underdeveloped” to grasp the development ideas being offered (Melkote, 1991).

\(^{vii}\) Nations, such as Tanzania, that chose to disagree with the capitalistic way of doing things were denied loans by the Bretton Woods institutions and also by Western governments.

\(^{viii}\) Despite pushing for democracy and accountability, The World Bank and IMF gave loans to corrupt Third World leaders who were in support of the US government’s political positions during the cold war (Pilger, 2001). Most of these monies ended up in the pockets of dictators but have to be paid back by citizens of nations who never benefited from the loans.
Schiller also points out that material punishment is a technique employed by western nations on nations that do not agree to their (Western) policies. For example, "unavailability, or denial of credit distorts the affected society." The effects "are expressed in the political and cultural as well as the economic life of the country. The harshness of the austerity, necessarily imposed when outside help is unavoidable, soon erodes the base of the society's leadership" (p.135). This technique has been used efficiently in many nations with great success.

Later research has shown that factors such as education level, culture and social-psychological variables of individuals are important in the assimilation of media messages (Melkote, 1991) and that audiences are not always passive receivers of information.

These include interference by the super powers during the cold war. Dictators installed or supported by the super powers misappropriated funds meant for development. This was the case in nations such as the Congo.

See film that is part of this study: Africa Aids: An African Perspective.

The word "tribe" and "tribal" carries derogatory meaning associated with savagery and primitive acts.

Africa has received such derogatory coverage that even African-Americans were once ashamed of the continent they came from. In the same Muhammad Ali film, Spike Lee argues that media had painted such a bad image of Africa that he was once ashamed to have his roots in the continent. "Because of Hollywood and TV, a lot of us had been taught to hate Africa," he says. "There was a time if you called a black person African they'd be ready to fight." African-Americans are overcoming this shame but a majority of Westerners still view Africa in a negative light.

For example, In African nations, black women are known to use harmful mercury laced skin lighteners. This practice, encouraged by Western pharmaceutical companies and media images of African woman as being light skinned and skinny, is rampant.

This call for people to express themselves is seen in revolutionary cries such as Mozambique's "Aluta Continua" -- The Struggle Continues.

These in the film are referred to as the youth.

An oral tradition based culture gives the highest credibility to older people who are the links with the past and thus embody the traditions that hold a culture together. The old people provide knowledge based on historical experience and wisdom that comes with age.

One-man band DATELINE stories have won various awards including Mark Davis' Golden Walkley for journalistic excellence.

Sound training is provided for reporter/camera operators.

This is a common feature of BBC films and leads one to question whether it is a choice made out of the need to provide a better reportage for Western audiences or whether it is a
continuation of the dominant paradigm view that Westerners know best what is good for Africa and are able to provide better analysis. This is an issue that needs further research.

xxx Since this film, I have produced two more for DATELINE – one on Congo’s history and the new leader Joseph Kabila and the other on the after effects of the bombing of the American Embassy in Nairobi which claimed 230 Kenyan lives and maimed 2000 people. I have also been contracted to produce more films in various countries for the year 2002.

xxxi This was important because researchers had in the past visited the camp and interviewed refugees but the refugees never found out what the research was all about and what the outcome was. They felt “cheated and used” as one refugee put it, and were suffering from research fatigue. The concept of voice played a role in the relationship between the researcher and the refugees with the refugees expressing the view point that they were glad to be explaining their situation to “one of theirs” who could “understand” what they meant without cultural bias. The expression, “You are an African, you know what I mean,” was used often during the interview sessions.

xxxii Some of the discarded questionnaires were filled by people who did not understand the process and who either skipped most questions or gave the same answer to all questions.

xxxiii As one troubled refugee put it, “We ran away from war and the war we ran away from was run by certain individuals. I am sad to see the same people perpetuating the wars are brought to live with us here and they are the people we ran away from.”

xxxiv The questionnaire uses this term to cover situations where representatives of the community, who are not necessarily leaders, act as messengers of information. These messengers can act as a representative of the refugees’ voice.

xxxv For example, it was reported that when a village in Sudan was attacked by a certain faction, refugees of different factions in the camp carried out revenge attacks and killings (Daily Nation, April 21, 2001).

xxxvi This is an applied use of the two-step theory of communication where knowledge is given to leaders of a group and this in turn is communicated to the community.

xxxvii The corruption scandal has been covered extensively by the Daily Nation, East African Standard, the New York Times and other media outlets.

xxxviii This lack of feedback appears to be a major UNHCR problem and refugees in other parts of the world have made dangerous decisions such as that of boarding boats to travel to other nations because the UNHCR has not provided them with any information as to when and how their queries will be answered. Refugees have, for example, decided to travel by dangerous boats from Indonesia to Australia rather than wait for a slow answer from UNHCR.
Even though Mytton’s book was published 18 years ago, there has not been much growth or change in the African Media. As shown later on in this paper, Africa is still playing catch-up to the rest of the world.

Press Freedom was understood by African governments to symbolize the ideals of press autonomy in Western nations. This autonomy allows the media to be openly critical of leaders, something that African leaders viewed as unacceptable.

Liberalization of airwaves in some countries have seen the growth of the television industry. However, television is only accessible in large cities. Poverty means that only a few can afford television. There is also a lack of proper infrastructure such as adequate supply of electricity, for rural sustenance of television. Broadcast licenses are still difficult to obtain and if granted, are strictly regulated and withdrawn if the radio or TV station covers controversial issues.

As pointed out in chapter four, it does not help that African media houses rely on foreign wire agencies for news which are usually derogatory about the continent while presenting an exaggerated view of how good the West is.

This was seen with the choice by American television networks not to give coverage to the views of Osama Bin Laden during the American “War on Terrorism.” The U.S government urged the press to exercise restraint and self-censorship and the press agreed. This stance was condemned by Rick MacArthur, publisher of Harper’s Magazine, who saw the press accepting a form of press censorship and government propaganda. MacArthur, author of *Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War* said the press was surrendering their obligation of providing unfettered coverage. “They are confusing patriotism with their obligations,” he said. “As a viewer, you could easily draw the conclusion that the media now sees itself operating on behalf of government more than on behalf of people” (McCarthy, Phillip, *Sydney Morning Herald* Newspaper. Weekend edition, October 14-15, 2001. p.35).

This is evident when one looks at the power of the media during an election campaign and the way the press influence perception by what journalists choose to highlight.

Communicative Initiative Partnership’s key players include the Rockefeller Foundation, UNICEF, USAID, BBC World Service, CIDA, John Hopkins University Centre for Communication Programs, The European Union, Soul City and the Panos Institute.

Cater (1997) is critical of the belief by foreigners and especially of NGOs that they have the best solutions for developing people. He argues that development is not something foreigners can do for people but rather development is something that people do for themselves.

Some of this research is in areas identified by the United Nations Development Program and which are outlined in chapter three.
According to a report, "Death by radio," by Gibson, Jaumain, and Misser (1994), Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines, a radio station controlled by the Hutu-majority government of Rwanda was largely responsible for the genocide against the Tutsi. The radio took part in hate propaganda which involved advice to Hutus on weapons and killing strategies. According to Berkeley (1994) and Chege (1996), the Radio Rwanda and Radio Milles Collines began their propaganda campaign months before the ethnic uprising and prepared the ground for the 1994 genocide by propagating the mythology of Hutu supremacy. This view has gained prominence and several books have been published with similar claims.
MEDIA FOR DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY: A NEW PARADIGM FOR
DEVELOPMENT INCORPORATING CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

A Thesis
Presented to
The University of Western Sydney
Sydney, Australia

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
For the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

By
Alfred Nganga Mutua
B. A (Journalism), Msc (Communications)

2002
PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,

and the best possible result has been obtained.
I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution.

Alfred N. Mutua
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I dedicate this thesis to all those working hard to initiate programs of development that will minimise and eventually end the suffering of millions of people who suffer because they happened to be born in certain regions of the world. To all I say, Shukran.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the use of media and journalistic practice for development. The thesis concentrates on Africa and argues that development strategies are dependent on a clear understanding of the contexts and constraints of a situation. The thesis argues that Africa’s history and present political and socio-economic situations have contributed to the instability and poverty facing many of its nation states.

The thesis argues that continued dependency by African nations on richer Western nations is a problem originating from colonial imperialism and the failed dominant paradigm, recently reinvented as globalisation and global economic rationalisation.

The thesis argues for a view of communication for development which can only be achieved with an understanding of the relations between media, culture, dependency and the making of meaning. The thesis argues that solutions to Africa’s problems require Africans themselves undertaking development in a concept of their own “voice” and self-representation. With this view, the thesis suggests a model for how journalists, using media, should actively engage in development.

Two case studies are presented: a study of communication dysfunction at Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya and a study of the concept of Edutainment by South Africa’s Soul City’s organisation. Further, selections of media programs are presented as part of the dissertation’s proposed body of work.
Multimedia item accompanies print copy